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THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

[2]

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.

PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD



LONDON, EDINBURGH, AND NEW YORK

THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

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BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

VOL. II

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THE
SACRED LAWS OF THE ÂRYAS

AS TAUGHT IN THE SCHOOLS OF

ÂPASTAMBA, GAUTAMA, VÂSISHTHA,
AND BAUDHÂYANA

TRANSLATED BY

GEORG BÜHLER

PART I

ÂPASTAMBA AND GAUTAMA

SECOND EDITION, REVISED

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INTRODUCTION

TO

ÂPASTAMBA.

FOR all students of Sanskrit philology and Indian history Âpastamba's aphorisms on the sacred law of the Âryan Hindus possess a special interest beyond that attaching to other works of the same class. Their discovery enabled Professor Max Müller, forty-seven years ago, to dispose finally of the Brahmanical legend according to which Hindu society was supposed to be governed by the codes of ancient sages, compiled for the express purpose of tying down each individual to his station, and of strictly regulating even the smallest acts of his daily life¹. It enabled

¹ Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 133 seq.

The following letter, addressed to the late W. H. Morley, and published by him in his *Digest of Indian Cases*, 1850, may be of interest as connected with the first discovery of the Âpastamba-sûtras :—

9, *Park Place, Oxford*, July 29, 1849.

MY DEAR MORLEY,—I have been looking again at the law literature, in order to write you a note on the sources of Manu. I have treated the subject fully in my introduction to the Veda, where I have given an outline of the different periods of Vaidik literature, and analysed the peculiarities in the style and language of each class of Vaidik works. What I consider to be the sources of the Mânava-dharma-sâstra, the so-called Laws of Manu, are the Sûtras. These are works which presuppose the development of the prose literature of the Brâhmanas (like the Aitareya-brâhmana, Taittiriya-brâhmana, &c.) These Brâhmanas, again, presuppose, not only the existence, but the collection and arrangement of the old hymns of the four Samhitâs. The Sûtras are therefore later than both these classes of Vaidik works, but they must be considered as belonging to the Vaidik period of literature, not only on account of their intimate connection with Vaidik subjects, but also because they still exhibit the irregularities of the old Vaidik language. They form indeed the last branch of Vaidik literature; and it will perhaps be possible to fix some of these works chronologically, as they are contemporary with the first spreading of Buddhism in India.

Again, in the whole of Vaidik literature there is no work written (like the Mânava-dharma-sâstra) in the regular epic Sloka, and the continuous employment of this metre is a characteristic mark of post-Vaidik writings.

One of the principal classes of Sûtras is known by the name of Kalpa-sûtras,

him not only to arrive at this negative result, but also to substitute a sounder theory the truth of which subsequent investigations have further confirmed, and to show that the sacred law of the Hindus has its source in the teaching of the Vedic schools, and that the so-called revealed law codes are, in most cases, but improved metrical editions of older

or rules of ceremonies. These are avowedly composed by human authors, while, according to Indian orthodox theology, both the hymns and *Brâhmanas* are to be considered as revelation. The *Sûtras* generally bear the name of their authors, like the *Sûtras* of *Ârvalâyana*, *Kâtyâyana*, &c., or the name of the family to which the *Sûtras* belonged. The great number of these writings is to be accounted for by the fact that there was not one body of *Kalpa-sûtras* binding on all Brahmanic families, but that different old families had each their own *Kalpa-sûtras*. These works are still very frequent in our libraries, yet there is no doubt that many of them have been lost. *Sûtras* are quoted which do not exist in Europe, and the loss of some is acknowledged by the Brahmins themselves. There are, however, lists of the old Brahmanic families which were in possession of their own redaction of Vaidik hymns (*Samhitâs*), of *Brâhmanas*, and of *Sûtras*. Some of these families followed the *Rig-veda*, some the *Yagur-veda*, the *Sâma-veda*, and *Atharva-veda*; and thus the whole Vaidik literature becomes divided into four great classes of *Brâhmanas* and *Sûtras*, belonging to one or the other of the four principal Vedas.

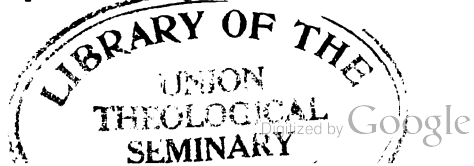
Now one of the families following the *Yagur-veda* was that of the *Mânava*s (cf. *Karavyûha*). There can be no doubt that that family, too, had its own *Sûtras*. Quotations from *Mânava-sûtras* are to be met with in commentaries on other *Sûtras*; and I have found, not long ago, a MS. which contains the text of the *Mânava-srauta-sûtras*, though in a very fragmentary state. But these *Sûtras*, the *Srauta-sûtras*, treat only of a certain branch of ceremonies connected with the great sacrifices. Complete *Sûtra* works are divided into three parts: 1. the first (*Srauta*), treating on the great sacrifices; 2. the second (*Grîhya*), treating on the *Samskâras*, or the purificatory sacraments; 3. the third (*Sâmayâtârîka* or *Dharma-sûtras*), treating on temporal duties, customs, and punishments. The last two classes of *Sûtras* seem to be lost in the *Mânava-sûtra*. This loss is, however, not so great with regard to tracing the sources of the *Mânava-dharma-sâstra*, because whenever we have an opportunity of comparing *Sûtras* belonging to different families, but following the same Veda, and treating on the same subjects, the differences appear to be very slight, and only refer to less important niceties of the ceremonial. In the absence, therefore, of the *Mânava-sâmayâtârîka-sûtras*, I have taken another collection of *Sûtras*, equally belonging to the *Yagur-veda*, the *Sûtras* of *Âpastamba*. In his family we have not only a *Brâhmana*, but also *Âpastamba Srauta*, *Grîhya*, and *Sâmayâtârîka-sûtras*. Now it is, of course, the third class of *Sûtras*, on temporal duties, which are most likely to contain the sources of the later metrical Codes of Law, written in the classical *Sloka*. On a comparison of different subjects, such as the duties of a *Brahmatârin*, a *Grîhastha*, laws of inheritance, duties of a king, forbidden fruit, &c., I find that the *Sûtras* contain generally almost the same words which have been brought into verse by the compiler of the *Mânava-*

prose works which latter, in the first instance, were destined to be committed to memory by the young Āryan students, and to teach them their duties. This circumstance, as well as the fact that Āpastamba's work is free from any suspicion of having been tampered with by sectarians or modern editors, and that its intimate connection with the manuals teaching the performance of the great and small sacrifices, the *Srauta* and *Gṛihya-sūtras*, which are attributed to the same author, is perfectly clear and indisputable, entitle it, in spite of its comparatively late origin, to the first place in a collection of *Dharma-sūtras*.

The Āpastambīya *Dharma-sūtra* forms part of an enormous *Kalpa-sūtra* or body of aphorisms, which digests the teaching of the *Veda* and of the ancient *Rishis* regarding the performance of sacrifices and the duties of twice-born men, *Brāhmanas*, *Kshatriyas*, and *Vaiśyas*, and which, being chiefly based on the second of the four *Vedas*, the *Yagur-veda* in the *Taittirīya* recension, is primarily intended for the benefit of the *Adhvaryu* priests in whose families the study of the *Yagur-veda* is hereditary.

The entire *Kalpa-sūtra* of Āpastamba is divided into

dharma-sāstra. I consider, therefore, the *Sūtras* as the principal source of the metrical *Smṛitis*, such as the *Mānava-dharma-sāstra*, *Yāgyavalkya-dharma-sāstra*, &c., though there are also many other verses in these works which may be traced to different sources. They are paraphrases of verses of the *Samhitās*, or of passages of the *Brāhmanas*, often retaining the same old words and archaic constructions which were in the original. This is indeed acknowledged by the author of the *Mānava-dharma-sāstra*, when he says (B. II, v. 6), 'The roots of the Law are the whole *Veda* (*Samhitās* and *Brāhmanas*), the customs and traditions of those who knew the *Veda* (as laid down in the *Sūtras*), the conduct of good men, and one's own satisfaction.' The *Mānava-dharma-sāstra* may thus be considered as the last redaction of the laws of the *Mānavas*. Quite different is the question as to the old *Manu* from whom the family probably derived its origin, and who is said to have been the author of some very characteristic hymns in the *Rig-veda-samhitā*. He certainly cannot be considered as the author of a *Mānava-dharma-sāstra*, nor is there even any reason to suppose the author of this work to have had the same name. It is evident that the author of the metrical Code of Laws speaks of the old *Manu* as of a person different from himself, when he says (B. X, v. 63), 'Not to kill, not to lie, not to steal, to keep the body clean, and to restrain the senses, this was the short law which *Manu* proclaimed amongst the four castes.'—Yours truly, M. M.



thirty sections, called *Prasnas*, literally questions¹. The first twenty-four of these teach the performance of the so-called *Srauta* or *Vaitânika* sacrifices, for which several sacred fires are required, beginning with the simplest rites, the new and full moon offerings, and ending with the complicated *Sattras* or sacrificial sessions, which last a whole year or even longer². The twenty-fifth *Prasna* contains the *Paribhâshâs* or general rules of interpretation³, which are valid for the whole *Kalpa-sûtra*, the *Pravara-khanda*, the chapter enumerating the patriarchs of the various Brahmanical tribes, and finally the *Hautraka*, prayers to be recited by the *Hotraka* priests. The twenty-sixth section gives the *Mantras* or Vedic prayers and formulas for the *Grihya* rites, the ceremonies for which the sacred domestic or *Grihya* fire is required, and the twenty-seventh the rules for the performance of the latter⁴. The aphorisms on the sacred law fill the next two *Prasnas*; and the *Sulva-sûtra*⁵, teaching the geometrical principles, according to which the altars necessary for the *Srauta* sacrifices must be constructed, concludes the work with the thirtieth *Prasna*.

The position of the *Dharma-sûtra* in the middle of the collection at once raises the presumption that it originally formed an integral portion of the body of *Sûtras* and that it is not a later addition. Had it been added later, it would either stand at the end of the thirty *Prasnas* or altogether outside the collection, as is the case with some other treatises attributed to *Âpastamba*⁶. The Hindus are, no doubt, unscrupulous in adding to the works of famous teachers. But such additions, if of considerable extent, are usually not embodied in the works themselves which they are intended to supplement. They are mostly given

¹ Burnell, *Indian Antiquary*, I, 5 seq.

² The *Srauta-sûtra*, Pr. I-XV, has been edited by Professor R. Garbe in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, and the remainder is in the press.

³ See Professor Max Müller's Translation in S. B. E., vol. xxx.

⁴ The *Grihya-sûtra* has been edited by Dr. Winternitz, Vienna, 1887.

⁵ On the *Sulva-sûtras* see G. Thibaut in 'the Pandit,' 1875, p. 292.

⁶ Burnell, loc. cit.

as *seshas* or *parishistas*, tacked on at the end, and generally marked as such in the MSS.

In the case of the *Āpastamba Dharma-sūtra* it is, however, not necessary to rely on its position alone, in order to ascertain its genuineness. There are unmistakable indications that it is the work of the same author who wrote the remainder of the *Kalpa-sūtra*. One important argument in favour of this view is furnished by the fact that *Prasna XXVII*, the section on the *Gr̥hya* ceremonies, has evidently been made very short and concise with the intention of saving matter for the subsequent sections on the sacred law. The *Āpastambīya Gr̥hya-sūtra* contains nothing beyond a bare outline of the domestic ceremonies, while most of the other *Gr̥hya-sūtras*, e.g. those of *Āsvalāyana*, *Sāṅkhāyana*, *Gobhila*, and *Pāraskara*, include a great many rules which bear indirectly only on the performance of the offerings in the sacred domestic fire. Thus on the occasion of the description of the initiation of *Āryan* students, *Āsvalāyana* inserts directions regarding the dress and girdle to be worn, the length of the student-ship, the manner of begging, the disposal of the alms collected, and other similar questions¹. The exclusion of such incidental remarks on subjects that are not immediately connected with the chief aim of the work, is almost complete in *Āpastamba's Gr̥hya-sūtra*, and reduces its size to less than one half of the extent of the shorter ones among the works enumerated above. It seems impossible to explain this restriction of the scope of *Prasna XXVII* otherwise than by assuming that *Āpastamba* wished to reserve all rules bearing rather on the duties of men than on the performance of the domestic offerings, for his sections on the sacred law.

A second and no less important argument for the unity of the whole *Kalpa-sūtra* may be drawn from the cross-references which occur in several *Prasnas*. In the *Dharma-sūtra* we find that on various occasions, where the performance

¹ *Āsvalāyana Gr̥hya-sūtra* I, 19, ed. Stenzler.

of a ceremony is prescribed, the expressions *yathoktam*, 'as has been stated,' *yathopadesam*, 'according to the injunction,' or *yathâ purastât*, 'as above,' are added. In four of these passages, Dh. I, 1, 4, 16; II, 2, 3, 17; 2, 5, 4; and 7, 17, 16, the *Grîhya-sûtra* is doubtlessly referred to, and the commentator Haradatta has pointed out this fact. On the other hand, the *Grîhya-sûtra* refers to the *Dharma-sûtra*, employing the same expressions which have been quoted from the latter. Thus we read in the beginning of the chapter on funeral oblations, *Grîhya-sûtra* VIII, 21, 1, *mâsîrâddhasyâparapakshe yathopadesam kâlâh*, 'the times for the monthly funeral sacrifice (fall) in the latter (dark) half of the month according to the injunction.' Now as neither the *Grîhya-sûtra* itself nor any preceding portion of the *Kalpa-sûtra* contains any injunction on this point, it follows that the long passage on this subject which occurs in the *Dharma-sûtra* II, 7, 16, 4-22 is referred to. The expression *yathopadesam* is also found in other passages of the *Grîhya-sûtra*, and must be explained there in a like manner¹. There are further a certain number of *Sûtras* which occur in the same words both in the *Prasna* on domestic rites, and in that on the sacred law, e. g. Dh. I, 1, 1, 18; I, 1, 2, 38; I, 1, 4, 14. It seems that the author wished to call special attention to these rules by repeating them. Their recurrence and literal agreement may be considered an additional proof of the intimate connection of the two sections.

Through a similar repetition of, at least, one *Sûtra* it is possible to trace the connection of the *Dharma-sûtra* with the *Srauta-sûtra*. The rule *ritve vâ gâyam*, 'or (he may have conjugal intercourse) with his wife in the proper season,' is given, Dh. II, 2, 5, 17, with reference to a householder who teaches the *Veda*. In the *Srauta-sûtra* it occurs twice, in the sections on the new and full moon sacrifices III, 17, 8, and again in connection with the *Kâturmâsya* offerings, VIII, 4, 6, and it refers both times

¹ See the details, given by Dr. Winternitz in his essay, *Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell*, p. 5 (*Denkschr. Wiener Akademie*, Bd. 40).

to the sacrificer. In the first passage the verb, *upeyât*, is added, which the sense requires; in the second it has the abbreviated form, which the best MSS. of the *Dharma-sûtra* offer. The occurrence of the irregular word, *ṛtve* for *ṛitve*, in all the three passages, proves clearly that we have to deal with a self-quotation of the same author. If the *Dharma-sûtra* were the production of a different person and a later addition, the Pseudo-*Āpastamba* would most probably not have hit on this peculiar irregular form. Finally, the *Gṛhya-sûtra*, too, contains several cross-references to the *Srauta-sûtra*, and the close agreement of the *Sûtras* on the Vedic sacrifices, on the domestic rites, and on the sacred, both in language and style, conclusively prove that they are the compositions of one author¹.

Who this author really was, is a problem which cannot be solved for the present, and which probably will always remain unsolved, because we know his family name only. For the form of the word itself shows that the name *Āpastamba*, just like those of most founders of Vedic schools, e.g. *Bhâradvâga*, *Āsvalâyana*, *Gautama*, is a patronymic. This circumstance is, of course, fatal to all attempts at an identification of the individual who holds so prominent a place among the teachers of the *Black Yagur-veda*.

But we are placed in a somewhat better position with respect to the history of the school which has been named after *Āpastamba* and of the works ascribed to him. Regarding both, some information has been preserved by tradition, and a little more can be obtained from inscriptions and later works, while some interesting details regarding the time when, and the place where the *Sûtras* were composed, may be elicited from the latter themselves. The data, obtainable from these sources, it is true, do not enable us to determine with certainty the year when the *Āpastambîya* school was founded, and when its *Sûtras* were composed. But they make it possible to ascertain the position of the school and of its *Sûtras* in Vedic litera-

¹ See Dr. Winternitz, loc. cit.

ture, their relative priority or posteriority as compared with other Vedic schools and works, to show with some amount of probability in which part of India they had their origin, and to venture, at least, a not altogether unsupported conjecture as to their probable antiquity.

As regards the first point, the *Karanavyūha*, a supplement of the White Yagur-veda which gives the lists of the Vedic schools, informs us that the Āpastambīya school formed one of the five branches of the Khândikīya school, which in its turn was a subdivision of the Taittirīyas, one of the ancient sections of Brāhmanas who study the Black Yagur-veda. Owing to the very unsatisfactory condition of the text of the *Karanavyūha* it is unfortunately not possible to ascertain what place that work really assigns to the Āpastambīyas among the five branches of the Khândikīyas. Some MSS. name them first, and others last. They give either the following list, 1. Kāleyas (Kāletas), 2. Sātyāyanins, 3. Hiranyakesins, 4. Bhāradvāgins, and 5. Āpastambins, or, 1. Āpastambins, 2. Baudhāyanins or Bodhāyanins, 3. Satyāshādhins, 4. Hiranyakesins, 5. Aukheyas¹. But this defect is remedied to a certain extent by the now generally current, and probably ancient tradition that the Āpastambīyas are younger than the school of Baudhāyana, and older than that of Satyāshādhā Hiranyakesin. Baudhāyana, it is alleged, composed the first set of Sūtras connected with the Black Yagur-veda, which bore the special title 'pravaṇana,' and he was succeeded by Bhāradvāga, Āpastamba, and Satyāshādhā Hiranyakesin, who all founded schools which bear their names².

¹ Max Müller, Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 371. A MS. of the *Karanavyūha* with an anonymous commentary, in my possession, has the following passage : कांडिकेयानां पंच भेदा भवन्ति । आपस्तंबी बोधायनी सत्याषाढी हरण्यकेशी औखेयी चेति.

² Max Müller, Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 194. These statements occur in the introduction of Mahādeva's commentary on the Śrauta-sūtra of Hiranyakesin (Weber, Hist. Sansk. Lit., p. 110, 2nd ed.) and in an interpolated passage of Bhāradvāga's *Gṛhya-sūtra* (Winternitz, op. cit., p. 8, note 1), as well as, with the omission of Bhāradvāga's name, in interpolated passages of

This tradition has preserved two important pieces of information. First, the Âpastamba school is what Professor Max Müller appropriately calls a *Sûtra-karana*, i. e. a school whose founder did not pretend to have received a revelation of Vedic Mantras or of a *Brâhmaṇa* text, but merely gave a new systematic arrangement of the precepts regarding sacrifices and the sacred law. Secondly, the *Sûtras* of Âpastamba occupy an intermediate position between the works of Baudhâyaṇa and Hiraṇyakesin. Both these statements are perfectly true, and capable of being supported by proofs, drawn from Âpastamba's own and from other works.

As regards the first point, Professor Max Müller has already pointed¹ out that, though we sometimes find a *Brâhmaṇa* of the Âpastambîyas mentioned, the title Âpastamba-brâhmaṇa is nothing but another name of the Taittiriya-brâhmaṇa, and that this *Brâhmaṇa*, in reality, is always attributed to Tittiri or to the pupils of Vaisampâyaṇa, who are said to have picked up the Black Yagur-veda in the shape of partridges (tittiri). The same remark applies to the collection of the Mantras of the Black Yagur-veda, which, likewise, is sometimes named Âpastamba-saṃhitâ. The *Karaṇavyûha* states explicitly that the five branches of the Khândikîya school, to which the Âpastambîyas belong, possess one and the same recension of the revealed texts, consisting of 7 *Kândas*, 44 *Prasnas*, 651 *Anuvâkas*, 2198 *Pannâsis*, 19290 *Padas*², and 253,868 syllables, and indicates thereby that all these five schools were *Sûtra-karanas*.

If we now turn to Âpastamba's own works, we find still

Baudhâyaṇa's *Dharma-sûtra* (II, 5, 9, 14) and of the same author's *Gr̥hya-sûtra* (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xiv, p. xxxvi, note 1). Adherents of a *Pravaṇana-sûtra*, no doubt identical with that of Baudhâyaṇa, the *Pravaṇanakartâ* (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xiv, p. xxxvi), are mentioned in a land grant, originally issued by the Pallava king Nandivarman in the beginning of the eighth century A. D., see Hultsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 361 seqq.; see also Weber, *Hist. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 110, 2nd ed.

¹ Max Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

² See also Weber, *Ind. Lit.*, p. 98, 2nd ed.

clearer proof that he laid no claim to the title *Rishi*, or inspired seer of Vedic texts. For (Dharma-sûtra I, 2, 5, 4-5) he says distinctly that on account of the prevalent transgression of the rules of studentship no *Rishis* are born among the *Avaras*, the men of later ages or of modern times, but that some, by virtue of a residue of the merit which they acquired in former lives, become similar to *Rishis* by their knowledge of the Veda. A man who speaks in this manner, shows that he considers the holy ages during which the great saints saw with their mind's eye the uncreated and eternal texts of the Veda to be past, and that all he claims is a thorough acquaintance with the scriptures which had been handed down to him. The same spirit which dictated this passage is also observable in other portions of the Dharma-sûtra. For Âpastamba repeatedly contrasts the weakness and sinfulness of the *Avaras*, the men of his own times, with the holiness of the ancient sages, who, owing to the greatness of their 'lustre,' were able to commit various forbidden acts without diminishing their spiritual merit¹. These utterances prove that Âpastamba considered himself a child of the Kali Yuga, the age of sin, during which, according to Hindu notions, no *Rishis* can be born. If, therefore, in spite of this explicit disclaimer, the *Samhitâ* and the *Brâhmaṇa* of the Black Yagur-veda are sometimes called Âpastamba or Âpastambiya, i. e. belonging to Âpastamba, the meaning of this expression can only be, that they were and are studied and handed down by the school of Âpastamba, not that its founder was their author, or, as the Hindus would say, saw them.

The fact that Âpastamba confined his activity to the composition of Sûtras is highly important for the determination of the period to which he belonged. It clearly shows that in his time the tertiary or Sûtra period of the Yagur-veda had begun. Whether we assume, with Professor Max Müller, that the Sûtra period was one and the same for all the four Vedas, and fix its limits with him

¹ Dharma-sûtra II, 6, 13, 1-10; II, 10, 27, 4.

between 600–200 B.C., or whether we believe, as I am inclined to do, that the date of the Sûtra period differed for each Veda, still the incontestable conclusion is that the origin of the Âpastambiya school cannot be placed in the early times of the Vedic period, and probably falls in the last six or seven centuries before the beginning of the Christian era.

The correctness of the traditional statement that Âpastamba is younger than Baudhâya may be made very probable by the following considerations. First, Baudhâya's and Âpastamba's works on Dharma have a considerable number of Sûtras in common. Thus in the chapter on Penances not less than seven consecutive Sûtras, prescribing the manner in which outcasts are to live and to obtain readmission into the Brahmanical community for their children, occur in both treatises¹. Besides this passage, there are a number of single Sûtras² which agree literally. Taken by itself this agreement does not prove much, as it may be explained in various ways. It may show either that Baudhâya is older than Âpastamba, and that the latter borrowed from the former, or that the reverse was the case. It may also indicate that both authors drew from one common source. But if it is taken together with two other facts, it gains a considerable importance. First, Âpastamba holds in several cases doctrines which are of a later origin than those held by Baudhâya. With respect to this point the puritan opinions which Âpastamba puts forward regarding the substitutes for legitimate sons and regarding the appointment of widows (niyoga), and his restriction of the number of marriage-rites, may be adduced as examples. Like many other ancient teachers, Baudhâya permits childless Âryans to satisfy their craving for representatives bearing their name, and to allay their fears of falling after death into the regions of torment through a failure of the funeral oblations, by the affiliation

¹ Baudh. Dh. II, 1, 2, 18–23 = Âp. Dh. I, 10, 29, 8–14.

² E. g. Âp. Dh. I, 1, 2, 30; I, 2, 6, 8–9; I, 5, 15, 8 correspond respectively to Baudh. Dh. I, 2, 3, 39–40; I, 2, 3, 38; I, 2, 3, 29.

of eleven kinds of substitutes for a legitimate son. Illegitimate sons, the illegitimate sons of wives, the legitimate and illegitimate offspring of daughters, and the children of relatives, or even of strangers who may be solemnly adopted, or received as members of the family without any ceremony, or be acquired by purchase, are all allowed to take the place and the rights of legitimate sons¹. Âpastamba declares his dissent from this doctrine. He allows legitimate sons alone to inherit their father's estate and to follow the occupations of his caste, and he explicitly forbids the sale and gift of children².

In like manner he protests against the custom of making over childless widows to brothers-in-law or other near relatives in order to obtain sons who are to offer the funeral oblations to the deceased husband's manes, while Baudhâyana has as yet no scruple on the subject³. Finally, he omits from his list of the marriage-rites the *Paisâka vivâha*, where the bride is obtained by fraud⁴; though it is reluctantly admitted by Baudhâyana and other ancient teachers. There can be no doubt that the law which placed the regular continuance of the funeral oblations above all other considerations, and which allowed, in order to secure this object, even a violation of the sanctity of the marriage-tie and other breaches of the principles of morality, belongs to an older order of ideas than the stricter views of Âpastamba. It is true that, according to Baudhâyana's own statement⁵, before his time an ancient sage named Aupagañghani, who is also mentioned in the *Satapatha-brâhmaṇa*, had opposed the old practice of taking substitutes for a legitimate son. It is also very probable that for a long time the opinions of the *Brâhmaṇa* teachers, who lived in different parts of India and belonged to different schools, may have been divided on this subject. Still it seems very improbable that of two authors who both belong to the same Veda and to the same school, the

¹ Baudh. Dh. II, 2, 3, 17 seqq.

² Âp. Dh. II, 10, 27, 2-7.

³ Baudh. Dh. II, 2, 3, 33.

⁴ Âp. Dh. II, 5, 13, 1-2, 11.

⁵ Âp. Dh. II, 5, 11 and 12.

earlier one should hold the later doctrine, and the later one the earlier opinion. The contrary appears the more probable assumption. The same remarks apply to the cases of the Niyoga and of the Paisāka marriage¹.

The second fact, which bears on the question how the identity of so many Sûtras in the two Dharma-sûtras is to be explained, affords a still stronger proof of Āpastamba's posteriority to Baudhāyana. For on several occasions, it appears, Āpastamba controverts opinions which Baudhāyana holds, or which may be defended with the help of the latter's Sûtras. The clearest case of this kind occurs in the chapter on Inheritance, where the treatment of the eldest son on the division of the estate by the father is discussed. There Āpastamba gives it as his own opinion that the father should make an equal division of his property 'after having gladdened the eldest son by some (choice portion of his) wealth,' i. e. after making him a present which should have some value, but should not be so valuable as to materially affect the equality of the shares². Further on he notices the opinions of other teachers on this subject, and states that the practice advocated by some, of allowing the eldest alone to inherit, as well as the custom prevailing in some countries, of allotting to the eldest all the father's gold, or the black cows, or the black iron and grain, is not in accordance with the precepts of the Vedas. In order to prove the latter assertion he quotes a passage of the Taittirīya Samhitā, in which it is declared that 'Manu divided his wealth among his sons,' and no difference in the treatment of the eldest son is prescribed. He adds that a second passage occurs in the same Veda, which declares that 'they distinguish the eldest son by (a larger portion of) the heritage,' and which thus apparently countenances the partiality for the first-born. But this second passage, he contends, appealing to the

¹ For another case, the rules, referring to the composition for homicide, regarding which Āpastamba holds later views than Baudhāyana, see the Festgruss an R. von Roth, pp. 47-48.

² Āp. Dh. II, 6, 13, 13, and II, 6, 14, 1.

opinion of the Mīmāṃsists, is, like many similar ones, merely a statement of a fact which has not the authority of an injunction¹. If we now turn to Baudhāyana, we find that he allows of three different methods for the distribution of the paternal estate. According to him, either an equal share may be given to each son, or the eldest may receive the best part of the wealth, or, also, a preferential share of one tenth of the whole property. He further alleges that the cows, horses, goats, and sheep respectively go to the eldest sons of Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sūdras. As authority for the equal division he gives the first of the two Vedic passages quoted above; and for the doctrine that the eldest is to receive the best part of the estate, he quotes the second passage which Âpastamba considers to be without the force of an injunction². The fact that the two authors' opinions clash is manifest, and the manner in which Âpastamba tries to show that the second Vedic passage possesses no authority, clearly indicates that before his time it had been held to contain an injunction. As no other author of a Dharma-sūtra but Baudhāyana is known to have quoted it, the conclusion is that Âpastamba's remarks are directed against him. If Âpastamba does not mention Baudhāyana by name, the reason probably is that in olden times, just as in the present day, the Brahmanical etiquette forbade a direct opposition against doctrines propounded by an older teacher who belongs to the same spiritual family (*vidyāvamsa*) as oneself.

A similar case occurs in the chapter on Studentship³, where Âpastamba, again appealing to the Mīmāṃsists, combats the doctrine that pupils may eat forbidden food, such as honey, meat, and pungent condiments, if it is given to them as leavings by their teacher. Baudhāyana gives no explicit rule on this point, but the wording of his Sūtras is not opposed to the doctrine and practice, to which Âpastamba objects. Baudhāyana says that students

¹ Âp. Dh. II, 6, 14, 6-13.

² Baudh. Dh. II, 2, 3, 2-7.

³ Âp. Dh. I, 1, 4, 5-7.

shall avoid honey, meat, pungent condiments, &c. ; he further enjoins that pupils are to obey their teachers except when ordered to commit crimes which cause loss of caste (*patanīya*) ; and he finally directs them to eat the fragments of food given to them by their teachers. As the eating of honey and other forbidden substances is not a crime causing loss of caste, it is possible that Baudhāyana himself may have considered it the duty of a pupil to eat any kind of food given by the teacher, even honey and meat. At all events the practice and doctrine which Āpastamba blames, may have been defended by the wording of Baudhāyana's rules ¹.

The three points which have been just discussed, viz. the identity of a number of Sūtras in the works of the two authors, the fact that Āpastamba advocates on some points more refined or puritan opinions, and, especially, that he labours to controvert doctrines contained in Baudhāyana's Sūtras, give a powerful support to the traditional statement that he is younger than that teacher. It is, however, difficult to say how great the distance between the two really is. Mahādeva, as stated above, places between them only Bhāradvāja, the author of a set of Sūtras, which as yet have not been completely recovered. But it seems to me not likely that the latter was his immediate predecessor in the vidyāvamsa or spiritual family to which both belonged. For it cannot be expected that two successive heads of the school should each have composed a Sūtra and thus founded a new branch-school. It is

¹ Cases, in which Āpastamba's *Gr̥hya-sūtra* appears to refer to, or to controvert, Baudhāyana's *Gr̥hya-sūtra*, have been collected by Dr. Winternitz, op. cit., p. 8. Dr. Burnell, Tanjore Catalogue, p. 34, too, considers Baudhāyana to be older than Āpastamba, because his style is so much simpler. With this remark may be compared Dr. Winternitz's very true assertion that Baudhāyana's style resembles sometimes, especially in the discussion of disputed points, that of the Brāhmaṇas. On the other hand, Dr. R. G. Bhāradvākar, Second Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS., p. 34, believes Baudhāyana to be later than Āpastamba and Bhāradvāja, because he teaches other developments of sacrificial rites, unknown to the other two Sūtrakāras. This may be true, but it must not be forgotten that every portion of Baudhāyana's Sūtras, which has been subjected to a critical enquiry, has turned out to be much interpolated and enlarged by later hands.

more probable that Baudhāyana and Bhāradvāja, as well as the latter and Āpastamba, were separated by several intervening generations of teachers, who contented themselves with explaining the works of their predecessors. The distance in years between the first and the last of the three Sūtrakāras must, therefore, I think, be measured rather by centuries than by decades¹.

As regards the priority of Āpastamba to the school of Satyāśhādha Hiranyakesin, there can be no doubt about the correctness of this statement. For either Hiranyakesin himself, or, at least, his immediate successors have appropriated Āpastamba's Dharma-sūtra and have inserted it with slight modifications in their own collection. The alterations consist chiefly in some not very important additions, and in the substitution of more intelligible and more modern expressions for difficult and antiquated words². But they do not extend so far as to make the language of the Dharma-sūtra fully agree with that of the other sections of the collection, especially with the Grīhya-sūtra. Numerous discrepancies between these two parts are observable. Thus we read in the Hiranyakesi

¹ The subjoined pedigree of the Sūtrakāras of the Black Yagur-veda will perhaps make the above remarks and my interpretation of the statements of Mahādeva and the other authorities mentioned above more intelligible:—

Khāṇḍika, taught the Taittirīya recension of the Black Yagur-veda.

(Successors of Khāṇḍika, number unknown, down to)

Baudhāyana, *Pravāṇakartā*, i. e. 1st Sūtrakāra, and founder of Baudhāyana-*karana*.

(Successors of Baudhāyana down to fellow-pupil of Bhāradvāja, number unknown.)

(Successors of Baudhāyana after the schism down to the present day.)

Bhāradvāja, 2nd Sūtrakāra, and founder of Bhāradvāja-*karana*.

(Successors of Bhāradvāja down to fellow-pupil of Āpastamba, number unknown.)

(Successors after the schism down to the present day.)

Āpastamba, 3rd Sūtrakāra, and founder of Āpastamba-*karana*.

(Successors of Āpastamba down to fellow-pupil of Satyāśhādha Hiranyakesin, number unknown.)

(Successors of Āpastamba down to the present day.)

Satyāśhādha Hiranyakesin, 4th Sūtrakāra, and founder of Hiranyakesi-*karana*.

(Successors of Satyāśhādha Hiranyakesin down to the present day.)

After the schism of Satyāśhādha Hiranyakesin the pedigree has not been continued, though Mahādeva asserts that several other Sūtrakāras arose. But to work it out further would be useless.

² See Appendix II to Part I of my second edition of Āpastamba's Dharma-sūtra, p. 117 seqq.

Gr̥hya-sūtra that a *Brāhmaṇa* must, ordinarily, be initiated in his seventh year, while the rule of the *Dharma-sūtra*, which is identical with *Āp. Dh. I, 1, 1, 18*, prescribes that the ceremony shall take place in the eighth year after conception. The commentators, *Mātridatta* on the *Gr̥hya-sūtra* and *Mahādeva* on the *Dharma-sūtra*, both state that the rule of the *Gr̥hya-sūtra* refers to the seventh year after birth, and, therefore, in substance agrees with the *Dharma-sūtra*. They are no doubt right. But the difference in the wording shows that the two sections do not belong to the same author. The same inference may be drawn from the fact that the *Hiranyakesi Gr̥hya-sūtra*, which is much longer than *Āpastamba's*, includes a considerable amount of matter which refers to the sacred law, and which is repeated in the *Dharma-sūtra*. According to a statement which I have heard from several learned *Brāhmaṇas*, the followers of *Hiranyakesin*, when pronouncing the *samkalpa* or solemn pledge to perform a ceremony, declare themselves to be members of the *Hiranyakesi* school that forms a subdivision of *Āpastamba's* (*āpastambāntargatahiranyakesisākhādhyāyī . . . aham*). But I have not been able to find these words in the books treating of the ritual of the *Hiranyakesins*, such as the *Mahesabhaśā*. If this assertion could be further corroborated, it would be an additional strong proof of the priority of *Āpastamba*, which, however, even without it may be accepted as a fact¹. The distance in time between the two teachers is probably not so great as that between *Āpastamba* and *Baudhāyana*, as *Mahādeva* mentions no intermediate *Sūtrakāra* between them. Still it is probably not less than 100 or 150 years.

The results of the above investigation which show that the origin of the *Āpastamba* school falls in the middle of the *Sūtra* period of the *Black Yagur-veda*, and that its *Sūtras* belong to the later, though not to the latest products of Vedic literature, are fully confirmed by an

¹ Compare also Dr. Winternitz's remarks on the dependence of the *Gr̥hya-sūtra* of the *Hiranyakesins* on *Āpastamba's*, op. cit., p. 6 seqq., and the second edition of the *Āp. Dh.*, Part I, p. xi.

examination of the quotations from and references to Vedic and other books contained in Āpastamba's Sūtras, and especially in the Dharma-sūtra. We find that all the four Vedas are quoted or referred to. The three old ones, the *R̥ik*, *Yagur*, and *Sāman*, are mentioned both separately and collectively by the name *trayî vidyâ*, i.e. threefold sacred science, and the fourth is called not *Atharvângirasah*, as is done in most ancient Sūtras, but *Atharva-veda*¹. The quotations from the *R̥ik* and *Sāman* are not very numerous. But a passage from the ninth *Mandala* of the former, which is referred to Dh. I, 1, 2, 2, is of some extent, and shows that the recension which Āpastamba knew, did not differ from that which still exists. As Āpastamba was an adherent of the Black *Yagur-veda*, he quotes it, especially in the *Srauta-sūtra*, very frequently, and he adduces not only texts from the *Mantra-samhitâ*, but also from the *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa* and *Āraṇyaka*. The most important quotations from the latter work occur Dh. II, 2, 3, 16-II, 2, 4, 9, where all the Mantras to be recited during the performance of the *Bali*-offerings are enumerated. Their order agrees exactly with that in which they stand in the sixty-seventh *Anuvāka* of the tenth *Prapâṭhaka* of the recension of the *Āraṇyaka* which is current among the *Āndhra Brāhmaṇas*². This last point is of considerable importance, both for the history of the text of that book and, as we shall see further on, for the history of the Āpastambīya school.

The White *Yagur-veda*, too, is quoted frequently in the *Srauta-sūtra* and once in the section on *Dharma* by the title *Vāgasaneyaka*, while twice its *Brāhmaṇa*, the *Vāgasaneyi-brāhmaṇa*, is cited. The longer one of the two passages, taken from the latter work, Dh. I, 4, 12, 3, does, however, not fully agree with the published text of the *Mādhyandina* recension. Its wording possesses just sufficient resemblance to allow us to identify the passage which Āpastamba meant, but differs from the *Satapatha-*

¹ Āp. Dh. II, 11, 29, 12.

² The *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* exists in three recensions, the *Karnāṭa*, *Drāvida*, and the *Āndhra*, the first of which has been commented on by *Sāyana*.

brāhmaṇa in many details¹. The cause of these discrepancies remains doubtful for the present². As regards the Atharva-veda, Āpastamba gives, besides the reference mentioned above and a second to the Āṅgīrasa-pavitra³, an abstract of a long passage from Atharva-veda XV, 10–13, regarding the treatment of a Vrātya, i.e. a learned mendicant Brāhmaṇa, who really deserves the title of an atithi, or guest⁴. It is true that Āpastamba, in the passage referred to, does not say that his rule is based on the Atharva-veda. He merely says that a Brāhmaṇa is his authority. But it seems, nevertheless, certain that by the expression a Brāhmaṇa, the Brāhmaṇa-like fifteenth book of the Atharva-veda is meant, as the sentences to be addressed by the host to his guest agree literally with those which the Atharva-veda prescribes for the reception of a Vrātya. Haradatta too, in his commentary, expresses the same opinion. Actual quotations from the Atharva-veda are not frequent in Vedic literature, and the fact that Āpastamba's Dharma-sūtra contains one, is, therefore, of some interest.

Besides these Vedic texts⁵, Āpastamba mentions, also, the Āṅgas or auxiliary works, and enumerates six classes, viz. treatises on the ritual of the sacrifices, on grammar, astronomy, etymology, recitation of the Veda, and metrics⁶. The number is the same as that which is considered the correct one in our days⁷.

As the Dharma-sūtra names no less than nine teachers in connection with various topics of the sacred law, and frequently appeals to the opinion of some (eke), it follows that a great many such auxiliary treatises must have existed in Āpastamba's time. The Ātīryas mentioned are Eka, Kanva, Kānva, Kuṇika, Kutsa, Kautsa, Push-

¹ Compare on this point Professor Eggeling's remarks in *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xii, p. xxxix seqq.

² See the passage from the *Karāṇavyūḥabhāṣya* given below, ver. 10.

³ Āp. Dh. I, 2, 2, 2.

⁴ Āp. Dh. II, 3, 7, 12–17.

⁵ Some more are quoted in the *Srauta-sūtra*, see Professor Garbe in the *Gurupāgākaumudī*, p. 33 seqq.

⁶ Āp. Dh. II, 4, 8, 10.

⁷ See also Max Müller, *Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 111.

karasâdi, Vârshyâyani, Svetaketu, and Hârîta¹. Some of these persons, like Hârîta and Kânva, are known to have composed Sûtras on the sacred law, and fragments or modified versions of their works are still in existence, while Kânva, Kautsa, Pushkarasâdi or Paushkarasâdi, as the grammatically correct form of the name is, and Vârshyâyani are quoted in the Nirukta, the Prâtisâkhyas, and the Vârttikas on Pânini as authorities on phonetics, etymology, and grammar². Kânva, finally, is considered the author of the still existing Kalpa-sûtras of the Kânva school connected with the White Yagur-veda. It seems not improbable that most of these teachers were authors of complete sets of Aṅgas. Their position in Vedic literature, however, except as far as Kânva, Hârîta, and Svetaketu are concerned, is difficult to define, and the occurrence of their names throws less light on the antiquity of the Āpastambîya school than might be expected. Regarding Hârîta it must, however, be noticed that he is one of the oldest authors of Sûtras, that he was an adherent of the Maitrâyaniya Sâkhâ³, and that he is quoted by Baudhâyana, Āpastamba's predecessor. The bearing of the occurrence of Svetaketu's name will be discussed below.

Of even greater interest than the names of the teachers are the indications which Āpastamba gives, that he knew two of the philosophical schools which still exist in India, viz. the Pûrvâ or Karma Mîmâmsâ and the Vedânta. As regards the former, he mentions it by its ancient name, Nyâya, which in later times and at present is usually applied to the doctrine of Gautama Akshapâda. In two passages⁴ he settles contested points on the authority of those who know the Nyâya, i. e. the Pûrvâ Mîmâmsâ, and

¹ Āp. Dh. I, 6, 19, 3-8; I, 10, 28, 1-2; I, 4, 13, 10; I, 6, 18, 2; I, 6, 19, 12; I, 10, 28, 5, 16; I, 10, 29, 12-16.

² Max Müller, loc. cit., p. 142.

³ A Dharma-sûtra, ascribed to this teacher, has been recovered of late, by Mr. Vâman Shâstrî Islâmpurkar. Though it is an ancient work, it does not contain Āpastamba's quotations, see Grundriss d. Indo-Ar. Phil. und Altertums., II, 8, 8.

⁴ Āp. Dh. II, 4, 8, 13; II, 6, 14, 13.

in several other cases he adopts a line of reasoning which fully agrees with that followed in Gaimini's *Mīmāṃsā-sūtras*. Thus the arguments¹, that 'a revealed text has greater weight than a custom from which a revealed text may be inferred,' and that 'no text can be inferred from a custom for which a worldly motive is apparent,' exactly correspond with the teaching of Gaimini's *Mīmāṃsā-sūtras* I, 3, 3-4. The wording of the passages in the two works does not agree so closely that the one could be called a quotation of the other. But it is evident, that if Āpastamba did not know the *Mīmāṃsā-sūtras* of Gaimini, he must have possessed some other very similar work. As to the Vedānta, Āpastamba does not mention the name of the school. But *Khandas* 22, 23 of the first *Paśāla* of the *Dharma-sūtra* unmistakably contain the chief tenets of the Vedāntists, and recommend the acquisition of the knowledge of the Ātman as the best means for purifying the souls of sinners. Though these two *Khandas* are chiefly filled with quotations, which, as the commentator states, are taken from an Upanishad, still the manner of their selection, as well as Āpastamba's own words in the introductory and concluding *Sūtras*, indicates that he knew not merely the unsystematic speculations contained in the Upanishads and *Āraṇyakas*, but a well-defined system of Vedāntic philosophy identical with that of Bādarāyaṇa's *Brahma-sūtras*. The fact that Āpastamba's *Dharma-sūtra* contains indications of the existence of these two schools of philosophy, is significant as the *Pūrvā Mīmāṃsā* occurs in one other *Dharma-sūtra* only, that attributed to Vasishṭha, and as the name of the Vedānta school is not found in any of the prose treatises on the sacred law.

Of non-Vedic works Āpastamba mentions the *Purāṇa*. The *Dharma-sūtra* not only several times quotes passages from 'a *Purāṇa*' as authorities for its rules², but names in one case the *Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa* as the particular *Purāṇa* from which the quotation is taken³. References to the

¹ Āp. Dh. I, 1, 14, 8, 9-10.

² Āp. Dh. I, 6, 19, 13; I, 10, 29, 7.

³ Āp. Dh. II, 9, 24, 6.

Purâna in general are not unfrequent in other Sûtras on the sacred law, and even in older Vedic works. But Âpastamba, as far as I know, is the only Sûtrakâra who specifies the title of a particular Purâna, and names one which is nearly or quite identical with that of a work existing in the present day, and he is the only one, whose quotations can be shown to be, at least in part, genuine Paurânîc utterances.

Among the so-called Upa-purânas we find one of considerable extent which bears the title Bhavishya-purâna or also Bhavishyat-purâna¹. It is true that the passage quoted in the Dharma-sûtra from the Bhavishyat-purâna is not to be found in the copy of the Bhavishya-purâna which I have seen. It is, therefore, not possible to assert positively that Âpastamba knew the present homonymous work. Still, considering the close resemblance of the two titles, and taking into account the generally admitted fact that most if not all Purânas have been remodelled and recast², it seems to me not unlikely that Âpastamba's

¹ Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, p. 400.

² Max Müller, *Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, pp. 40-42. Weber, *Literaturgeschichte*, pp. 206-208. Though I fully subscribe to the opinion, held by the most illustrious Sanskritists, that, in general, the existing Purânas are not identical with the works designated by that title in Vedic works, still I cannot believe that they are altogether independent of the latter. Nor can I agree to the assertion that the Purânas known to us, one and all, are not older than the tenth or eleventh century A. D. That is inadmissible, because Bêrûnî (*India*, I, 131) enumerates them as canonical books. And his frequent quotations from them prove that in 1030 A. D. they did not differ materially from those known to us (see *Indian Antiquary*, 19, 382 seqq.). Another important fact bearing on this point may be mentioned here, viz. that the poet Bâna, who wrote shortly after 600 A. D., in the *Srîharsha-karita*, orders his Paurânika to recite the Pavanaprokta-purâna, i. e. the Vâyu-purâna (*Harsha-karita*, p. 61, Calcutta ed.). Dr. Hall, the discoverer of the life of Harsha, read in his copy Yavanaprokta-purâna, a title which, as he remarks, might suggest the idea that Bâna knew the Greek epic poetry. But a comparison of the excellent Ahmadâbâd and Benares Devanâgarî MSS. and of the Kasmîr Sârâdâ copies shows that the correct reading is the one given above. The earlier history of the Purânas, which as yet is a mystery, will only be cleared up when a real history of the orthodox Hindu sects, especially of the Sivites and Vishnuites, has been written. It will, then, probably become apparent that the origin of these sects reaches back far beyond the rise of Buddhism and Jainism. It will also be proved

authority was the original on which the existing Upapurâna is based. And in favour of this view it may be urged that passages, similar to Âpastamba's quotation, actually occur in our Paurânic texts. In the Gytish-prakâra section of several of the chief Purânas we find, in connection with the description of the Path of the Manes (pitriyâna)¹, the assertion that the pious sages, who had offspring and performed the Agnihotra, reside there until the general destruction of created things (â bhûtasamplavât), as well as, that in the beginning of each new creation they are the propagators of the world (lokasya samtânakarâh) and, being re-born, re-establish the sacred law. Though the wording differs, these passages fully agree in sense with Âpastamba's Bhavishyat-purâna which says, 'They (the ancestors) live in heaven until the (next) general destruction of created things. At the new creation (of the world) they become the seed.' In other passages of the Purânas, which refer to the successive creations, we find even the identical terms used in the quotation. Thus the Vâyup., Adhy. 8, 23, declares that those beings, which have gone to the Ganaloka, 'become the seed at the new creation' (punah sarge . . . bigârtham tâ bhavanti hi).

These facts prove at all events that Âpastamba took his quotation from a real Purâna, similar to those existing. If it is literal and exact, it shows, also, that the Purânas of his time contained both prose and verse.

Further, it is possible to trace yet another of Âpastamba's quotations from 'a Purâna.' The three Purânas, mentioned above, give, immediately after the passages referred to, enlarged versions of the two verses² regarding the sages, who begot offspring and obtained 'burial-grounds,' and

that the orthodox sects used Purânas as text books for popular readings, the Purânapâthana of our days, and that some, at least, of the now existing Purânas are the latest recensions of those mentioned in Vedic books.

¹ Vâyup., Adhy. 50, 208 seqq.; Matsyap., Adhy. 123, 96 seqq.; Vishnup. II, 8. 86-89; H. H. Wilson, Vishnup., vol. ii, pp. 263-268 (ed. Hall).

² Âp. Dh. II, 9, 23, 4-5.

regarding those who, remaining chaste, gained immortality¹. In this case Āpastamba's quotation can be restored almost completely, if certain interpolations are cut out. And it is evident that Āpastamba has preserved genuine Paurāṇic verses in their ancient form. A closer study of the unfortunately much neglected Purāṇas, no doubt, will lead to further identifications of other quotations, which will be of considerable interest for the history of Indian literature.

There is yet another point on which Āpastamba shows a remarkable agreement with a theory which is prevalent in later Sanskrit literature. He says (Dh. II, 11, 29, 11-12), 'The knowledge which Sūdras and women possess, is the completion of all study,' and 'they declare that this knowledge is a supplement of the Atharva-veda.' The commentator remarks with reference to these two Sūtras, that 'the knowledge which Sūdras and women possess,' is the knowledge of dancing, acting, music, and other branches of the so-called Arthasāstra, the science of useful arts and of trades, and that the object of the Sūtras is to forbid the study of such matters before the acquisition of sacred learning. His interpretation is, without doubt, correct, as similar sentiments are expressed by other teachers in parallel passages. But, if it is accepted, Āpastamba's remark that 'the knowledge of Sūdras and women is a supplement of the Atharva-veda,' proves that he knew the division of Hindu learning which is taught in Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's Prasthānabheda². For Madhusūdana allots to each Veda an Upa-veda or supplementary Veda, and asserts that the Upa-veda of the Atharva-veda is the Arthasāstra. The agreement of Āpastamba with the modern writers on this point, furnishes, I think, an additional argument that he belongs to the later Vedic schoolmen.

In addition to this information regarding the relative position of the Āpastambīya school in ancient Sanskrit literature, we possess some further statements as to the

¹ An abbreviated version of the same verses, ascribed to the Paurāṇikas, occurs in Saṅkarācārya's Comm. on the Kāṇḍogya Up., p. 336 (Bibl. Ind.).

² Weber, Ind. Stud. I, 1-24.

part of India to which it belongs, and these, as it happens, are of great importance for fixing approximately the period in which the school arose. According to the Brahmanical tradition, which is supported by a hint contained in the Dharma-sûtra and by information derivable from inscriptions and the actual state of things in modern India, the Âpastambiyas belong to Southern India, and their founder probably was a native of or resided in the Ândhra country. The existence of this tradition, which to the present day prevails among the learned Brahmans of Western India and Benares, may be substantiated by a passage from the above-mentioned commentary of the *Karavyûha*¹, which,

¹ *Karavyûhabhâshya*, fol. 15*, l. 4 seqq. :—

तत्र प्राच्योदीच्यां नैर्ऋत्यां नैर्ऋत्यास्तत्र (?) वाजसनेयानां पञ्चदश भेदा भवन्ति । प्राच्योदीच्यानैर्ऋत्यास्तिस्रो दिशायां (?) वाजसनेयवेदोत्पत्तिः अग्रे वक्ष्यामः (?) । इतरदेशेषु वेदशास्त्रयोर्विभाग उच्यते । स च महार्णवे ।

पृथिव्या मध्येरेता च नर्मदा परिकीर्तिता ।

दक्षिणोत्तरयोर्भागे शाखाभेदाश्च [दृष्ट] उच्यते ॥ १ ॥

नर्मदा दक्षिणे भागे (sic) आपस्तम्ब्याश्चलायनी ।

राणायणी पिप्पला च यज्ञकन्याविभागिनः ॥ २ ॥

माध्यन्दिनी शाखा [शाङ्गा] यनी कौपमी शौनकी तथा ।

नर्मदोत्तरभागे च यज्ञकन्याविभागिनः ॥ ३ ॥

तुङ्गा कृष्णा तथा गोदा सत्याद्रिश्चिरावधि ।

आन्ध्रदेशपर्यन्तं बह्वृचश्चाश्चलायनी ॥ ४ ॥

उत्तरे गुर्जरे देशे बह्वृचकीर्तिताः [वाः परिकीर्तिताः] ।

कौपीतकी [कि] ब्राह्मणं च शाखा शाङ्गायनी स्थिता ॥ ५ ॥

आन्ध्रादिदक्षिणाग्रेयोगोदासागर आवधि (sic) ।

यजुर्वेदस्तु तैत्तिर्यो आपस्तम्बी प्रतिष्ठिता ॥ ६ ॥

सत्याद्रिपर्वतारम्भाद्दिशां नैऋत्यसागरात् (sic) ।

हिरण्यकेशी [शि] शाखा पर्शुरामस्य (sic) संनिधौ ॥ ७ ॥

मयूरपर्वताच्चैव यावद्गुर्जरदेशतः ।

व्यामा व्या [वा] यथ्यदेशास्तु मैत्रायणी प्रतिष्ठिता ॥ ८ ॥

अङ्गवङ्गकलिङ्गाश्च कानीमो (?) गुजरास्तथा (sic) ।

वाजसनीय [नेय] शाखा च माध्यन्दिनी प्रतिष्ठिता ॥ ९ ॥

अपिणा याज्ञवल्क्येन सर्वदेशेषु विस्तृता ।

वाजसनीय [नेय] वेदस्य प्रथमा कथ्य [काथ्य] संज्ञकेति ॥ १० ॥

though written in barbarous Sanskrit, and of quite modern origin, possesses great interest, because its description of the geographical distribution of the Vedas and Vedic schools is not mentioned elsewhere. The verses from a work entitled *Mahârṇava*, which are quoted there, state that the earth, i.e. India, is divided into two equal halves by the river Narmadâ (Nerbudda), and that the school of Âpastamba prevails in the southern half (ver. 2). It is further alleged (ver. 6) that the Yagur-veda of Tittiri and the Âpastambîya school are established in the Ândhra country and other parts of the south and south-east up to the mouth of the Godâvarî (godâsâgara-âvadhî). According to the *Mahârṇava* the latter river marks, therefore, the northern frontier of the territory occupied by the Âpastambîyas, which comprises the Marâṭhâ and Kânara districts of the Bombay Presidency, the greater part of the Nizâm's dominions, Berar, and the Madras Presidency, with the exception of the northern Sirkârs and the western coast. This assertion agrees, on the whole, with the actual facts which have fallen under my observation. A great number of the Desastha-brâhmanas in the Nâsik, Puna, Ahmadnagar, Sâtârâ, Sholâpur, and Kolhâpur districts, and of the Kânarâ or Karnâṭaka-brâhmanas in the Belgâm, Dhârvâd, Kalâdghî, and Karvâd collectorates, as well as a smaller number among the Kittapâvanas of the Koṅkana are Âpastambîyas. Of the Nizâm's dominions and the Madras Presidency I possess no local knowledge. But I can say that I have met many followers of Âpastamba among the Teliṅgana-brâhmanas settled in Bombay, and that the frequent occurrence of MSS. containing the Sûtras of the Âpastambîya school in the Madras Presidency proves that the *Karana* there must count many adherents. On the other hand, I have never met with any Âpastambîyas among the ancient indigenous subdivisions of the Brahmanical community dwelling north of the Marâṭhâ country and north of the Narmadâ. A few Brâhmanas of this school, no doubt, are scattered over Gugarât and Central India, and others are found in the great places of

pilgrimage in Hindustan proper. The former mostly have immigrated during the last century, following the Marâṭhâ chieftains who conquered large portions of those countries, or have been imported in the present century by the Marâṭhâ rulers of Gwalior, Indor, and Baroda. The settlers in Benares, Mathurâ, and other sacred cities also, have chiefly come in modern times, and not unfrequently live on the bounty of the Marâṭhâ princes. But all of them consider themselves and are considered by the Brâhmaṇas, who are indigenous in those districts and towns, as aliens, with whom intermarriage and commensality are not permitted. The indigenous sections of the Brâhmaṇas of Gugarât, such as the Nâgaras, Khedâvals, Bhârgavas, Kapilas, and Motâlâs, belong, if they are adherents of the Yagur-veda, to the Mâdhyandina or Kânva schools of the White Yagur-veda. The same is the case with the Brâhmaṇas of Ragputâna, Hindustan, and the Pañjab. In Central India, too, the White Yagur-veda prevails; but, besides the two schools mentioned above, there are still some colonies of Maitrâyaṇīyas or Mânavas¹. It seems, also, that the restriction of the Âpastambīya school to the south of India, or rather to those subdivisions of the Brahmanical community which for a long time have been settled in the south and are generally considered as natives of the south, is not of recent date. For it is a significant fact that the numerous ancient landgrants which have been found all over India indicate exactly the same state of things. I am not aware that in any grant issued by a king of a northern dynasty to Brâhmaṇas who are natives of the northern half of India, an Âpastambīya is mentioned as donee. But among the southern landgrants there are several on which the name of the school appears. Thus in a śâsana of king Harihara of Vidyânagara, dated Sakasamvat 1317 or 1395 A.D., one of the recipients of the royal bounty is 'the learned Ananta Dikshita, son of Râmaabhaṭa, chief

¹ See Bhâṭ Dâgṛ, Journ. Bombay Br. Roy. As. Soc. X, 40. Regarding the Maitrâyaṇīyas in Gugarât, of whom the *Karavyūha* speaks, compare my Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS., 1879-80, p. 3.

of the Âpastambya (read Âpastambîya) sâkhâ, a scion of the Vasishṭha gotra¹. Further, the eastern Kâlukya king Vigayâditya II², who ruled, according to Dr. Fleet, from A.D. 799-843, presented a village to six students of the Hiranyakesi-sûtra and to eighteen students of the Âpastamba, *recte* the Âpastamba-sûtra. Again, in the above-mentioned earlier grant of the Pallava king Nandivarman, there are forty-two students of the Âpastambha-sûtra³ among the 108 sharers of the village of Udayakandra-maṅgalam. Finally, on an ancient set of plates written in the characters which usually are called cave-characters, and issued by the Pallava king Simhavarman II, we find among the donees five Âpastambhîya Brâhmanas, who, together with a Hairanyakesa, a Vâgasaneya, and a Sâma-vedi, received the village of Maṅgadûr, in Veṅgôrâshṭra⁴. This inscription is, to judge from the characters, thirteen to fourteen hundred years old, and on this account a very important witness for the early existence of the Âpastambîyas in Southern India.

Under the circumstances just mentioned, a casual remark made by Âpastamba, in describing the Srâddhas or funeral oblations, acquires considerable importance. He says (Dh. II, 7, 17, 17) that the custom of pouring water into the hands of Brâhmanas invited to a Srâddha prevails among the northerners, and he indicates thereby that he himself does not belong to the north of India. If this statement is taken together with the above-stated facts, which tend to show that the Âpastambîyas were and are restricted to the south of India, the most probable construction which can be put on it is that Âpastamba declares himself to be a southerner. There is yet another indication to the same effect contained in the Dharma-sûtra. It has been pointed

¹ Colebrooke, Essays, II, p. 264, ver. 24 (Madras ed.)

² See Hultzsch, South Indian Inscriptions, vol. i, p. 31 seqq., and Indian Antiquary, vol. xx, p. 414 seqq.

³ Âpastambha may be a mistake for Âpastamba. But the form with the aspirate occurs also in the earlier Pallava grant and in Devapâla's commentary on the Kâṭhaka Grîhya-sûtra.

⁴ Ind. Ant. V, 135.

out above that the recension of the Taittirīya *Āraṇyaka* which *Āpastamba* recognises is that called the *Āndhra* text or the version current in the *Āndhra* country, by which term the districts in the south-east of India between the *Godāvarī* and the *Kṛishṇā* have to be understood¹. Now it seems exceedingly improbable that a Vedic teacher would accept as authoritative any other version of a sacred work except that which was current in his native country. It would therefore follow, from the adoption of an *Āndhra* text by *Āpastamba*, that he was born in that country, or, at least, had resided there so long as to have become naturalised in it. With respect to this conclusion it must also be kept in mind that the above-quoted passage from the *Mahārnava* particularly specifies the *Āndhra* country (*āndhrādi*) as the seat of the *Āpastambīyas*. It may be that this is due to an accident. But it seems to me more probable that the author of the *Mahārnava* wished to mark the *Āndhra* territory as the chief and perhaps as the original residence of the *Āpastambīyas*.

This discovery has, also, a most important bearing on the question of the antiquity of the school of *Āpastamba*. It fully confirms the result of the preceding enquiry, viz. that the *Āpastambīyas* are one of the later *Karanas*. For the south of India and the nations inhabiting it, such as *Kaliṅgas*, *Dravidas*, *Andhras*, *Kolas*, and *Pāṇḍyas*, do not play any important part in the ancient Brahmanical traditions and in the earliest history of India, the centre of both of which lies in the north-west or at least north of the *Vindhya* range. Hitherto it has not been shown that the south and the southern nations are mentioned in any of the Vedic *Samhitās*. In the *Brāhmaṇas* and in the *Sūtras* they do occur, though they are named rarely and in a not complimentary manner. Thus the *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* gives the names of certain degraded, barbarous tribes, and among them that of the *Andhras*², in whose country, as

¹ See Cunningham, *Geography*, p. 527 seqq. ; Burnell, *South Ind. Pal.*, p. 14, note 2.

² *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* VII, 18.

has been shown, the Âpastambîyas probably originated. Again, Baudhâya, in his Dharma-sûtra I, 1, quotes some verses in which it is said that he who visits the Kaliṅgas must purify himself by the performance of certain sacrifices in order to become fit for again associating with Aryans. The same author, also, mentions distinctive forbidden practices (ākāra) prevailing in the south (loc. cit.). Further, Pāṇini's grammatical Sûtras and Kātyāyana's Vārttikas thereon contain rules regarding several words which presuppose an acquaintance with the south and the kingdoms which flourished there. Thus Pāṇini, IV, 2, 98, teaches the formation of dākshivātya in the sense of 'belonging to or living in the south or the Dekhan,' and a Vārttika of Kātyāyana on Pāṇini, IV, 1, 175, states that the words *Kola* and *Pāṇḍya* are used as names of the princes ruling over the *Kola* and *Pāṇḍya* countries, which, as is known from history, were situated in the extreme south of India. The other southern nations and a fuller description of the south occur first in the Mahābhārata¹. While an acquaintance with the south can thus be proved only by a few books belonging to the later stages of Vedic literature, several of the southern kingdoms are named already in the oldest historical documents. Asoka in his edicts², which date from the second half of the third century B.C., calls the *Kolas*, *Pāṇḍyas*, and the *Keralaputra* or *Ketalaputra* his *pratyantas* (*prakantā*) or neighbours. The same monarch informs us also that he conquered the province of Kaliṅga and annexed it to his kingdom³, and his remarks on the condition of the province show that it was thoroughly imbued with the Aryan civilisation⁴. The same fact is attested still more clearly by the annals of the *Keta* king of Kaliṅga, whose thirteenth year fell in the 165th year of the Maurya era or about 150 B.C.⁵ The early

¹ Lassen, Ind. Alterthumskunde, I, 684, 2nd ed.

² Edict II, Epigraphia Indica, vol. ii, pp. 449-450, 466.

³ Edict XIII, op. cit., pp. 462-465, 470-472.

⁴ See also Indian Antiquary, vol. xxiii, p. 246.

⁵ Actes du 6^{ème} Congrès Int. d. Orient., vol. iii, 2, 135 seqq., where, however, the beginning of the Maurya era is placed wrongly in the eighth year of Asoka.

spread of the Aryan civilisation to the eastern coast-districts between the Godâvarî and the *Kṛishnâ* is proved by the inscriptions on the Bhattiprolu relic caskets, which probably belong to the period of 200 B.C.¹ Numerous inscriptions in the Buddhist caves of Western India², as well as coins, prove the existence during the last centuries before, and the first centuries after, the beginning of our era of a powerful empire of the Andhras, the capital of which was probably situated near the modern Amarâvatî on the lower *Kṛishnâ*. The princes of the latter kingdom, though great patrons of the Buddhist monks, appear to have been Brahmanists or adherents of the ancient orthodox faith which is founded on the Vedas. For one of them is called Vedisiri (*vedisrî*), 'he whose glory is the Veda,' and another Yañāsiri (*yagñasrî*), 'he whose glory is the sacrifice,' and a very remarkable inscription on the Nânâghât³ contains a curious catalogue of sacrificial fees paid to priests (*dakṣhinâ*) for the performance of *Srauta* sacrifices. For the third and the later centuries of our era the information regarding Southern India becomes fuller and fuller. Very numerous inscriptions, the accounts of the Buddhist chroniclers of Ceylon, of the Greek geographers, and of the Chinese pilgrims, reveal the existence and give fragments, at least, of the history of many kingdoms in the south, and show that their civilisation was an advanced one, and did not differ materially from that of Northern India.

There can be no doubt that the south of India has been conquered by the Aryans, and has been brought within the pale of Brahmanical civilisation much later than India north of the Vindhya range. During which century precisely that conquest took place, cannot be determined for the present. But it would seem that it happened a considerable time before the Vedic period came to an end, and it certainly was an accomplished fact, long before the

¹ *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. ii, p. 323 seqq.

² See Burgess, *Arch. Surv. Reports, West India*, vol. iv, pp. 104-114 and vol. v, p. 75 seqq.

³ *Op. cit.*, vol. v, p. 39 seqq. Its date probably falls between 150-140 B. C.

authentic history of India begins, about 500 B. C., with the Persian conquest of the *Pañjab* and *Sindh*. It may be added that a not inconsiderable period must have elapsed after the conquest of the south, before the Aryan civilisation had so far taken root in the conquered territory, that, in its turn, it could become a centre of Brahmanical activity, and that it could produce new Vedic schools.

These remarks will suffice to show that a Vedic *Karana* which had its origin in the south, cannot rival in antiquity those whose seat is in the north, and that all southern schools must belong to a comparatively recent period of Vedic history. For this reason, and because the name of *Âpastamba* and of the *Âpastambîyas* is not mentioned in any Vedic work, not even in a *Kalpa-sûtra*, and its occurrence in the older grammatical books, written before the beginning of our era, is doubtful ¹, it might be thought advisable to fix the terminus a quo for the composition of the *Âpastambîya-sûtras* about or shortly before the beginning of the era, when the Brahmanist *Ândhra* kings held the greater part of the south under their sway. It seems to me, however, that such a hypothesis is not tenable, as there are several points which indicate that the school and its writings possess a much higher antiquity. For, first, the *Dharma-sûtra* contains a remarkable passage in which its author states that *Svetaketu*, one of the Vedic teachers who is mentioned in the *Satapatha-brâhmana* and in the *Khândogya Upanishad*, belongs to the *Avaras*, to the men of later, i. e. of his own times. The passage referred to, *Dh. I, 2, 5, 4-6*, has been partly quoted above in order to show that *Âpastamba* laid no claim to the title *Rîshi*, or seer of revealed texts. It has been stated that according to *Sûtra 4*, 'No *Rîshis* are born among the *Avaras*, the men of later ages, on account of the prevailing transgression of the rules of studentship;' and that according to *Sûtra 5*,

¹ The name *Âpastamba* occurs only in the *gana vidâdi*, which belongs to *Pâṇini IV, 1, 104*, and the text of this *gana* is certain only for the times of the *Kârikâ*, about 650 A. D. The *Srauta-sûtra* of *Âpastamba* is mentioned in the nearly contemporaneous commentary of *Bhartrihari* on the *Mahâbhâshya*, see *Zeitschr. d. Deutschen Morg. Ges.*, vol. xxxvi, p. 654.

‘Some in their new birth become similar to *Rīshis* by their knowledge of the Veda (*śrutarshi*) through a residue of merit acquired in former existences.’ In order to give an illustration of the latter case, the author adds in *Sūtra* 6, ‘Like *Svetaketu*.’ The natural, and in my opinion, the only admissible interpretation of these words is, that *Āpastamba* considers *Svetaketu* to be one of the *Avaras*, who by virtue of a residue of merit became a *Śrutarshi*. This is also the view of the commentator *Haradatta*, who, in elucidation of *Sūtra* 6, quotes the following passage from the *Khândogya Upanishad* (VI, 1, 1-2):

‘1. Verily, there lived *Svetaketu*, a descendant of *Aruna*. His father spake unto him, “O *Svetaketu*, dwell as a student (with a teacher); for, verily, dear child, no one in our family must neglect the study of the Veda and become, as it were, a *Brāhmaṇa* in name only.”

‘Verily, he (*Svetaketu*) was initiated at the age of twelve years, and when twenty-four years old he had learned all the Vedas; he thought highly of himself and was vain of his learning and arrogant.’

There can be no doubt that this is the person and the story referred to in the *Dharma-sūtra*. For the fact which the *Upanishad* mentions, that *Svetaketu* learned all the Vedas in twelve years, while the *Smṛitis* declare forty-eight years to be necessary for the accomplishment of that task, makes *Āpastamba*’s illustration intelligible and appropriate. A good deal more is told in the *Khândogya Upanishad* about this *Svetaketu*, who is said to have been the son of *Uddālaka* and the grandson of *Aruna* (*āruneṇa*). The same person is also frequently mentioned in the *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa*. In one passage of the latter work, which has been translated by Professor Max Müller¹, it is alleged that he was a contemporary of *Yâgñavalkya*, the promulgator of the White *Yagur-veda*, and of the learned king *Ganaka* of *Videha*, who asked him about the meaning of the *Agnihotra* sacrifice. Now, as has been shown above, *Āpastamba* knew and quotes the White *Yagur-veda* and

¹ Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 421 seq.

the Satapatha-brâhmana. The passage of the latter work, which he quotes, is even taken from the same book in which the story about Svetaketu and Ganaka occurs. The fact, therefore, that Âpastamba places a teacher whom he must have considered as a contemporary of the promulgator of the White Yagur-veda among the Avaras, is highly interesting and of some importance for the history of Vedic literature. On the one hand it indicates that Âpastamba cannot have considered the White Yagur-veda, such as it has been handed down in the schools of the Kânvas and Mâdhyandinas, to belong to a remote antiquity. On the other hand it makes the inference which otherwise might be drawn from the southern origin of the Âpastambîya school and from the non-occurrence of its name in the early grammatical writings, viz. that its founder lived not long before the beginning of our era, extremely improbable. For even if the term Avara is not interpreted very strictly and allowed to mean not exactly a contemporary, but a person of comparatively recent times, it will not be possible to place between Svetaketu and Âpastamba a longer interval than, at the utmost, two or three hundred years. Svetaketu and Yâgñavalkya would accordingly, at the best, find their places in the fourth or fifth century B. C., and the Satapatha-brâhmana as well as all other Vedic works, which narrate incidents from their lives, must have been composed or at least edited still later. Though little is known regarding the history of the Vedic texts, still it happens that we possess some information regarding the texts in question. For we know from a statement made by Kâtâyana in a Vârttika on Pânini IV, 3, 105, and from Patañjali's commentary on his words that the Brâhmana proclaimed by Yâgñavalkya, i. e. the Satapatha-brâhmana of the White Yagur-veda, was considered to have been promulgated by one of the Ancients, in the times of these two writers, i. e. probably in the fourth and second centuries B. C.¹

¹ This famous Vârttika has been interpreted in various ways; see Max Müller, *Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, pp. 360-364; Goldstücker, *Pânini*, pp. 132-140; Weber,

These considerations will show that it is necessary to allow for Âpastamba a much higher antiquity than the first century B.C.

The same inference may also be drawn from another series of facts, viz. the peculiarities of the language of his Sûtras. The latter are very considerable and very remarkable. They may be classed under four heads. In the Âpastambîya Dharma-sûtra we have, first, archaic words and forms either occurring in other Vedic writings or formed according to the analogy of Vedic usage; secondly, ancient forms and words specially prescribed by Pânini, which have not been traced except in Âpastamba's Sûtras; thirdly, words and forms which are both against Vedic usage and against Pânini's rules, and which sometimes find their analogies in the ancient Prakrits; and fourthly, anomalies in the construction of sentences. To the first class belong, *kravyâdas*, I, 7, 21, 15, carnivorous, formed according to the analogy of *risâdas*; the frequent use of the singular *dâra*, e.g. II, 1, 1, 17-18, a wife, instead of the plural *dârâh*; *salâvrîkî*, I, 3, 10, 19, for *sâlavrîkî*; the substitution of *l* for *r* in *plenkha*, I, 11, 31, 14; occa-

Ind. Stud. V, 65-74; XIII, 443, 444. As regards the explanation of Kâtyâyana's and Patañjali's words, I side with Kaiyâṭa and Professor Goldstücker. But I am unable to follow the latter in the inferences which he draws from the fact, that Kâtyâyana and Patañjali declare Yâgyavalkya and other sages to be as ancient as those whose Brâhmanas and Kalpas are designated by the plural of adjectives formed by the addition of the affix *in* to the names of the promulgators. Though Pânini asserts, IV, 3, 105, that only those Brâhmanas which are known by appellations like *Bhâllavinah*, *Kaushîtakinah*, &c., have been proclaimed by ancient sages, and though Kâtyâyana and the author of the Great Commentary add that this rule does not hold good in the case of the work called Yâgyavalkânî Brâhmanânî, it does not necessarily follow, as Professor Goldstücker thinks, that an extraordinarily long interval lies between Pânini and Kâtyâyana—so long a period that what Pânini considered to be recent had become ancient in Kâtyâyana's time. Professor Weber has rightly objected to this reasoning. The difference between the statements of the two grammarians may have been caused by different traditions prevailing in different schools, or by an oversight on the part of Pânini, which, as the scene of Yâgyavalkya's activity seems to have been Videha in eastern India, while Pânini belonged to the extreme north-west, is not at all improbable. As regards the two dates, I place, following, with Professor Max Müller, the native tradition, Kâtyâyana in the fourth century B.C., and Patañjali, with Professors Goldstücker, Kern, and Bhândarkar, between 178-140 B.C.

sional offences against the rules of internal and external Sandhi, e.g. in *agrihyamânakâraṇaḥ*, I, 4, 12, 8; in *skuptvâ*, I, 11, 31, 22, the irregular absolutive of *skubh* or of *sku*; in *pâdûna*, I, 1, 2, 13; in *adhâsanâsâyin*, I, 1, 2, 21; and in *sarvatopeta*, I, 6, 19, 8; the neglect of the rule requiring *vṛiddhi* in the first syllable of the name *Pushkarasâdi*, I, 10, 28, 1; the irregular instrumentals *vidyâ*, I, 11, 30, 3, for *vidyayâ*, and *niḥsreyasâ*, II, 7, 16, 2, for *niḥsreyasena*; the nominatives dual *âvam*, I, 7, 20, 6, for *âvâ m*, and *kruṣṣakrauṣṣa*, I, 5, 17, 36 for *°krauṣṣau*; and the potentials in *îta*, such as *prakshâlayîta*, I, 1, 2, 28; *abhiprasârayîta*, I, 2, 6, 3, &c.

Among the words mentioned by Pânini, but not traced except in the Dharma-sûtra, may be enumerated the verb *strih*, to do damage, I, 11, 31, 9; the verb *srin̄kh*, to sneeze, from which *srin̄khânikâ*, I, 5, 16, 14, and *niḥsrin̄khana*, II, 2, 5, 9, are derived; and the noun *vedâdhyâya*, I, 9, 24, 6; II, 4, 8, 5, in the sense of a student of the Veda. Words offending against rules given by Pânini, without being either archaic or Prakritic, are e.g. *sarvânnin*, I, 6, 18, 33, one who eats anybody's food, which, according to Pânini V, 2, 9, should be *sarvânnina*; *sarpasîrshin*, I, 5, 17, 39; *annasamskartri*, a cook, II, 3, 6, 16; *dhârmya*, righteous, for *dharma*, I, 2, 7, 21, and elsewhere; *dîvitri*, a gambler, II, 10, 25, 13, for *devitri*, the very remarkable form *prâsṇâti*, I, 1, 4, 1, for *prâsnâti*, finds an analogy in the Vedic *snaptre* for *snaptre*¹ and in Pali, *paṇha* from *prasṇa* for *prasna*; and the curious compounds *avâṅgagra*, I, 1, 2, 38, *parâṅgâvṛitta*, II, 5, 10, 11, where the first parts show the forms of the nominative instead of the base, and *pratisûryamatsyaḥ*, I, 3, 11, 31, which as a copulative compound is wrong, though not without analogies in Prakrit and in later Sanskrit². The irregular forms caused by the same tendencies as those which effected the formation of the

¹ Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, vol. i, p. xxxiii.

² See *Zeitschr. d. Deutschen Morg. Ges.*, vol. xl, p. 539 seq.; *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. i, p. 3.

Prakrit languages, are, *aviprakramina*, II, 2, 5, 2, for *aviprakramana*, where an *a* standing in thesi has been changed to *i*; *sâmvrittik*, II, 3, 6, 13, *sâmvartete*, II, 5, 11, 20, and *paryânta*, I, 3, 9, 21, and I, 3, 11, 33 (compare *Marâthi âmt* for *anta*), in each of which *a* standing before a nasal has been lengthened; *anika*, I, 6, 19, 1, the initial *a* of which stands for *ri*, if it really has the meaning of *rinika*, as some commentators asserted; *anulepana*, I, 3, 11, 13; I, 11, 32, 5, with the Prakritic change of *na* to *na*; *vyupagâva*, I, 2, 8, 15, with *va* for *pa*; *ritve* for *ritvye*, where *y* seems to have been absorbed by the following *e*; *apassayîta*, I, 11, 32, 16, for *apâsrayîta*, and *bhatrivyatikrama*, I, 10, 28, 20, where *r* has been assimilated to the preceding, or has been lost before the following consonant. The irregularities in the construction are less frequent. But in two Sûtras, I, 3, 10, 2, and I, 3, 11, 31, some words which ought to stand in the locative case have the terminations of the nominative, and it looks as if the author had changed his mind about the construction which he meant to use. In a third passage II, 10, 26, 20, *sisnakkhedanam savrishanasya*, the adjective which is intended to qualify the noun *sisna* has been placed in the genitive case, though the noun has been made the first part of a compound.

The occurrence of so many irregularities¹ in so small a treatise as the Dharma-sûtra is, proves clearly that the author did not follow Pânini's grammar, and makes it very unlikely that he knew it at all. If the anomalous forms used by Âpastamba all agreed with the usage of the other Sûtrakâras, known to us, it might be contended that, though acquainted with the rules of the great grammarian, he had elected to adopt by preference the language of the Vedic schools. But this is by no means the case. The majority of the irregular forms are peculiar to Âpastamba. As it is thus not probable that Âpastamba employed his peculiar expressions in obedience to the tradition of the

¹ Many more may be collected from the other divisions of the body of Sûtras. See Winternitz, op. cit., p. 13 seqq.; Gurupâgâkaumudî, p. 34 seq.

Vedic schools or of his particular school, he must have either been unacquainted with Pāṇini or have considered his teachings of no great importance. In other words, he must either have lived earlier than Pāṇini or before Pāṇini's grammar had acquired general fame throughout India, and become the standard authority for Sanskrit authors. In either case so late a date as 150 B.C. or the first century B.C. would not fit. For Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya furnishes abundant proof that at the time of its composition, in the second century B.C., Pāṇini's grammar occupied a position similar to that which it holds now, and has held since the beginning of our era in the estimation of the learned of India. On linguistic grounds it seems to me Âpastamba cannot be placed later than the third century B.C., and if his statement regarding Svetaketu is taken into account, the lower limit for the composition of his Sūtras must be put further back by 150-200 years.

But sufficient space has already been allotted to these attempts to assign a date to the founder of the Âpastambīya school, the result of which, in the present state of our knowledge of the ancient history of India, must remain, I fear, less certain and less precise than is desirable. It now is necessary to say, in conclusion, a few words about the history of the text of the Dharma-sūtra, and about its commentary, the *Uggrvalā Vṛitti* of Haradatta. The oldest writer with a known date who quotes the Âpastambīya Dharma-sūtra is Saṅkarākārya¹, c. 800 A.D. Even somewhat earlier Kumārila, c. 750, refers repeatedly to a law-book by Âpastamba². But it is improbable that he had our Dharma-sūtra before him. For he says, p. 138, that Âpastamba expressly sanctions local usages, opposed to the teaching of the Vedas, for the natives of those districts where they had prevailed since ancient times. Now, that is just an opinion, which our Dharma-sūtra declares to be wrong and refutes repeatedly³. As it seems

¹ See Deussen, *Vedānta*, p. 35.

² *Tantravārtika*, pp. 138, 139, 142, 174, 175, 179, Benares ed.

³ Âp. Dh. I, 1, 14, 8, 9-10; II, 6, 14, 10-13; II, 6, 15, 1.

hazardous to impute to a man, like Kumārila, ignorance or spite against Āpastamba, I am inclined to assume that the great Mīmāṃsaka refers to some other work, attributed to Āpastamba, perhaps the metrical Āpastamba-smṛiti which Aparārka quotes very frequently¹. Among the commentators on Smṛitis the oldest, who quote the Dharma-sūtra, are Medhātithi, the author of the Manubhāshya, and Viṣṇūnāśvara, who composed the Mitāksharā. the well-known commentary on Yāgyavalkya's Dharma-sāstra during the reign of the Kālukya king Vikramāditya VI, of Kalyāna towards the end of the eleventh century. From that time downwards Āpastamba is quoted by almost every writer on law. But the whole text, such as it is given in my edition², is vouched for only by the commentator Haradatta, who wrote his Uggvalā Vṛtti, at the latest, in the fifteenth century A.D. or possibly 100 years earlier³. Haradatta was, however, not the first commentator of the Dharma-sūtra. He frequently quotes the opinions of several predecessors whom he designates by the general expressions *anyaḥ* or *aparaḥ*, i. e. another (writer). The fact that the Uggvalā was preceded by earlier commentaries which protected the text from corruption, also speaks in favour of the authenticity of the latter, which is further attested by the close agreement of the Hiranyakesi Dharma-sūtra, mentioned above.

As regards the value of the Uggvalā for the explanation of Āpastamba's text, it certainly belongs to the best com-

¹ Āp. Dh., Introd., p. x.

² Āpastambīya Dharma-sūtram, second edition, Part i, Bombay, 1892; Part ii, Bombay, 1894.

³ It seems not doubtful that Haradatta, the author of the Uggvalā, is the same person who wrote the Anākulā Vṛtti on the Āpastambīya Gr̥hya-sūtra, an explanation of the Āpastambīya Gr̥hya-mantras (see Burnell, Ind. Ant. I, 6), and the Mitāksharā Vṛtti on the Dharma-sūtra of Gautama. From the occurrence in the latter work of Tamil words, added in explanation of Sanskrit expressions, it follows that Haradatta was a native of the south of India. I am not in a position to decide if our author also wrote the Padamañjarī Vṛtti on the Kārikā of Vāmana and Gayāditya. This is Professor Aufrecht's opinion, Catalogus Catalogorum, p. 754 seq. See also my remarks in the Introd. to the second ed., p. viii.

mentaries existing. Haradatta possessed in the older Vṛttis abundant and good materials on which he could draw; he himself apparently was well versed in Hindu law and in Sanskrit grammar, and distinguished by sobriety and freedom from that vanity which induces many Indian commentators to load their works with endless and useless quotations. His explanations, therefore, can mostly be followed without hesitation, and, even when they appear unacceptable, they deserve careful consideration.

INTRODUCTION

TO

GAUTAMA.

COMPARED with the information collected above regarding the origin and the history of Āpastamba's Dharma-sūtra, the facts which can be brought to bear on Gautama's Institutes are scanty and the conclusions deducible from them somewhat vague. There are only two points, which, it seems to me, can be proved satisfactorily, viz. the connection of the work with the Sāma-veda and a Gautama Karana, and its priority to the other four Dharma-sūtras which we still possess. To go further appears for the present impossible, because very little is known regarding the history of the schools studying the Sāma-veda, and because the Dharmasāstra not only furnishes very few data regarding the works on which it is based, but seems also, though not to any great extent, to have been tampered with by interpolators.

As regards its origin, it was again Professor Max Müller, who, in the place of the fantastic statements of a fabricated tradition, according to which the author of the Dharmasāstra is the son or grandson of the sage Utathya, and the grandson or great-grandson of Usanas or Sukra, the regent of the planet Venus, and the book possessed generally binding force in the second or Tretā Yuga¹, first put forward a rational explanation which, since, has been adopted by all other writers on Sanskrit literature. He says, *Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 134, 'Another collection of Dharma-sūtras, which, however, is liable to critical doubts, belongs

¹ *Manu* III, 19; Colebrooke, *Digest of Hindu Law*, Preface, p. xvii (Madras ed.); Anantayagvan in *Dr. Burnell's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS.*, (p. 57; *Pārāśara, Dharmasāstra* I, 22 (Calcutta ed.)

to the Gautamas, a *Karana* of the *Sâma-veda*.' This assertion agrees with Kumârila's statement, that the *Dharmasâstra* of Gautama and the *Grihya-sûtra* of Gobhila were (originally) accepted (as authoritative) by the *Khandogas* or *Sâmavedins* alone¹. Kumârila certainly refers to the work known to us. For he quotes in other passages several of its *Sûtras*².

That Kumârila and Professor Max Müller are right, may also be proved by the following independent arguments. Gautama's work, though called *Dharmasâstra* or *Institutes of the Sacred Law*, closely resembles, both in form and contents, the *Dharma-sûtras* or *Aphorisms on the Sacred Law*, which form part of the *Kalpa-sûtras* of the Vedic schools of *Baudhâya*, *Âpastamba*, and *Hiranyakesin*. As we know from the *Karavyûha*, from the writings of the ancient grammarians, and from the numerous quotations in the *Kalpa-sûtras* and other works on the Vedic ritual, that in ancient times the number of Vedic schools, most of which possessed *Srauta*, *Grihya*, and *Dharma-sûtras*, was exceedingly great, and that the books of many of them have either been lost or been disintegrated, the several parts being torn out of their original connection, it is not unreasonable to assume that the aphoristic law-book, usually attributed to the *Rishi* Gautama, is in reality a manual belonging to a Gautama *Karana*. This conjecture gains considerably in probability, if the fact is taken into account that formerly a school of *Sâma-vedis*, which bore the name of Gautama, actually existed. It is mentioned in one of the redactions of the *Karavyûha*³ as a subdivision of the *Rânâyaniya* school. The *Vamśa-brâhmana* of the *Sâma-veda*, also, enumerates four members of the Gautama family among the teachers who handed down the third Veda, viz. *Gâtri* Gautama, *Sumantra* *Bâbhrava*

¹ *Tantravârttika*, p. 179 (Benares ed.), तद्यथा गौतमीयगोभिलीये इन्द्रोगैरेव च परिगृहीते ॥

² Viz. *Gautama* I, 2 on p. 143; II, 45-46 on p. 112, and XIV, 45-46 on p. 109.

³ Max Müller, *Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 374.

Gautama, *Samkara* Gautama, and *Râdha* Gautama¹, and the existing *Srauta* and *Grîhya*-sûtras frequently appeal to the opinions of a Gautama and of a *Sthavira* Gautama². It follows, therefore, that at least one, if not several *Gautama Karanas*, studied the *Sâma*-veda, and that, at the time when the existing *Sûtras* of *Lâtyâyana* and *Gobhila* were composed, *Gautama Srauta* and *Grîhya*-sûtras formed part of the literature of the *Sâma*-veda. The correctness of the latter inference is further proved by Dr. Burnell's discovery of a *Pitrîmedha*-sûtra, which is ascribed to a teacher of the *Sâma*-veda, called *Gautama*³.

The only link, therefore, which is wanting in order to complete the chain of evidence regarding *Gautama's* Aphorisms on the sacred law, and to make their connection with the *Sâma*-veda perfectly clear, is the proof that they contain special references to the latter. This proof is not difficult to furnish. For *Gautama* has borrowed one entire chapter, the twenty-sixth, which contains the description of the *Krikkhras* or difficult penances from the *Sâmavidhâna*, one of the eight *Brâhmaṇas* of the *Sâma*-veda⁴. The agreement of the two texts is complete except in the *Mantras* (*Sûtra* 12) where invocations of several deities, which are not usually found in Vedic writings, have been introduced. Secondly, in the enumeration of the purificatory texts, XIX, 12, *Gautama* shows a marked partiality for the *Sâma*-veda. Among the eighteen special texts mentioned, we find not less than nine *Sâmans*. Some of the latter, like the *Bṛihat*, *Rathantara*, *Gyeshta*, and *Mahâdivâkirtya* chants, are mentioned also in works belonging to the *Rig*-veda and the *Yagur*-veda, and are considered by *Brâhmaṇas* of all schools to possess great efficacy. But others, such as the *Purushagati*, *Rauhina*, and *Mahâvairâga* *Sâmans*, have hitherto not been met with anywhere but in books belonging to the *Sâma*-veda, and

¹ See Burnell, *Vamṣa-brâhmaṇa*, pp. 7, 9, 11, and 12.

² See the Petersburg Dictionary, s. v. *Gautama*; Weber, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, p. 77 (English ed.); *Gobhila Grîhya-sûtra* III, 10, 6.

³ Weber, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, p. 84, note 89 (English ed.)

⁴ See below, pp. 292-296.

do not seem to have stood in general repute. Thirdly, in two passages, I, 50 and XXV, 8, the Dharmaśāstra prescribes the employment of five Vyāhṛitis, and mentions in the former Sūtra, that the last Vyāhṛiti is satyam, truth. Now in most Vedic works, three Vyāhṛitis only, bhûh, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ, are mentioned; sometimes, but rarely, four or seven occur. But in the Vyāhṛiti Sāman, as Haradatta points out¹, five such interjections are used, and satyam is found among them. It is, therefore, not doubtful, that Gautama in the above-mentioned passages directly borrows from the Sāma-veda. These three facts, taken together, furnish, it seems to me, convincing proof that the author of our Dharmaśāstra was a Sāma-vedî. If the only argument in favour of this conclusion were, that Gautama appropriated a portion of the Sāmavidhāna, it might be met by the fact that he has also taken some Sūtras (XXV, 1-6), from the Taittiriya Āraṇyaka. But his partiality for Sāmans as purificatory texts and the selection of the Vyāhṛitis from the Vyāhṛiti Sāman as part of the Mantras for the initiation (I, 50), one of the holiest and most important of the Brahmanical sacraments, cannot be explained on any other supposition than the one adopted above.

Though it thus appears that Professor Max Müller is right in declaring the Gautama Dharmaśāstra to belong to the Sāma-veda, it is, for the present, not possible to positively assert, that it is the Dharma-sūtra of that Gautama Karana, which according to the Karanavyūha, quoted in the Sabdakalpadrūma of Rādhākanta, formed a subdivision of the Rāṇāyanīyas. The enumeration of four Ākāryas, bearing the family-name Gautama, in the Vamśa-brāhmaṇa, and Lāṭyāyana's quotations from two Gautamas, make it not unlikely, that several Gautama Karanas once existed among the Sāma-vedî Brāhmaṇas, and we possess no means for ascertaining to which our Dharmaśāstra must be attributed. Further researches into the history of the schools of the Sāma-veda must be awaited until we can do more. Probably the living tradition of the Sāma-vedîs of

¹ See Gautama I, 50, note.

Southern India and new books from the South will clear up what at present remains uncertain.

In concluding this subject I may state that Haradatta seems to have been aware of the connection of Gautama's law-book with the Sâma-veda, though he does not say it expressly. But he repeatedly and pointedly refers in his commentary to the practices of the *Khandogas*, and quotes the *Grîhya-sûtra* of the *Gaiminiyas*¹, who are a school of Sâma-vedîs, in explanation of several passages. Another southern author, Govindasvâmin (if I understand the somewhat corrupt passage correctly), states directly in his commentary on Baudhâyana I, 1, 2, 6, that the Gautamiya Dharmaśāstra was originally studied by the *Khandogas* alone².

In turning now to the second point, the priority of Gautama to the other existing Dharma-sûtras, I must premise that it is only necessary to take into account two of the latter, those of Baudhâyana and Vasishtha. For, as has been shown above in the Introduction to Âpastamba, the Sûtras of the latter and those of Hiraṇyakeśin Satyâshâdha are younger than Baudhâyana's. The arguments which allow us to place Gautama before both Baudhâyana and Vasishtha are, that both those authors quote Gautama as an authority on law, and that Baudhâyana has transferred a whole chapter of the Dharmaśāstra to his work, which Vasishtha again has borrowed from him.

As regards the case of Baudhâyana, his references to Gautama are two, one of which can be traced in our Dharmaśāstra. In the discussion on the peculiar customs prevailing in the South and in the North of India (Baudh. Dh. I, 2, 1-8) Baudhâyana expresses himself as follows :

¹ A *Grîhya-sûtra* of the *Gaiminiyas* has been discovered by Dr. Burnell with a commentary by Śrînivâsa. He thinks that the *Gaiminiyas* are a Sûtra-sâkhâ of the *Sâtyâyana-Talavakâras*.

² My transcript has been made from the MS. presented by Dr. Burnell, the discoverer of the work, to the India Office Library. The passage runs as follows: *Yathâ vâ bodhâyanîyam dharmasâstram kaishid eva pathyamānam sarvâdhikāram bhavati tathâ gautamiye gobhiliye (!) khandogair eva pathyate || vâsishtham tu bahvrihair eva ||*

‘1. There is a dispute regarding five (practices) both in the South and in the North.

‘2. We shall explain those (peculiar) to the South.

‘3. They are, to eat in the company of an uninitiated person, to eat in the company of one’s wife, to eat stale food, to marry the daughter of a maternal uncle or of a paternal aunt.

‘4. Now (the customs peculiar) to the North are, to deal in wool, to drink rum, to sell animals that have teeth in the upper and in the lower jaws, to follow the trade of arms and to go to sea.

‘5. He who follows (these practices) in (any) other country than the one where they prevail commits sin.

‘6. For each of these practices (the rule of) the country should be (considered) the authority.

‘7. Gautama declares that this is false.

‘8. And one should not take heed of either (set of practices), because they are opposed to the tradition of those learned (in the sacred law ¹).’

From this passage it appears that the Gautama Dharma-sûtra, known to Baudhâyana, expressed an opinion adverse to the authoritativeness of local customs which might be opposed to the tradition of the *Sishyas*, i. e. of those who really deserve to be called learned in the law. Our Gautama teaches the same doctrine, as he says, XI, 20, ‘The laws of countries, castes, and families, which are not opposed to the (sacred) records, have also authority.’

¹ पञ्चधा विप्रतिपत्तिर्दक्षिणतस्तथोत्तरतः ॥१॥

यानि दक्षिणतस्तानि व्याख्यास्यामः ॥२॥

यथैतदनुपेतेन सह भोजनं स्त्रिया सह भोजनं पर्युषितभोजनं मातुलपितृ-
ध्वसृदुहितृगमनमिति ॥३॥

उत्तरोत्तरत ऊर्णाविश्रयः सीधुपानमुभयतोदक्षिण्वहार आयुधीयकं समुद्र-
यानमिति ॥४॥

इतरदितरस्मिन्कुर्वन्नुच्यति ॥५॥

तत्रतत्र देशप्रामाण्यमेव स्यात् ॥६॥

मिथ्यैतदिति गौतमः ॥७॥

उभयं चैव नाद्रियेत शिष्टस्मृतिविरोधदर्शनात् ॥८॥

As clear as this reference, is the case in which Baudhâyana has borrowed a whole chapter of our Dharmasâstra. The chapter in question is the nineteenth, which in Gautama's work forms the introduction to the section on penances and expiation. It is reproduced with a number of various readings¹ in the third Prasna of Baudhâyana's Dharma-sûtra, where it forms the tenth and last Adhyâya. Its contents, and especially its first Sûtra which connects the section on penances with the preceding ones on the law of castes and orders, make it perfectly clear that its proper position can only be at the beginning of the rules on expiation, not in the middle of the discussion, as Baudhâyana places it². This circumstance alone would be sufficient to prove that Baudhâyana is the borrower, not Gautama, even if the name of the latter did not occur in Baudhâyana's Dharma-sûtra. But the character of many of Baudhâyana's readings, especially of those in Sûtras 2, 10, 11, 13, and 15, which, though supported by all the MSS. and Govindasvâmin's commentary, appear to have arisen chiefly through clerical mistakes or carelessness, furnishes

¹ Baudhâyana's various readings are the following: Gaut. XIX, 1 = Baudh. III, 10, 1, वर्षधर्मेष्टा°. Gaut. XIX, 2 = Baudh. III, 10, 2, कर्मेणा निष्ठा वाचरत्ययाज्यं वा याजयत्वप्रतिग्राह्यस्य वा प्रतिगृह्णात्यनाश्यान्नस्य वा द्वाभ्यामप्यवाचरणीयेन वा चरति. Gaut. XIX, 4 left out. Gaut. XIX, 6 = Baudh. III, 10, 5, कुर्यादित्येव. Gaut. XIX, 7 = Baudh. III, 10, 6, पुनस्तोमेन यजेत; विज्ञायते left out. Gaut. XIX, 8 left out. Gaut. XIX, 9 = Baudh. III, 10, 7, अथाप्युदाहरन्ति तरति. Gaut. XIX, 10 = Baudh. III, 10, 8, °नो यजेत. Gaut. XIX, 12 = Baudh. III, 10, 10, वेदादयो वेदान्ताः; कृष्णास्त्रः. Gaut. XIX, 13 = Baudh. III, 10, 11, उपसंन्यायेन पयोव्रतता. Gaut. XIX, 14 = Baudh. III, 10, 12, क्षुषिनि- केतनानि; गोष्ठ्येवपरि°. Gaut. XIX, 15 = Baudh. III, 10, 13, अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं सवनोपस्पर्शनं गुरुशुश्रूषणं ब्रह्मचर्यमभ्यसनमेकवस्त्रताना°. Gaut. XIX, 17 = Baudh. III, 10, 15, अहोरात्रमेकाह इति कालाः. Gaut. XIX, 18 = Baudh. III, 10, 16, विकल्पेन left out. Gaut. XIX, 20 = Baudh. III, 10, 18, सर्वप्रायश्चित्तिः.

² Baudhâyana's treatment of the subject of penances is very un-methodical. He devotes to them the following sections: II, 1-2; II, 2, 3, 48-53; II, 2, 4; III, 5-10; and the greater part of Prasna IV.

even an additional argument in favour of the priority of Gautama's text. It must, however, be admitted that the value of this point is seriously diminished by the fact that Baudhâyana's third Prasna is not above suspicion and may be a later addition ¹.

As regards Baudhâyana's second reference to Gautama, the opinion which it attributes to the latter is directly opposed to the teaching of our Dharma-sâstra. Baudhâyana gives II, 2, 4, 16 the rule that a Brâhmaṇa who is unable to maintain himself by teaching, sacrificing, and receiving gifts, may follow the profession of a Kshatriya, and then goes on as follows ²:

'17. Gautama declares that he shall not do it. For the duties of a Kshatriya are too cruel for a Brâhmaṇa.'

As the commentator Govindasvâmin also points out, exactly the opposite doctrine is taught in our Dharma-sâstra, which (VII, 6) explicitly allows a Brâhmaṇa to follow, in times of distress, the occupations of a Kshatriya. Govindasvâmin explains this contradiction by assuming that in this case Baudhâyana cites the opinion, not of the author of our Dharma-sâstra, but of some other Gautama. According to what has been said above ³, the existence of two or even more ancient Gautama Dharma-sûtras is not very improbable, and the commentator may possibly be right. But it seems to me more likely that the Sûtra of Gautama (VII, 6) which causes the difficulty is an interpolation, though Haradatta takes it to be genuine. My reason for considering it to be spurious is that the permission to follow the trade of arms is opposed to the sense of two other rules of Gautama. For the author states at the end of the same chapter on times of distress, VII, 25, that 'even a Brâhmaṇa may take up arms when his life is in danger.' The meaning of these words can only be, that a Brâhmaṇa must not fight under any other circumstances.

¹ See Sacred Books of the East, vol. xiv, p. xxxiv seq.

² Baudh. Dh. II, 2, 4, 17.

नेति गौतमोऽप्युच्यते हि क्षत्रधर्मो ब्राह्मणस्य ॥

³ See p. lii.

But according to Sûtra 6 he is allowed to follow the occupations of a Kshatriya, who lives by fighting. Again, in the chapter on funeral oblations, XV, 18, those Brâhmanas 'who live by the use of the bow' are declared to defile the company at a funeral dinner. It seems to me that these two Sûtras, taken together with Baudhâyana's assertion that Gautama does not allow Brâhmanas to become warriors, raise a strong suspicion against the genuineness, of VII, 6, and I have the less hesitation in rejecting the latter Sûtra, as there are several other interpolated passages in the text received by Haradatta¹. Among them I may mention here the Mantras in the chapter taken from the Sâmaavidhâna, XXVI, 12, where the three invocations addressed to Siva are certainly modern additions, as the old Sûtrakâras do not allow a place to that or any other Paurânic deity in their works. A second interpolation will be pointed out below.

The Vâsishṭha Dharma-sûtra shows also two quotations from Gautama; and it is a curious coincidence that, just as in the case of Baudhâyana's references, one of them only can be traced in our Dharmasâstra. Both the quotations occur in the section on impurity, Vâs. IV, where we read as follows²:

'33. If an infant aged less than two years, dies, or in the case of a miscarriage, the impurity of the Sapindas (lasts) for three (days and) nights.

'34. Gautama declares that (they become) pure at once (after bathing).

'35. If (a person) dies in a foreign country and (his Sapindas) hear (of his death) after the lapse of ten days, the impurity lasts for one (day and) night.

'36. Gautama declares that if a person who has kindled the sacred fire dies on a journey, (his Sapindas) shall again

¹ In some MSS. a whole chapter on the results of various sins in a second birth is inserted after Adhyâya XIX. But Haradatta does not notice it; see Stenzler, Gautama, Preface, p. iii.

² In quoting the Vâsishṭha Dh. I always refer to the Benares edition, which is accompanied by the commentary of *Kṛishṇapandita* Dharmâdhikârin, called *Vidvanmodinī*.

celebrate his obsequies, (burning a dummy made of leaves or straw,) and remain impure (during ten days) as (if they had actually buried) the corpse.'

The first of these two quotations or references apparently points to Gautama Dh. XIV, 44, where it is said, that 'if an infant dies, the relatives shall be pure at once.' For, though Vasishṭha's Sûtra 34, strictly interpreted, would mean, that Gautama declares the relatives to be purified instantaneously, both if an infant dies and if a miscarriage happens, it is also possible to refer the exception to one of the two cases only, which are mentioned in Sûtra 33. Similar instances do occur in the Sûtra style, where brevity is estimated higher than perspicuity, and the learned commentator of Vasishṭha does not hesitate to adopt the same view. But, as regards the second quotation in Sûtra 36, our Gautama contains no passage to which it could possibly refer. Govindasvâmin, in his commentary on the second reference to Gautama in Bauddhâyana's Dharmaśâstra II, 2, 71, expresses the opinion that this Sûtra, too, is taken from the 'other' Gautama Dharma-sûtra, the former existence of which he infers from Bauddhâyana's passage. And curiously enough the regarding the second funeral actually is found in the metrical *Vṛiddha-Gautama*¹ or *Vaishṇava Dharma-sâstra*, which, according to Mr. Vâman Shâstrî Islâmpurkar², forms chapters 94-115 of the *Asvamedha-parvan* of the *Mahâbhârata* in a Malayâlam MS. Nevertheless, it seems to me very doubtful if Vasishṭha did or could refer to this work. As the same rule occurs sometimes in the *Srauta-sûtras*³, I think it more probable that the *Srauta-sûtra* of the Gautama school is meant. And it is significant that the *Vṛiddha-Gautama* declares its teaching to be *kalpakodita* 'enjoined in the Kalpa or ritual.'

Regarding Gautama's nineteenth chapter, which appears in the *Vâsishṭha Dharmaśâstra* as the twenty-second, I have

¹ *Dharmaśâstra samgraha* (Gibânand), p. 627, Adhy. 20, 1 seqq.

² *Parâsara Dharma Samhitâ* (Bombay Sansk. Series, No. xlvi), vol. i, p. 9.

³ See e. g. Âp. Sr. Sû.

already stated above that it is not taken directly from Gautama's work, but from Baudhâya's. For it shows most of the characteristic readings of the latter. But a few new ones also occur, and some Sûtras have been left out, while one new one, a well-known verse regarding the efficacy of the Vaisvânara vratapati and of the Pavitreshî, has been added. Among the omissions peculiar to Vasishṭha, that of the first Sûtra is the most important, as it alters the whole character of the chapter, and removes one of the most convincing arguments as to its original position at the head of the section on penances. Vasishṭha places it in the beginning of the discussion on penances which are generally efficacious in removing guilt, and after the rules on the special penances for the classified offences.

These facts will, I think, suffice to show that the Gautama Dharmaśāstra may be safely declared to be the oldest of the existing works on the sacred law¹. This assertion must, however, not be taken to mean, that every single one of its Sûtras is older than the other four Dharma-sûtras. Two interpolations have already been pointed out above², and another one will be discussed presently. It is also not unlikely that the wording of the Sûtras has been changed occasionally. For it is a suspicious fact that Gautama's language agrees closer with Pāṇini's rules than that of Āpastamba and Baudhâya. If it is borne in mind that Gautama's work has been torn out of its original connection, and from a school-book has become a work of general authority, and that for a long time it has been studied by Pandits who were brought up in the traditions of classical grammar, it seems hardly likely that it could retain much of its ancient peculiarities of language. But I do not think that the interpolations and alterations can have affected the general character of the book very much. It is too methodically planned and too carefully arranged to admit of any very great changes. The fact, too, that in

¹ Professor Stenzler, too, had arrived independently at this conclusion, see *Grundriss der Indo-Ar. Phil. und Altertumsk.*, vol. ii, Pt. 8, p. 5.

² See p. lvii.

the chapter borrowed by Baudhâya the majority of the *variae lectiones* are corruptions, not better readings, favours this view. Regarding the distance in time between Gautama on the one hand, and Baudhâya and Vasishṭha on the other, I prefer not to hazard any conjecture, as long as the position of the Gautamas among the schools of the Sâma-veda has not been cleared up. So much only can be said that Gautama probably was less remote from Baudhâya than from Vasishṭha. There are a few curious terms and rules in which the former two agree, while they, at the same time, differ from all other known writers on Dharma. Thus the term *bhikshu*, literally a beggar, which Gautama¹ uses to denote an ascetic, instead of the more common *yati* or *sannyâsin*, occurs once also in Baudhâya's *Sûtra*. The same is the case with the rule, III, 13, which orders the ascetic not to change his residence during the rains. Both the name *bhikshu* and the rule must be very ancient, as the *Gainas* and *Buddhists* have borrowed them, and have founded on the latter their practice of keeping the Vasso, or residence in monasteries during the rainy season.

As the position of the Gautamas among the Sâma schools is uncertain, it will, of course, be likewise inadvisable to make any attempt at connecting them with the historical period of India. The necessity of caution in this respect is so obvious that I should not point it out, were it not that the *Dharmasâstra* contains one word, the occurrence of which is sometimes considered to indicate the *terminus a quo* for the dates of Indian works. The word to which I refer is *Yavana*. Gautama quotes, IV, 21, an opinion of 'some,' according to which a *Yavana* is the offspring of a *Sûdra* male and a *Kshatriya* female. Now it is well known that this name is a corruption of the Greek *Ἰάων*, an Ionian, and that in India it was applied, in ancient times, to the Greeks, and especially to the early Seleucids who kept up intimate relations with the first Mauryas, as well as later to the Indo-Bactrian and Indo-Grecian kings who from the beginning of the second century B. C. ruled

¹ Gaut. Dh. III, 2, 11; see also Weber, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, p. 327 (English ed.)

over portions of north-western India. And it has been occasionally asserted that an Indian work, mentioning the Yavanas, cannot have been composed before 300 B.C., because Alexander's invasion first made the Indians acquainted with the name of the Greeks. This estimate is certainly erroneous, as there are other facts, tending to show that at least the inhabitants of north-western India became acquainted with the Greeks about 200 years earlier¹. But it is not advisable to draw any chronological conclusions from Gautama's Sûtra, IV, 21. For, as pointed out in the note to the translation of Sûtra IV, 18, the whole section with the second enumeration of the mixed castes, IV, 17-21, is probably spurious.

The information regarding the state of the Vedic literature, which the Dharmaśāstra furnishes, is not very extensive. But some of the items are interesting, especially the proof that Gautama knew the Taittiriya Âraṇyaka, from which he took the first six Sûtras of the twenty-fifth Adhyâya ; the Sâma-vidhâna Brâhmaṇa, from which the twenty-sixth Adhyâya has been borrowed ; and the Atharvasiras, which is mentioned XIX, 12. The latter word denotes, according to Haradatta, one of the Upanishads of the Atharva-veda, which usually are not considered to belong to a high antiquity. The fact that Gautama and Baudhâyana knew it, will probably modify this opinion. Another important fact is that Gautama, XXI, 7, quotes Manu, and asserts that the latter declared it to be impossible to expiate the guilt incurred by killing a Brâhmaṇa, drinking spirituous liquor, or violating a Guru's bed. From this statement it appears that Gautama knew an ancient work on law which was attributed to Manu. It probably was the foundation of the existing Mânava Dharmaśāstra². No other teacher on law, besides Manu, is mentioned by name. But the numerous references to the opinions of 'some' show that Gautama's work was not the first Dharma-sûtra.

¹ See my Indian Studies, No. iii, p. 26, note 1.

² Compare also Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxv, p. xxxiv seq.

In conclusion, I have to add a few words regarding the materials on which the subjoined translation is based. The text published by Professor Stenzler for the Sanskrit Text Society has been used as the basis¹. It has been collated with a rough edition, prepared from my own MSS. P and C, a MS. belonging to the Collection of the Government of Bombay, bought at Belgâm, and a MS. borrowed from a Puṇa Sâstri. But the readings given by Professor Stenzler and his division of the Sûtras have always been followed in the body of the translation. In those cases, where the *variae lectiones* of my MSS. seemed preferable, they have been given and translated in the notes. The reason which induced me to adopt this course was that I thought it more advisable to facilitate references to the printed Sanskrit text than to insist on the insertion of a few alterations in the translation, which would have disturbed the order of the Sûtras. The notes have been taken from the above-mentioned rough edition and from my MSS. of Haradatta's commentary, called *Gautamîyâ Mitâksharâ*, which are now deposited in the India Office Library, Sansk. MSS. Bühler, Nos. 165-67.

¹ The Institutes of Gautama, edited with an index of words by A. F. Stenzler, London, 1876.

ÂPASTAMBA,
APHORISMS ON THE SACRED LAW
OF THE HINDUS.

Â P A S T A M B A,

APHORISMS ON THE SACRED LAW OF THE HINDUS.

PRASNA I, PATALA 1, KHANDA 1.

1. Now, therefore, we will declare the acts productive of merit which form part of the customs of daily life, as they have been settled by the agreement (of those who know the law).

2. The authority (for these duties) is the agreement of those who know the law,

3. And (the authorities for the latter are) the Vedas alone.

4. (There are) four castes—Brâhmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sûdras.

5. Amongst these, each preceding (caste) is superior by birth to the one following.

6. (For all these), excepting Sûdras and those who have committed bad actions, (are ordained) the initiation, the study of the Veda, and the kindling of

1. 1. Samaya, 'agreement, decision,' is threefold. It includes injunction, restriction, and prohibition.

Dharma, 'acts productive of merit,' usually translated by 'duty or law,' is more accurately explained as an act which produces the quality of the soul called apûrva, the cause of heavenly bliss and of final liberation.

2. Manu II, 6, 12; Yâgñ. I, 7; Gautama I, 1.

6. Manu II, 35.

the sacred fire; and (their) works are productive of rewards (in this world and the next).

7. To serve the other (three) castes (is ordained) for the Sûdra.

8. The higher the caste (which he serves) the greater is the merit.

9. The initiation is the consecration in accordance with the texts of the Veda, of a male who is desirous of (and can make use of) sacred knowledge.

10. A Brâhmana declares that the Gâyatrî is learnt for the sake of all the (three) Vedas.

11. (Coming) out of darkness, he indeed enters darkness, whom a man unlearned in the Vedas, initiates, and (so does he) who, without being learned in the Vedas, (performs the rite of initiation.) That has been declared in a Brâhmana.

12. As performer of this rite of initiation he shall seek to obtain a man in whose family sacred learning is hereditary, who himself possesses it, and who is devout (in following the law).

13. And under him the sacred science must be

7. Manu I, 91, VIII, 410, and IX, 334; Yâgñ. I, 120.

9. The use of the masculine in the text excludes women. For though women may have occasion to use such texts as 'O fire, lord of the dwelling,' &c. at the Agnihotra, still it is specially ordained that they shall be taught this and similar verses only just before the rite is to be performed.

10. The object of the Sûtra is to remove a doubt whether the ceremony of initiation ought to be repeated for each Veda, in case a man desires to study more than one Veda. This repetition is declared to be unnecessary, except, as the commentator adds, in the case of the Atharva-veda, for which, according to a passage of a Brâhmana, a fresh initiation is necessary. The latter rule is given in the Vaitâna-sûtra I, 1, 5.

13. Haradatta: 'But this (latter rule regarding the taking of

studied until the end, provided (the teacher) does not fall off from the ordinances of the law.

14. He from whom (the pupil) gathers (*âkṣinoti*) (the knowledge of) his religious duties (*dharmân*) (is called) the *Âkârya* (teacher).

15. Him he should never offend.

16. For he causes him (the pupil) to be born (a second time) by (imparting to him) sacred learning.

17. This (second) birth is the best.

18. The father and the mother produce the body only.

19. Let him initiate a *Brâhmana* in spring, a *Kshatriya* in summer, a *Vaisya* in autumn, a *Brâhmana* in the eighth year after conception, a *Kshatriya* in the eleventh year after conception, (and) a *Vaisya* in the twelfth after conception.

20. Now (follows the enumeration of the years

another teacher) does not hold good for those who have begun to study, solemnly binding themselves to their teacher. How so? As he (the pupil) shall consider a person who initiates and instructs him his *Âkârya*, and a pupil who has been once initiated cannot be initiated again, how can another man instruct him? For this reason it must be understood that the study begun with one teacher may not be completed with another, if the first die.' Compare also *Haradatta* on I, 2, 7, 26, and the rule given I, 1, 4, 26. In our times also pupils, who have bound themselves to a teacher by paying their respects to him and presenting a cocoa-nut, in order to learn from him a particular branch of science, must not study the same branch of science under any other teacher.

14. *Manu* II, 69; *Yâgñ.* I, 15.

15. *Manu* II, 144.

16. *Manu* II, 146-148.

17. 'Because it procures heavenly bliss and final liberation.'—*Haradatta*.

18. *Manu* II, 147.

19. *Yâgñ.* I, 14; *Manu* II, 36; *Âsvalâyana Gri. Sû.* I, 19, 1, 4; *Weber, Ind. Stud.* X, 20 seq.

to be chosen) for the fulfilment of some (particular) wish.

21. (Let him initiate) a person desirous of excellence in sacred learning in his seventh year,

22. A person desirous of long life in his eighth year,

23. A person desirous of manly vigour in his ninth year,

24. A person desirous of food in his tenth year,

25. A person desirous of strength in his eleventh year,

26. A person desirous of cattle in his twelfth year.

27. There is no dereliction (of duty, if the initiation takes place), in the case of a Brâhmana before the completion of the sixteenth year, in the case of a Kshatriya before the completion of the twenty-second year, in the case of a Vaisya before the completion of the twenty-fourth year. (Let him be initiated at such an age) that he may be able to perform the duties, which we shall declare below.

28. If the proper time for the initiation has passed, he shall observe for the space of two months

21. Manu II, 37.

22-26. *Āsv. Gr̥i. Sū.* I, 19, 5, 7; Weber, *Ind. Stud.* X, 21.

27. The meaning of the Sūtra is, that the initiation shall be performed as soon as the child is able to begin the study of the Veda. If it is so far developed at eight years, the ceremony must then be performed; and if it be then neglected, or, if it be neglected at any time when the capacity for learning exists, the expiation prescribed in the following Sūtras must be performed. The age of sixteen in the case of Brâhmanas is the latest term up to which the ceremony may be deferred, in case of incapacity for study only. After the lapse of the sixteenth year, the expiation becomes also necessary. Manu II, 38; *Yâgñ.* I, 37.

28. The meaning is, he shall keep all the restrictions imposed upon a student, as chastity, &c., but that he shall not perform

the duties of a student, as observed by those who are studying the three Vedas.

29. After that he may be initiated.

30. After that he shall bathe (daily) for one year.

31. After that he may be instructed.

32. He, whose father and grandfather have not been initiated, (and his two ancestors) are called 'slayers of the Brahman.'

33. Intercourse, eating, and intermarriage with them should be avoided.

34. If they wish it (they may perform the following) expiation ;

35. In the same manner as for the first neglect (of the initiation, a penance of) two months (was) prescribed, so (they shall do penance for) one year.

36. Afterwards they may be initiated, and then they must bathe (daily),

PRASNA I, PATALA 1, KHANDA 2.

1. For as many years as there are uninitiated persons, reckoning (one year) for each ancestor (and the person to be initiated himself),

2. (They should bathe daily reciting) the seven

fire-worship or service to a teacher, nor study. *Manu* II, 39; *XI*, 192; *Yâgñ.* I, 38; *Weber*, *Ind. Stud.* X, 101.

30. 'If he is strong, he shall bathe three times a day—morning, midday, and evening.'—*Haradatta*.

32. Brahman, apparently, here means 'Veda,' and those who neglect its study may be called metaphorically 'slayers of the Veda.'

33. *Manu* II, 40; *Âsv. Gri. Sû.* I, 19, 8, 9; *Weber*, *Ind. Stud.* X, 21.

35. Compare above, I, 1, 1, 28.

2. 2. The seven Pâvamânîs are seven verses which occur *Rîg-veda* IX, 67, 21-27. *Yagushpavitra* = *Taitt. Samh.* I, 2, 1, 1. The *Sâmapavitra* is found *Sâma-veda* I, 2, 2, 3, 5. *Ângirasapavitra* = *Rîg-veda* IV, 40, 5.

Pāvamāntis, beginning with 'If near or far,' the Yagushpavitra, ('May the waters, the mothers purify us,' &c.) the Sāmapavitra, ('With what help assists,' &c.), and the Āngirasapavitra ('A swan, dwelling in purity'),

3. Or also reciting the Vyâhr̥itis (om, bhûh, bhuvah, suvah).

4. After that (such a person) may be taught (the Veda).

5. But those whose great-grandfather's (grandfather's and father's) initiation is not remembered, are called 'burial-grounds.'

6. Intercourse, dining, and intermarriage with them should be avoided. For them, if they like, the (following) penance (is prescribed). (Such a man) shall keep for twelve years the rules prescribed for a student who is studying the three Vedas. Afterwards he may be initiated. Then he shall bathe, reciting the Pāvamāntis and the other (texts mentioned above, I, 1, 2, 2).

7. Then he may be instructed in the duties of a householder.

8. He shall not be taught (the whole Veda), but only the sacred formulas required for the domestic ceremonies.

9. When he has finished this (study of the Gr̥hya-mantras), he may be initiated (after having performed the penance prescribed) for the first neglect (I, 1, 1, 28).

10. Afterwards (everything is performed) as in the case of a regular initiation.

10. The commentator observes that for those whose great-great-grandfather or remoter ancestors were not initiated, no penance is prescribed, and that it must be fixed by those who know the law.

11. He who has been initiated shall dwell as a religious student in the house of his teacher,

12. For forty-eight years (if he learns all the four Vedas),

13. (Or) a quarter less (i. e. for thirty-six years),

14. (Or) less by half (i. e. for twenty-four years),

15. (Or) three quarters less (i.e. for twelve years),

16. Twelve years (should be) the shortest time (for his residence with his teacher).

17. A student who studies the sacred science shall not dwell with anybody else (than his teacher).

18. Now (follow) the rules for the studentship.

19. He shall obey his teacher, except (when ordered to commit) crimes which cause loss of caste.

20. He shall do what is serviceable to his teacher, he shall not contradict him.

21. He shall always occupy a couch or seat lower (than that of his teacher).

11. Manu II, 164.

12. Manu III, 1, and Yâgñ. I, 36; Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 125.

16. The commentator declares that in Manu III, 1, the expression 'until he has learnt it,' must be understood in this sense, that the pupil may leave his teacher, if he has learnt the Veda, after twelve years' study, never before. But compare also Âsv. Gri. Sû. I, 22, 3.

17. The commentator states that this rule refers only to a temporary, not to a professed student (*naish/hika*). He also gives an entirely different explanation to the Sûtra, which, according to some, means, 'A student who learns the sacred science shall not fast in order to obtain heaven.' This rendering also is admissible, as the word *para* may mean either a 'stranger' or 'heaven,' and *upavâsa*, 'dwelling' or 'fasting.'

19. Regarding the crimes which cause loss of caste (*patanîya*), see below, I, 7, 21, 7.

20. Manu II, 108, and Yâgñ. I, 27.

21. Manu II, 108, 198; Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 123 and 124.

22. He shall not eat food offered (at a sacrifice to the gods or the Manes),

23. Nor pungent condiments, salt, honey, or meat.

24. He shall not sleep in the day-time.

25. He shall not use perfumes.

26. He shall preserve chastity.

27. He shall not embellish himself (by using ointments and the like).

28. He shall not wash his body (with hot water for pleasure).

29. But, if it is soiled by unclean things, he shall clean it (with earth or water), in a place where he is not seen by a Guru.

30. Let him not sport in the water whilst bathing; let him swim (motionless) like a stick.

31. He shall wear all his hair tied in one braid.

32. Or let him make a braid of the lock on the crown of the head, and shave the rest of the hair.

23. Regarding the meaning of kshâra, 'pungent condiments,' see Haradatta on II, 6, 15, 15. Other commentators explain the term differently.—Manu II, 177; Yâgñ. I, 33; and Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 123. Âsv. Grî. Sû. I, 22, 2.

25. Manu II, 177; Yâgñ. I, 33.

26. Manu II, 180.

27. Manu II, 178; Yâgñ. I, 33.

29. 'Here, in the section on the teacher, the word guru designates the father and the rest also.'—Haradatta.

30. Another version of the first portion of this Sûtra, proposed by Haradatta, is, 'Let him not, whilst bathing, clean himself (with bathing powder or the like).' Another commentator takes Sûtra 28 as a prohibition of the daily bath or washing generally ordained for Brâhmanas, and refers Sûtra 29 to the naimittika snâna or 'bathing on certain occasions,' and takes Sûtra 30 as a restriction of the latter.

31. Manu II, 219.

33. The girdle of a Brâhmana shall be made of Muñga grass, and consist of three strings; if possible, (the strings) should be twisted to the right.

34. A bowstring (should be the girdle) of a Kshatriya,

35. Or a string of Muñga grass in which pieces of iron have been tied.

36. A wool thread (shall be the girdle) of a Vaisya,

37. Or a rope used for yoking the oxen to the plough, or a string made of Tamala-bark.

38. The staff worn by a Brâhmana should be made of Palâsa wood, that of a Kshatriya of a branch of the Banian tree, which grows downwards, that of a Vaisya of Bâdara or Udumbara wood. Some declare, without any reference to caste, that the staff of a student should be made of the wood of a tree (that is fit to be used at the sacrifice).

39. (He shall wear) a cloth (to cover his nakedness).

40. (It shall be made) of hemp for a Brâhmana, of flax (for a Kshatriya), of the skin of a (clean) animal (for a Vaisya).

41. Some declare that the (upper) garment (of a Brâhmana) should be dyed with red Lodh,

33. Manu II, 42-44; Yâgñ. I, 29; Âsv. Gri. Sû. I, 19, 12; Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 23.

38. Manu II, 45; Yâgñ. I, 29; Âsv. Gri. Sû. I, 19, 13; 20, 1; Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 23.

Haradatta gives no commentary on this Sûtra, but refers back to the Grîhya-sûtra, 11, 16-17, where the same words occur.

39. The word forms a Sûtra by itself, in order to show that every one must wear this cloth.

40. Manu II, 41. 'Clean' means here and everywhere else, if applied to animals or things, 'fit to be used at the sacrifice.'

41. Âsv. Gri. Sû. I, 19, 11; Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 22.

PRASNA I, PATALA 1, KHANDA 3.

1. And that of a Kshatriya dyed with madder,
2. And that of a Vaisya dyed with turmeric.
3. (The skin) worn by a Brâhmana shall be that of a common deer or of a black doe.
4. If he wears a black skin, let him not spread it (on the ground) to sit or lie upon it.
5. (The skin worn) by a Kshatriya shall be that of a spotted deer.
6. (The skin worn) by a Vaisya shall be that of a he-goat.
7. The skin of a sheep is fit to be worn by all castes,
8. And a blanket made of wool.
9. He who wishes the increase of Brâhmana power shall wear skins only ; he who wishes the increase of Kshatriya power shall wear cloth only ; he who wishes the increase of both shall wear both (skin and cloth). Thus says a Brâhmana.
10. But (I, Âpastamba, say), let him wear a skin only as his upper garment.
11. Let him not look at dancing.
12. Let him not go to assemblies (for gambling, &c.), nor to crowds (assembled at festivals).

3. 3. Manu II, 41 ; Yâgñ. I, 29 ; Âsv. Gri. Sû. I, 19, 10.

9. See also Gopatha-brâhmana I, 2, 4.

10. According to I, 1, 2, 39—I, 1, 3, 10, the rule of dress for students is the following:—According to Âpastamba, a student shall wear a piece of cloth to cover his nakedness (*langoî*), and a skin as upper garment. Other teachers allow, besides, an upper dress of cloth, coloured differently for the different castes, with or without the addition of a deer-skin.

11. Manu II, 178.

12-13. Manu II, 179 ; Yâgñ. I, 33.

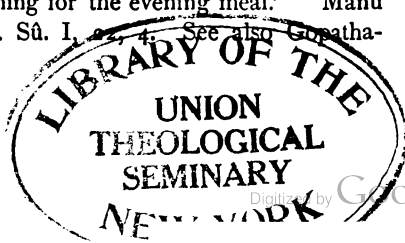
13. Let him not be addicted to gossiping.
14. Let him be discreet.
15. Let him not do anything for his own pleasure in places which his teacher frequents.
16. Let him talk with women so much (only) as his purpose requires.
17. (Let him be) forgiving.
18. Let him restrain his organs from seeking illicit objects.
19. Let him be untired in fulfilling his duties ;
20. Modest ;
21. Possessed of self-command ;
22. Energetic ;
23. Free from anger ;
24. (And) free from envy.
25. Bringing all he obtains to his teacher, he shall go begging with a vessel in the morning and in the evening, (and he may) beg (from everybody) except low-caste people unfit for association (with Âryas) and Abhisastas.

15. 'Anything for his own pleasure,' i.e. keeping conversations with friends, making his toilet, &c.

19. The explanations of the last two terms, *sânta* (Sûtra 18) and *dânta* (Sûtra 19), are different from those given usually. *Sama* is usually explained as 'the exclusive direction of the mind towards God,' and *dama* as 'the restraining of the senses.'

23. Manu II, 178.

25. Regarding the explanation of the term *Abhisasta*, see below, I, 7, 21, 17. Haradatta: 'Apapâtras are called those born from a high-caste mother and a low-caste father, such as washermen. For their cooking vessels &c. are unfit for the use of the four castes. . . . Since Âpastamba says, "In the evening and in the morning, food obtained in the evening must not be used for the morning meal, nor food obtained in the morning for the evening meal." ' Manu II, 182, 183, 185; Âsv. Gri. Sû. I, 2, 4. See also Gopatha-brâhmana I, 2, 6.



26. A Brâhmana declares: Since a devout student takes away from women, who refuse (to give him alms, the merit gained) by (Srauta)-sacrifices, by gifts, (and) by burnt-offerings (offered in the domestic fire), as well as their offspring, their cattle, the sacred learning (of their families), therefore, indeed, (a woman) should not refuse (alms) to the crowd of students; for amongst those (who come to beg), there might be one of that (devout) kind, one who thus (conscientiously) keeps his vow.

27. Alms (shall) not (be considered) leavings (and be rejected) by inference (from their appearance), but on the strength of ocular or oral testimony (only).

28. A Brâhmana shall beg, prefacing (his request) by the word 'Lady';

29. A Kshatriya (inserting the word) 'Lady' in the middle (between the words 'give alms');

30. A Vaisya, adding the word 'Lady' (at the end of the formula).

31. (The pupil) having taken those (alms) shall place them before his teacher and offer them to him.

32. He may eat (the food) after having been ordered to do so by his teacher.

27. To eat the residue of the meal of any person except that left by the teacher and other Gurus, is not permitted to a student; see also below, I, 1, 4, 1 seq.; Manu II, 56; Yâgñ. I, 33.

28. The formula to be used by a Brâhmana is, 'Lady, give alms; ' that to be used by a Kshatriya, 'Give, lady, alms;' and that used by a Vaisya, 'Give alms, lady.' Manu II, 49; Yâgñ. I, 30; Âsv. Gri. Sû. I, 22, 8.

31. The words with which he announces the alms are, Idam ittham âhrîtam, 'this much have I received.' Manu II, 51; Yâgñ. I, 27; Âsv. Gri. Sû. I, 22, 10.

32. The answer of the teacher is, Saumya tvameva bhuñkshva, 'friend, eat thou.'

33. If the teacher is absent, the pupil (shall offer the food) to (a member of) the teacher's family.

34. If the (family of the teacher) is (also) absent, the pupil (may offer the food) to other learned Brâhmanas (Srotriyas) also (and receive from them the permission to eat).

35. He shall not beg for his own sake (alone).

36. After he has eaten, he himself shall clean his dish.

37. And he shall leave no residue (in his dish).

38. If he cannot (eat all that he has taken in his dish), he shall bury (the remainder) in the ground ;

39. Or he may throw it into the water ;

40. Or he may place (all that remains in a pot), and put it down near an (uninitiated) Ârya ;

41. Or (he may put it down) near a Sûdra slave (belonging to his teacher).

42. If (the pupil) is on a journey, he shall throw

34. Regarding the term Srotriya, see below, II, 3, 6, 4.

35. 'The meaning of this Sûtra is, that the rule given, Sûtra 42 (below), for a pupil who is on a journey, shall hold good also for a pupil who is at home, if (in the absence of his teacher) no Srotriyas are to be found (from whom he can receive the permission to eat).'—Haradatta.

36. 'He commits no sin, if he has the alms-pot cleaned by somebody else. Some say that the Sûtra refers to both vessels (the alms-pot and his own dish).'

40. An Ârya is a person belonging to one of the first three castes (see below). The Ârya must be a boy who is not initiated, because children are kâmbhakshâḥ, i.e. allowed to eat what they like, even leavings.

42. This rule holds good if no Srotriyas are near. If Srotriyas are to be found, Sûtra 34 applies. Agni, the god of fire, is considered to be of the Brahminical caste, and hence he takes the place of the teacher or of the Srotriyas. See also Manu II, 247,

a part of the alms into the fire and eat (the remainder).

43. Alms are declared to be sacrificial food. In regard to them the teacher (holds the position which) a deity (holds in regard to food offered at a sacrifice).

44. And (the teacher holds also the place which) the Âhavanîya fire occupies (at a sacrifice, because a portion of the alms is offered in the fire of his stomach).

45. To him (the teacher) the (student) shall offer (a portion of the alms),

PRASNA I, PATALA 1, KHANDA 4.

1. And (having done so) eat what is left.

2. For this (remnant of food) is certainly a remnant of sacrificial food.

3. If he obtains other things (besides food, such as cattle or fuel, and gives them to his teacher) as he obtains them, then those (things hold the place of) rewards (given to priests for the performance of a sacrifice).

4. This is the sacrifice to be performed daily by a religious student.

5. And (the teacher) shall not give him anything that is forbidden by the revealed texts, (not even as) leavings,

6. Such as pungent condiments, salt, honey, or meat (and the like).

248, and the passages collected from the Brâhmanas, by Prof. Weber, Ind. Stud. IX, 39.

44. Manu II, 231.

4. 6. See above, I, 1, 2, 23.

7. By this (last Sûtra it is) explained (that) the other restrictions (imposed upon a student, such as abstinence from perfumes, ointments, &c., are likewise not to be broken).

8. For (explicit) revealed texts have greater force than custom from which (the existence of a permissive passage of the revelation) may be inferred.

9. Besides (in this particular case) a (worldly) motive for the practice is apparent.

7. See above, I, 1, 2, 24 seq. :—According to Haradatta, teachers were in the habit of giving ointments and the like forbidden substances to their pupils, and Âpastamba gives this rule in order to show his dissent from the practice.

8. 'Ânumânika means "proper to be inferred from." For the existence of a text of the revelation or tradition (Smṛiti) is inferred from custom. A visible text of the revelation is (however) of greater weight than a custom from which the existence of a text may be inferred. It is impossible to infer (the existence of a text) which is opposed to such (a visible text), on account of the maxim "an inference (can be made only, if it is) not opposed (by ocular proof)." (Âpastamba), by speaking thus, ("For revealed texts," &c.,) shows that the rule forbidding a student to eat pungent condiments, salt &c. is based on the existing text of a Brâhmaṇa.'—Haradatta.

9. 'Though the text forbidding the use of pungent condiments, salt, and the like refers to such substances if they are not leavings, still it is improper to assert, on the ground of the custom from which a permissive text may be inferred, that it (the existing text), which is general, must be restricted (to those cases only) where the forbidden substances are not leavings given by the teacher. (If an opponent should answer that) certainly there are also texts which contradict each other, such as "he takes" and "he does not take," and that therefore there is no reason why a text restricted (to the case in which forbidden substances are leavings of the teacher) should not be inferred. In order to answer (that plea), he (Âpastamba) says (Sûtra 9), "True, that would be right if no motive whatever could be discovered for that custom (to eat forbidden food which is given by the teacher). But a reason for this course of action exists."—Haradatta.

10. For pleasure is obtained (by eating or using the forbidden substances).

11. A residue of food left by a father and an elder brother, may be eaten.

12. If they act contrary to the law, he must not eat (their leavings).

13. In the evening and in the morning he shall fetch water in a vessel (for the use of his teacher).

14. Daily he shall fetch fuel from the forest, and place it on the floor (in his teacher's house).

15. He shall not go to fetch firewood after sunset.

16. After having kindled the fire, and having swept the ground around (the altar), he shall place

10. 'What is that (reason)? [Sûtra 10] For to eat pungent condiments, salt, &c. gives pleasure to the eater, and therefore according to the maxim, I, 4, 12, 11, "That in case a custom has pleasure for its motive, there is no text of the holy law to authorise it," no text restricting (the prohibition of forbidden substances to the case in which a Brahmatârin does not receive them as leavings from his teacher) can be inferred (from the practice of eating such leavings).—Haradatta.

12. Another explanation of this Sûtra is given by Haradatta: 'If by eating their leavings he should commit a sin (because the food contains salt &c.), he shall not do it.'

13. Manu II, 182.

14. The reason for placing the fuel on the ground is, according to Haradatta, the fear lest, if placed on some shelf or the like, it should tumble down and injure the teacher's children. Others, however, are of opinion that the wood which the pupil fetches daily, is not to be used by the teacher for cooking, but for the performance of the pupil's daily fire-offering. The reason for this interpretation is, that in the *Gr̥hya-sûtra*, 11, 24, the daily offering of fuel is enjoined with the same words. See Weber, *Ind. Stud.* X, 123; Manu II, 186.

16. Some explain, instead of 'after having swept the ground around the altar,' &c., 'after having raked the scattered brands into a heap.'—Haradatta.

the sacred fuel on the fire every morning and evening, according to the prescription (of the *Grihya-sûtra*).

17. Some say that the fire is only to be worshipped in the evening.

18. He shall sweep the place around the fire after it has been made to burn (by the addition of fuel), with his hand, and not with the broom (of *Kusa* grass).

19. But, before (adding the fuel, he is free to use the broom) at his pleasure.

20. He shall not perform non-religious acts with the residue of the water employed for the fire-worship, nor sip it.

21. He shall not sip water which has been stirred with the hand, nor such as has been received into one hand only.

22. And he shall avoid sleep (whilst his teacher is awake).

23. Then (after having risen) he shall assist his teacher daily by acts tending to the acquisition of spiritual merit and of wealth.

24. Having served (his teacher during the day in this manner, he shall say when going to bed): I have protected the protector of the law (my teacher).

18. *Âp. Gri. Sû. 11, 22.*

20. During the fire-worship water is wanted for sprinkling the altar in various ways.

23. Acts tending to the acquisition of merit are here—collecting sacred fuel, *Kusa* grass, and flowers for sacrifices. Acts tending to the acquisition of wealth are—gathering fuel for cooking, &c. *Manu* II, 182; *Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 123 and 124.*

24. Another explanation of the words spoken by the student is, 'O law, I have protected him; protect thou me.' See also *Gopatha-brâhmaṇa I, 2, 4.*

25. If the teacher transgresses the law through carelessness or knowingly, he shall point it out to him privately.

26. If (the teacher) does not cease (to transgress), he himself shall perform the religious acts (which ought to be performed by the former) ;

27. Or he may return home.

28. Now of him who rises before (his teacher) and goes to rest after (him), they say that he does not sleep.

29. The student who thus entirely fixes his mind there (in the teacher's family), has thereby performed all acts which yield rewards (such as the *Gyotish-toma*), and also those which must be performed by a householder.

PRASNA I, PATALA 2, KHANDA 5.

1. The word 'austerity' (must be understood to apply) to (the observance of) the rules (of student-ship).

2. If they are transgressed, study drives out the knowledge of the Veda acquired already, from the (offender) and from his children.

26. Compare above, I, 1, 1, 13.

29. The Sûtra refers to a *naish/hika brahmaâtârin* or professed student, who never leaves his teacher's family, and never enters any other order; and it declares his merit to be equal to that of one who becomes a householder. Manu II, 243, 244; Yâgñ. I, 49, 50.

5. 1. Manu II, 164.

2. The meaning of the phrase, 'Study drives out the Veda, which has already been learnt from him who studies transgressing the rules prescribed for the student,' is, 'The Veda recited at the *Brahmayagña* (daily study), and other religious rites, produces no effect, i.e. gains no merit for the reciter.' Manu II, 97. Hara-

3. Besides he will go to hell, and his life will be shortened.

4. On account of that (transgression of the rules of studentship) no *Rishis* are born amongst the men of later ages.

5. But some in their new birth, on account of a residue of the merit acquired by their actions (in former lives), become (similar to) *Rishis* by their knowledge (of the Veda),

6. Like *Svetaketu*.

7. And whatever else, besides the Veda, (a student) who obeys the rules learns from his teacher, that brings the same reward as the Veda.

8. Also, if desirous to accomplish something (be

datta gives also the following three explanations of this *Sûtra*, adopted by other commentators:—

a. If these (rules) are transgressed, he loses his capacity for learning, because the Brahman forsakes him, &c.

b. If these rules are transgressed, the capacity for learning and the Brahman leave him, &c.

c. From him who studies whilst transgressing these rules, the Brahman goes out, &c.

4. 'Amongst the avaras means "amongst the men of modern times, those who live in the Kaliyuga." No *Rishis* are born means "there are none who see (receive the revelation of) Mantras, Vedic texts."—Haradatta.

5. 'How is it then that men in our days, though they transgress the rules prescribed for students, learn the four Vedas with little trouble? (The answer is), By virtue of a residue of the reward (due) for the proper observance of those rules (of studentship) in a former Yuga. Therefore *Âpastamba* says, *Sûtra* 6, "But some," &c. New existence means "new birth (life)."—Haradatta.

6. An example of this (follows, *Sûtra* 6): 'Like *Svetaketu*. For *Svetaketu* learned the four Vedas in a short time; as we read in the *Khândogya Upanishad* (*Prapâṭhaka* VI, 1).—Haradatta.

7. 'Whatever else besides the Veda, such as poison-charms and the like.'—Haradatta.

it good or evil), he thinks it in his mind, or pronounces it in words, or looks upon it with his eye, even so it will be; thus teach (those who know the law).

9. (The duties of a student consist in) acts to please the spiritual teacher, the observance (of rules) conducive to his own welfare, and industry in studying.

10. Acts other than these need not be performed by a student.

11. A religious student who retains what he has learned, who finds pleasure in the fulfilment of the law, who keeps the rules of studentship, who is upright and forgiving, attains perfection.

12. Every day he shall rise in the last watch of the night, and standing near his teacher, salute him with (this) salutation: I, N. N., ho! (salute thee.)

13. And (he shall salute) before the morning meal also other very aged (learned Brâhmanas) who may live in the same village.

14. If he has been on a journey, (he shall salute

9. 'Acts to please the teacher are—washing his feet and the like; observance (of rules) conducive to welfare are—obedience to the prohibition to cross a river swimming, to eat pungent condiments, and obedience to the injunction to beg.'—Haradatta.

10. 'Acts other than these, such as pilgrimages and the like.'—Haradatta.

11. 'What this "perfection" is has been declared in Sûtras 7, 8.'—Haradatta.

12. Manu II, 122 and 124.

14. This salutation is to be performed only when the occasion requires it. The formerly-mentioned salutation (Sûtras 12, 13) is to be performed daily. In the next Sûtra follows that by which the fulfilment of a wish may be obtained.—Haradatta. Manu II, 121; Yâgñ. I, 26.

the persons mentioned) when he meets them on his return.

15. (He may also salute the persons mentioned at other times), if he is desirous of heaven and long life.

16. A Brâhmana shall salute stretching forward his right arm on a level with his ear, a Kshatriya holding it on a level with the breast, a Vaisya holding it on a level with the waist, a Sûdra holding it low, (and) stretching forward the joined hands.

17. And when returning the salute of (a man belonging) to the first (three) castes, the (last syllable of the) name (of the person addressed) is produced to the length of three moras.

18. But when he meets his teacher after sunrise (coming for his lesson), he shall embrace (his feet).

19. On all other occasions he shall salute (him in the manner described above).

20. But some declare that he ought to embrace the (feet of his) teacher (at every occasion instead of saluting him).

21. Having stroked the teacher's right foot with his right hand below and above, he takes hold of it and of the ankle.

22. Some say, that he must press both feet, each with both hands, and embrace them.

23. He shall be very attentive the whole day

16. 'A Vaisya shall salute stretching forth his arm on a level with his middle, i.e. the stomach; others say, on a level with his thigh; the Sûdra stretching it forth low, i.e. on a level with his feet.'—Haradatta.

17. See also Manu II, 125.

18. Manu II, 71.

22. Manu II, 72.

23. Manu II, 191.

long, never allowing his mind to wander from the lesson during the (time devoted to) studying.

24. And (at other times he shall be attentive) to the business of his teacher.

25. And during the time for rest (he shall give) his mind (to doubtful passages of the lesson learnt).

26. And he shall study after having been called by the teacher (and not request the teacher to begin the lesson).

PRASNA I, PATALA 2, KHANDA 6.

1. Every day he shall put his teacher to bed after having washed his (teacher's) feet and after having rubbed him.

2. He shall retire to rest after having received (the teacher's permission).

3. And he shall not stretch out his feet towards him.

4. Some say, that it is not (sinful) to stretch out the feet (towards the teacher), if he be lying on a bed.

5. And he shall not address (the teacher), whilst he himself is in a reclining position.

6. But he may answer (the teacher) sitting (if the teacher himself is sitting or lying down).

7. And if (the teacher) stands, (he shall answer him,) after having risen also.

26. Yâgñ. I, 27; Manu II, 191.

6. 1. Manu II, 209.

2. Manu II, 194.

4. 'But, in Âpastamba's opinion, it is sinful even in this case.'—Haradatta.

5. Manu II, 195.

6. Manu II, 196.

8. He shall walk after him, if he walks.

9. He shall run after him, if he runs.

10. He shall not approach (his teacher) with shoes on his feet, or his head covered, or holding (implements) in his hand.

11. But on a journey or occupied in work, he may approach him (with shoes on, with his head covered, or with implements in his hand),

12. Provided he does not sit down quite near (to his teacher).

13. He shall approach his teacher with the same reverence as a deity, without telling idle stories, attentive and listening eagerly to his words.

14. (He shall not sit near him) with his legs crossed.

15. If (on sitting down) the wind blows from the pupil towards the master, he shall change his place.

16. (He shall sit) without supporting himself with his hands (on the ground),

17. Without leaning against something (as a wall or the like).

18. If the pupil wears two garments, he shall wear the upper one after the fashion of the sacred thread at the sacrifices.

19. But, if he wears a (lower) garment only, he shall wrap it around the lower part of his body.

20. He shall turn his face towards his teacher though the latter does not turn his towards him.

21. He shall sit neither too near to, nor too far (from the teacher),

15. Manu II, 203.

18. At sacrifices the sacred thread passes over the left shoulder and under the right arm. Manu II, 63, and Taitt. Âr. II, 1, 3.

20. Manu II, 197.

22. (But) at such a distance, that (the teacher) may be able to reach him with his arms (without rising).

23. (He shall not sit in such a position) that the wind blows from the teacher, towards himself.

24. (If there is) only one pupil, he shall sit at the right hand (of the teacher).

25. (If there are) many, (they may sit) as it may be convenient.

26. If the master (is not honoured with a seat and) stands, the (pupil) shall not sit down.

27. (If the master is not honoured with a couch) and sits, the (pupil) shall not lie down on a couch.

28. And if the teacher tries (to do something), then (the pupil) shall offer to do it for him, if it is in his power.

29. And, if his teacher is near, he shall not embrace (the feet of) another Guru who is inferior (in dignity);

30. Nor shall he praise (such a person in the teacher's presence) by (pronouncing the name of) his family.

31. Nor shall he rise to meet such an (inferior Guru) or rise after him,

32. Even if he be a Guru of his teacher.

33. But he shall leave his place and his seat, (in order to show him honour.)

23. See Sūtra 15 and Manu quoted there.

29. The term Guru includes a father, maternal uncle, &c. (see above), and these are inferior to the teacher. Manu II, 205.

31-32. 'The pupil is not to show the mentioned marks of respect to any of his own inferior Gurus, even if the person is the Guru, e.g. the maternal uncle, of his teacher.'—Haradatta.

34. Some say, that (he may address) a pupil of his teacher by (pronouncing) his name, if he is also one of his (the pupil's) own Gurus.

35. But towards such a person who is generally revered for some other reason than being the teacher (e.g. for his learning), the (student) should behave as towards his teacher, though he be inferior in dignity to the latter.

36. After having eaten in his (teacher's) presence, he shall not give away the remainder of the food without rising.

37. Nor shall he sip water (after having eaten in the presence of his teacher without rising).

38. (He shall rise) addressing him (with these words), 'What shall I do?'

PRASNA I, PĀṬALA 2, KHANDA 7.

1. Or he may rise silently.

2. Nor shall he (in going away) move around his teacher with his left hand turned towards him; he shall go away after having walked around him with his right side turned towards him.

3. He shall not look at a naked woman.

4. He shall not cut the (leaves or flowers) of herbs or trees, in order to smell at them.

34. 'But Âpastamba's own opinion is that he ought not to address by name a (maternal uncle or other) Guru (who visits his teacher).—Haradatta.

36. According to I, 1, 3, 40 seq., a student shall give what he is unable to eat to a child, or to a slave. If he has eaten in the presence of his teacher, he shall not give the food away without rising for the purpose.

7. 3. Manu IV, 53; Yâgñ. I, 135.

4. Gopatha-brâhmana I, 2, 2.

5. He shall avoid (the use of) shoes, of an umbrella, a chariot, and the like (luxuries).

6. He shall not smile.

7. If he smiles, he shall smile covering (the mouth with his hand); thus says a Brâhmaṇa.

8. He shall not touch a woman with his face, in order to inhale the fragrance of her body.

9. Nor shall he desire her in his heart.

10. Nor shall he touch (a woman at all) without a particular reason.

11. A Brâhmaṇa declares, 'He shall be dusty, he shall have dirty teeth, and speak the truth.'

12. Those teachers, who instructed his teacher in that science which he (the pupil) studies with him, (are to be considered as) spiritual teachers (by the pupil).

13. But if (a teacher), before the eyes of his (pupil), embraces the feet of any other persons, then he (the pupil also) must embrace their feet, (as long as he remains) in that (state of studentship).

5. Manu II, 178.

10. Manu II, 179.

11. 'Though both (these first two precepts) have been given in Sûtra I, 1, 2, 27, still they are repeated, in order to show that a Śrauta penance for the breach of them, is enjoined by a revealed text.'—Haradatta.

12. The term *vamsya*, 'ancestor,' for the teacher's teacher is explained by the circumstance, that Hindus consider a 'school,' consisting of a succession of teachers and pupils, as a spiritual family, and call it a *vidyāvamsa*, *vidyâparamparâ*. Manu II, 205.

13. 'Another (commentator) says, "He, the pupil, must embrace their feet (at every meeting) from that time (when he first saw his teacher do it)." Because the word "but" is used in the Sûtra, he must do so even after he has returned home (on completion of his studies).'—Haradatta.

14. If (a pupil) has more than one teacher, the alms (collected by him) are at the disposal of him to whom he is (just then) bound.

15. When (a student) has returned home (from his teacher), he shall give (whatever he may obtain by begging or otherwise) to his mother.

16. The mother shall give it to her husband;

17. (And) the husband to the (student's) teacher.

18. Or he may use it for religious ceremonies.

19. After having studied as many (branches of) sacred learning as he can, he shall procure in a righteous manner the fee for (the teaching of) the Veda (to be given to his teacher), according to his power.

20. But, if the teacher has fallen into distress, he may take (the fee) from an Ugra or from a Sûdra.

21. But some declare, that it is lawful at any time to take the money for the teacher from an Ugra or from a Sûdra.

14. 'More than one teacher,' i.e. several, who have taught him the several Vedas. Each Brahman generally knowing one Veda only.

This passage shows, that the young Brahmins in olden time, just as now, went from one teacher to the other, learning from each what he knew. The rules, which seemingly enjoin a pupil to stay with one and the same teacher, refer only to the principle, that the pupil must stay with his teacher, until he has learnt the subject which he began with him.

18. 'Religious ceremonies, i.e. the wedding and the like. For them he may use it optionally. He, i.e. on failure of the teacher; the father, on failure of the father; the mother, on failure of all (the pupil) himself.'—Haradatta.

19. Manu II, 245 and 246; Yâgy. I, 51; Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 125.

20. 'The word Ugra denotes either the offspring of a Vaisya and of a Sûdra woman, or a twice-born man, who perpetrates dreadful deeds.'—Haradatta.

22. And having paid (the fee), he shall not boast of having done so.

23. And he shall not remember what he may have done (for his teacher).

24. He shall avoid self-praise, blaming others, and the like.

25. If he is ordered (by his teacher to do something), he shall do just that.

26. On account of the incompetence of his teacher, (he may go) to another (and) study (there).

27. He shall behave towards his teacher's wife as towards the teacher himself, but he shall not embrace her feet, nor eat the residue of her food.

28. So also (shall he behave) towards him who teaches him at (the teacher's) command,

29. And also to a fellow-student who is superior (in learning and years).

30. He shall behave to his teacher's son (who is superior to himself in learning or years) as to his teacher, but not eat the residue of his food.

31. Though he may have returned home, the

24. Manu II, 179.

26. See above, I, 1, 1, 13, and note. Here also Haradatta states that the permission to leave the teacher is to be restricted to those who have not solemnly bound themselves to their teacher by allowing him to perform the ceremony of initiation.

27. Manu II, 208-212.

28. 'The use of the present "adhyâpayati," shows that this rule holds good only for the time during which he is taught by such a man.'—Haradatta.

29. 'Because (an older fellow-student) is of use to him, according to the verse: One-fourth (of his learning) a pupil receives from his teacher, one-fourth he acquires by his own intelligence, one-fourth from his fellow-students, one-fourth he is taught by time.'—Haradatta.

30. Manu II, 207-209.

behaviour towards his (teacher and the rest) which is prescribed by the rule of conduct settled by the agreement (of those who know the law, must be observed by him to the end),

PRASNA I, PATALA 2, KHANDA 8.

1. Just as by a student (actually living with his teacher).

2. He may wear garlands, anoint his face (with sandal), oil his hair and moustaches, smear his eyelids (with collyrium), and (his body) with oil, wear a turban, a cloth round his loins, a coat, sandals, and wooden shoes.

3. Within the sight of his (teacher or teacher's relations) he shall do none of those (actions, as putting on a garland), nor cause them to be done.

4. Nor (shall he wear garlands &c. whilst performing) acts for his pleasure,

5. As, for instance, cleaning his teeth, shampooing, combing the hair, and the like.

6. And the teacher shall not speak of the goods of the (pupil) with the intention to obtain them.

7. But some declare, that, if a pupil who has bathed (after completing his studies) is called by his teacher or has gone to see him, he shall not take off

8. 1. Haradatta does not connect this Sûtra with the preceding one. He explains it by itself: '(We will now declare) how a student (who has left his teacher, but is not married) ought to behave.'

6. 'If the teacher comes to the house of his (former) pupil (who has become a householder), he shall, for instance, not say, "Oh, what a beautiful dish!" in such a manner, that his desire to obtain it becomes apparent.'—Haradatta.

7. This opinion is contrary to Âpastamba's view given in Sûtras 2 and 3 above.

that (garland or other ornaments) which he wears according to the law at the time (of that ceremony).

8. He shall not sit on a seat higher (than that of his teacher),

9. Nor on a seat that has more legs (than that of his teacher),

10. Nor on a seat that stands more firmly fixed (on the ground than that of his teacher),

11. Nor shall he sit or lie on a couch or seat which is used (by his teacher).

12. If he is ordered (by his teacher), he shall on a journey ascend a carriage after him.

13. (At his teacher's command) he shall also enter an assembly, ascend a roller (which his teacher drags along), sit on a mat of fragrant grass or a couch of straw (together with his teacher).

14. If not addressed by a Guru, he shall not speak to him, except (in order to announce) good news.

15. He shall avoid to touch a Guru (with his finger), to whisper (into his ear), to laugh (into his face), to call out to him, to pronounce his name or to give him orders and the like (acts).

10. 'When he gives to his teacher a wooden seat (with legs), he shall not sit on a cane-seat (without legs), for the latter touches the ground on all sides.'—Haradatta.

11. Manu II, 119.

12. This rule is an exception to I, 2, 7, 5. Manu II, 204.

13. 'The roller is an implement used by husbandmen, with which the ploughed land is made even. If one person ascends it and another drags it along, the ground becomes even. If that is dragged by the teacher, the pupil shall ascend it at his command. He shall not disobey from fear of the unseemliness of the action.'—Haradatta.

15. Manu II, 199; regarding the term Guru, see above, I, 2, 6, 29.

16. In time of need he may attract attention (by any of these acts).

17. If (a pupil) resides (in the same village) with (his teacher after the completion of his studies), he shall go to see him every morning and evening, without being called.

18. And if he returns from a journey, he shall (go to) see him on the same day.

19. If his teacher and his teacher's teacher meet, he shall embrace the feet of his teacher's teacher, and then show his desire to do the same to his teacher.

20. The other (the teacher) shall (then) forbid it.

21. And (other marks of) respect (due to the teacher) are omitted in the presence of the (teacher's teacher).

22. And (if he does not live in the same village), he shall go frequently to his teacher's residence, in order to see him, and bring him some (present), with his own hand, be it even only a stick for cleaning the teeth. Thus (the duties of a student have been explained).

23. (Now) the conduct of a teacher towards his pupil (will be explained).

24. Loving him like his own son, and full of attention, he shall teach him the sacred science, without hiding anything in the whole law.

25. And he shall not use him for his own purposes to the detriment of his studies, except in times of distress.

17. This and the following Sûtras refer to a person who has finished his studentship, while the preceding ones, from Sûtra 8, apply to the time of studentship also.

24. Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 126.

26. That pupil who, attending to two (teachers), accuses his (principal and first) teacher of ignorance, remains no (longer) a pupil.

27. A teacher also, who neglects the instruction (of his pupil), does no (longer) remain a teacher.

28. If the (pupil) commits faults, (the teacher) shall always reprove him.

29. Frightening, fasting, bathing in (cold) water, and banishment from the teacher's presence are the punishments (which are to be employed), according to the greatness (of the fault), until (the pupil) leaves off (sinning).

30. He shall dismiss (the pupil), after he has performed the ceremony of the Samâvartana and has finished his studentship, with these words, 'Apply thyself henceforth to other duties.'

PRASNA I, PATALA 3, KHANDA 9.

1. After having performed the Upâkarma for studying the Veda on the full moon of the month *Śrâvana* (July–August), he shall for one month not study in the evening.

26. 'Another commentator says, "That pupil who offends his teacher in word, thought, or deed, and directs his mind improperly, i.e. does not properly obey, does not (any longer) remain a pupil."'—Haradatta.

29. But see also Manu VIII, 299, where corporal punishment is permitted.

9. 1. The Upâkarma is the ceremony which is performed every year at the beginning of the course of study. It is in fact the solemn opening of the Brahmanic term. 'Because Âpastamba uses the word evening (i.e. first part of the night) it is not sinful to study later in the night.'—Haradatta. Manu IV, 95; Yâgy. I, 142, 143; Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 130 and 134.

2. On the full moon of the month of Pausha (December–January), or under the constellation Rohini, he shall leave off reading the Veda.

3. Some declare, (that he shall study) for four months and a half.

4. He shall avoid to study the Veda on a high-road.

5. Or he may study it (on a high-road), after having smeared (a space) with cowdung.

6. He shall never study in a burial-ground nor anywhere near it within the throw of a Samyâ.

7. If a village has been built over (a burial-ground) or its surface has been cultivated as a field, the recitation of the Veda (in such a place) is not prohibited.

8. But if that place is known to have been (a burial-ground), he shall not study (there).

2. The term lasts therefore for five months; (i.e. latter half of Srâvana, Bhâdrapada, Âsvina, Kârttika, Mârgasirsha, and the first half of Pausha.) The Rohini-day of Pausha is meant.

3. 'According to this latter opinion the Upâkarma should be performed on the full moon of Bhâdrapada, as has been taught in another work (Manu IV, 95); the (time of the) Utsargana, (the solemn closing of the term) should be advanced; and after the Utsargana has been performed, one may study the Veda during the light nights of each month until the full moon of Srâvana, in order to fix in one's mind the part learned already; and in the dark fortnight of each month one may study the Vedâṅgas, i.e. grammar and the rest (Manu IV, 98). On the full moon of Srâvana the Upâkarma should be performed once more, and that part of the Veda should be studied which has not yet been learned.'—Haradatta.

4. Nigamâḥ, 'high-roads,' are squares and the like.—Haradatta.

6. The Samyâ is either the pin in the bullock's yoke or the round stick, about a foot and a half in length, which is used for the preparation of the Vedi. Manu IV, 116; Yâgñ. I, 148.

8. 'Nor anywhere near it within the throw of a Samyâ.' This must be understood from Sûtra 6.

9. A Sûdra and an outcast are (included by the term) burial-ground, (and the rule given, Sûtra 6, applies to them).

10. Some declare, that (one ought to avoid only, to study) in the same house (where they dwell).

11. But if (a student and) a Sûdra woman merely look at each other, the recitation of the Veda must be interrupted,

12. Likewise, if (a student and) a woman, who has had connexion with a man of a lower caste, (look at each other).

13. If he, who is about to study the Veda, wishes to talk to a woman during her courses, he shall first speak to a Brâhmana and then to her, then again speak to a Brâhmana, and afterwards study. Thereby the children (of that woman) will be blessed.

14. (He shall not study in a village) in which a corpse lies ;

15. Nor in such a one where *Kândâlas* live.

16. He shall not study whilst corpses are being carried to the boundary of the village,

17. Nor in a forest, if (a corpse or *Kândâla*) is within sight.

18. And if outcasts have entered the village, he shall not study on that day,

9. *Yâgñ. I, 148.*

13. The last part of the Sûtra may also be interpreted : ' Thus she will be blessed with children.'—Haradatta.

14. *Manu IV, 108 ; Yâgñ. I, 148.*

18. Haradatta explains *Bâhya*, ' outcasts,' by ' robbers, such as *Ugras* and *Nishâdas*.' But, I think, it means simply such outcasts as live in the forest or outside the village in the *Vâdî*, like the *Dhars*, *Mahârs*, *Mângs* of the present day. Most of these tribes, however, are or were given to thieving. See *Kullûka* on *Manu X, 28*, and the *Petersburg Dict. s. v.*

19. Nor if good men (have come).
20. If it thunders in the evening, (he shall not study) during the night.
21. If lightning is seen (in the evening, he shall not study during that night), until he has slept.
22. If lightning is seen about the break of dawn, or at the time when he may distinguish at the distance of a *Samyâ*-throw, whether (a cow) is black or red, he shall not study during that day, nor in the following evening.
23. If it thunders in the second part of the third watch of the night, (he shall not study during the following day or evening).
24. Some (declare, that this rule holds good, if it thunders), after the first half of the night has passed.
25. (Nor shall he study) whilst the cows are prevented from leaving (the village on account of thieves and the like),
26. Nor (on the imprisonment of criminals) whilst they are being executed.
27. He shall not study whilst he rides on beasts (of burden).
28. At the new moon, (he shall not study) for two days and two nights.

19. *Yâgñ. I, 150.*

20. *Manu IV, 106; Yâgñ. I, 145.* 'This rule refers to the rainy season. (For thunder) at other (seasons) he orders below a longer (cessation).—*Haradatta.*

27. *Manu IV, 120; Yâgñ. I, 151.*

28. "'For two days," i.e. on the day of the new moon and the preceding one, the fourteenth of the half month.'—*Haradatta.* *Manu IV, 113; Yâgñ. I, 146.*

PRASNA I, PATALA 3, KHANDA 10.

1. (Nor shall he study) on the days of the full moons of those months in which the *Kâturmâsya*-sacrifice may be performed (nor on the days preceding them).

2. At the time of the *Vedotsarga*, on the death of Gurus, at the *Ashṭakâ-Srâddha*, and at the time of the *Upâkarma*, (he shall not study) for three days ;

3. Likewise if near relations have died.

4. (He shall not study) for twelve days, if his mother, father, or teacher have died.

5. If these (have died), he must (also) bathe for the same number of days.

6. Persons who are younger (than the relation deceased), must shave (their hair and beard).

10. 1. The three full-moon days are *Phâlgunî* (February–March), *Âshâdhi* (June–July), *Kârtikî* (October–November).

2. The construction is very irregular, the first noun standing in the nominative and the rest in the locative. A similar irregularity occurs below, I, 3, 11, 31. The *Vedotsarga* is the ceremony which is performed at the end of the Brahmanic term, in January. 'In the case of the death of a Guru, the vacation begins with the day on which the death occurs. On the other occasions mentioned he shall not study on the day preceding (the ceremony), on the day (of the ceremony), nor on the day following it.'—Haradatta. *Manu* IV, 119; *Yâgñ.* I, 144. 'The Gurus' intended here, are fathers-in-law, uncles, &c.

3. 'This rule applies to a student only. It is known from another work that those who have been infected by impurity (on the death of a relation), must not study whilst the impurity lasts.'—Haradatta. *Yâgñ.* I, 144.

6. The word *anubhâvinaḥ*, interpreted by Haradatta as 'persons who are younger than the deceased,' is explained in different ways by others ; firstly, as 'the mourners,' and secondly, as 'Samânodakas or gentiles beyond the sixth degree.' In the latter case the *Sûtra* ought to be translated thus : 'On the death of gentiles beyond the sixth degree, (the head) ought to be shaved.'

7. Some declare, that students who have returned home on completion of their studentship, shall never shave, except if engaged in the initiation to a Srauta-sacrifice.

8. Now a Brâhmana also declares, 'Verily, an empty, uncovered (pot) is he, whose hair is shaved off entirely; the top-lock is his covering.'

9. But at sacrificial sessions the top-lock must be shaved off, because it is so enjoined in the Veda.

10. Some declare, that, upon the death of the teacher, (the reading should be interrupted) for three days and three nights.

11. If (he hears of) the death of a learned Brâhmana (Srottriya) before a full year (since the death) has elapsed, (he shall interrupt his reading) for one night (and day).

12. Some declare, (that the deceased Srottriya must have been) a fellow-student.

13-14. If a learned Brâhmana (Srottriya) has arrived and he is desirous of studying or is actually studying, (or if he is desirous of teaching or is teach-

7. Regarding the Dikshâ 'initiation,' see Aitareya-brâhmana I, 1, and Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 309 seq.

8. Hence it follows that the top-lock should not be shaved off, except in the case mentioned in the following Sûtra.

9. Sattras, 'sacrificial sessions,' are sacrifices which last longer than twelve days.

10. 'But in his opinion it should be twelve days, as declared above, Sûtra 4.'—Haradatta. It appears, therefore, that this Sûtra is to be connected with Sûtra 4.

11. 'Because the word "death" is used here, death only is the reason (for stopping the reading), in the case of Gurus and the rest (i.e. the word "died" must be understood in Sûtra 2 and the following ones).—Haradatta.

ing,) he may study or teach after having received permission (to do so from the Srotriya).

15-16. He may likewise study or teach in the presence of his teacher, if (the latter) has addressed him (saying), 'Ho, study! (or, Ho, teach!).'

17. When a student desires to study or has finished his lesson, he shall at both occasions embrace the feet of his teacher.

18. Or if, whilst they study, another person comes in, he shall continue his recitation, after those words ('Ho, study!') have been pronounced (by the new-comer).

19. The barking of (many) dogs, the braying of (many) asses, the cry of a wolf or of a solitary jackal or of an owl, all sounds of musical instruments, of weeping, and of the Sâman melodies (are reasons for discontinuing the study of the Veda).

20. If another branch of the Veda (is being recited in the neighbourhood), the Sâman melodies shall not be studied.

21. And whilst other noises (are being heard, the recitation of the Veda shall be discontinued), if they mix (with the voice of the person studying).

15-16. Manu II, 73.

17. Manu II, 73.

18. Haradatta states rightly, that the plural ('they study') is useless. According to him, the use of the verb in the singular may be excused thereby, that the advice is addressed to each of the persons engaged in study. Manu IV, 122.

19. The *ekasṛīka*, 'solitary jackal,' is now called *Bālu* or Pheough, and is considered to be the constant companion of a tiger or panther. Its unharmonious cry is, in the present day also, considered to be an evil omen. *Yâgñ.* I, 148; Manu IV, 108, 115 and 123.

21. Manu IV, 121.

22. After having vomited (he shall not study) until he has slept.

23. Or (he may study) having eaten clarified butter (after the attack of vomiting).

24. A foul smell (is a reason for the discontinuance of study).

25. Food turned sour (by fermentation), which he has in his stomach, (is a reason for the discontinuance of the recitation, until the sour rising ceases).

26. (Nor shall he study) after having eaten in the evening,

27. Nor as long as his hands are wet.

28. (And he shall discontinue studying) for a day and an evening, after having eaten food prepared in honour of a dead person (for whom the *Sapindi-karana* has not yet been performed),

29. Or until the food (eaten on that occasion) is digested.

30. But he shall (always) eat in addition (to the meal given in honour of a dead person), food which has not been given at a sacrifice to the Manes.

22. Manu IV, 121.

24. Manu IV, 107; *Yâgñ.* I, 150.

25. Manu IV, 121.

26. 'Therefore he shall sup, after having finished his study.'—Haradatta.

27. Manu IV, 121; *Yâgñ.* I, 149.

28. Manu IV, 112; *Yâgñ.* I, 146.

29. 'If that food has not been digested by the end of that time (i.e. in the evening), he shall not study until it has been digested.'—Haradatta.

30. 'Because in this *Sûtra* the expression "food not given at a *Srâddha*" occurs, some think that the preceding *Sûtra* refers to "food eaten at a *Srâddha*."—Haradatta. This explanation is not at all improbable.

PRASNA I, PĀTALA 3, KHANDA 11.

1. (The recitation of the Veda shall be interrupted for a day and evening if he has eaten), on beginning a fresh Kāṇḍa (of his Veda), food given by a motherless person,

2. And also if he has eaten, on the day of the completion of a Kāṇḍa, food given by a fatherless person.

3. Some declare, that (the recitation shall be interrupted for the same space of time), if he has eaten at a sacrifice offered in honour of gods who were formerly men.

4. Nor is the recitation interrupted, if he has eaten rice received the day before, or raw meat (though these things may have been offered in honour of the dead),

5. Nor (if he has eaten at a funeral dinner) roots or fruits of herbs and trees.

6. When he performs the ceremony for beginning a Kāṇḍa, or when he studies the index of the Anu-

11. 1. The Black Yagur-veda, to which Āpastamba belongs, is divided throughout into books called Kāṇḍas.

3. Haradatta names as such gods, Nandīśvara and Kubera. Other commentators, however, explain Manushyaprakṛiti by Manushyamukha, 'possessing human faces.' A similar rule occurs Gautama XVI, 34, where a Manushyayagña is mentioned as a cause for discontinuing the recitation of the Veda. In his commentary on Gautama, also, Haradatta is in doubt. He first refers the term to the sacraments like the Simantonnayana, and then adds, that some explain it to mean 'a sacrifice to gods who formerly were men.'

4. This Sūtra is an exception to I, 3, 10, 28.

6. Haradatta's commentary on this Sūtra is very meagre, and he leaves the word anuvākyaṃ unexplained. I am not certain that my explanation is correct. But it is countenanced by the statements of the Gṛihya-sūtras regarding the order of studying. Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 132.

vâkas of a (*Kânda*), he shall not study that (*Kânda*) on that day (nor in that night).

7. And if he performs the ceremonies prescribed on beginning or ending the recitation of one entire Veda, he shall not study that Veda (during that day).

8. If the wind roars, or if it whirls up the grass on the ground, or if it drives the rain-drops forward during a rain-shower, (then the recitation shall be interrupted for so long a time as the storm lasts).

9. (Nor shall he study) on the boundary between a village and forest,

10. Nor on a highway.

11. If (some of his) fellow-students are on a journey, he shall not study during that day, (the passage) which they learn together.

12. And whilst performing acts for his pleasure,

13. Such as washing his feet, shampooing or anointing himself,

14. He shall neither study nor teach, as long as he is thus occupied.

7. *Yâgñ. I, 145.* This *Sûtra* is a *Gñâpaka* or 'such a one which indicates the existence of a rule not expressly mentioned.' Above (I, 3, 9, 1) the yearly performance of the *Upâkarma* and *Utsarga* ceremonies for the beginning and end of the Brahmanic term has been prescribed. In this *Sûtra* the performance of the *Upâkarma* and *Utsarga* at the beginning and completion of the *Pârâyana* or the vow to go through a whole Veda is incidentally mentioned. Thence it may be inferred that these ceremonies must be likewise performed on the latter occasions, though no absolute rule to this effect has been given. Such *Gñâpakas* are of frequent occurrence in all *Sûtras*, and constitute one of the chief difficulties of their interpretation.

8. *Yâgñ. I, 149; Manu IV, 102, 122.*

11. Others explain the *Sûtra* thus: 'If he meets fellow-students, after they have come home from a journey, he shall not study with them on that day.'

15. (He shall not study or teach) in the twilight,
16. Nor whilst sitting on a tree,
17. Nor whilst immersed in water,
18. Nor at night with open doors,
19. Nor in the day-time with shut doors.
20. During the spring festival and the festival (of Indra), in the month of Âshâdha (June-July), the study of an Anuvâka is forbidden.
21. (The recitation) of the daily portion of the Veda (at the Brahmayagñâ is likewise forbidden if done) in a manner differing from the rule (of the Veda).
22. (Now follows) the rule (for the daily recitation) of that (Brahmayagñâ).
23. Before taking his morning-meal, he shall go to the water-side, and having purified himself, he shall recite aloud (a portion of the Veda) in a pure

15. Yâgñ. I, 145 ; Manu IV, 113.

16. Yâgñ. I, 151 ; Manu IV, 120.

20. According to Haradatta, Âpastamba uses the word Anuvâka in order to indicate that smaller portions of the Veda may be studied. Others think, that by Anuvâka, the Samhitâ and the Brâhmaṇa are meant, and that the study of the Âṅgas is permitted. The Vasantotsava, or spring-festival, which, according to the Dramas, was, in olden times, kept all over India, falls, according to Haradatta, on the thirteenth of the first half of Kaitra, about the beginning of April.

21. 'Hence, if one has forgotten it and eaten one's breakfast, a penance, not the Brahmayagñâ, must be performed.'—Haradatta.

23. See Taittirîya Âranyaka II, 11, 1 and 11 ; Âsv. Gri. Sû. III, 2, 1-2. In our days this rule is usually not observed. Brâhmaṇas mostly recite at the daily Brahmayagñâ, 'Veda-offering,' one particular formula, which symbolically comprises the whole Veda. A few learned Brâhmaṇa friends, however, have assured me, that they still recite the whole of their Sâkhâ every year according to this rule of Âpastamba.

place, leaving out according to (the order of the) texts (what he has read the day before).

24. If a stoppage of study is enjoined (for the day, he shall recite the daily portion) mentally.

25. If lightning flashes without interruption, or, thunder rolls continually, if a man has neglected to purify himself, if he has partaken of a meal in honour of a dead person, or if hoarfrost lies on the ground, (in these cases) they forbid the mental recitation (of the daily portion of the Veda).

26. Some forbid it only in case one has eaten a funeral dinner.

27. Where lightning, thunder, and rain happen together out of season, the recitation shall be interrupted for three days.

28. Some (declare, that the recitation shall stop) until the ground is dry.

29. If one or two (of the phenomena mentioned in Sûtra 27 appear, the recitation shall be interrupted) from that hour until the same hour next day.

30. In the case of an eclipse of the sun or of the moon, of an earthquake, of a whirlwind, of the fall of a meteor, or of a fire (in the village), at whatever time these events happen, the recitation of all the sacred sciences (Vedas and Aṅgas) must be interrupted from that hour until the same hour next day.

31. If a cloud appears out of season, if the sun or the moon is surrounded by a halo, if a rainbow, a parhelion or a comet appears, if a (high) wind (blows),

25. Yâgñ. I, 149; Manu IV, 106, 120, 127; Taitt. Âr. II, 15, 1.

26. Manu IV, 109, 116.

27. Manu IV, 103 and 104.

30. Yâgñ. I, 145; Manu IV, 105, 118.

31. Manu IV, 104, and see above.

a foul smell (is observed), or hoarfrost (lies on the ground, at all these occasions (the recitation of all the sacred sciences must be interrupted) during the duration (of these phenomena).

32. After the wind has ceased, (the interruption of the recitation continues) for one muhūrta.

33. If (the howl of) a wolf or of a solitary jackal (has been heard, he shall stop the reading) until he has slept.

34. At night (he shall not study) in a wood, where there is no fire nor gold.

35. Out of term he shall not study any part of the Veda which he has not learnt before.

36. Nor (shall he study during term some new part of the Veda) in the evening.

37. That which has been studied before, must never be studied (during the vacation or in the evening).

38. Further particulars (regarding the interruption

32. One muhūrta = 48 minutes.

36. Other commentators interpret the Sūtra in a different sense. They take it to mean: 'And during the night (from the twelfth to the thirteenth of each half of the month, he shall not study at all, be it in or out of term).'

37. 'What has been studied before, must not be studied (again) at any time in the vacation nor in the evening.'—Haradatta.

38. Haradatta thinks that by 'Parishad,' Manu's and other Dharma-sāstras are meant. This explanation is, however, not exact. Parishad, 'assemblage,' means, in the language of the Sāstras, either a Pañch, an assemblage of learned Brahmans called together to decide some knotty point of law, or a Brahminical school, which studies a particular redaction of the Veda (see the Petersburg Dict. s. v.) The latter meaning is that applicable to this Sūtra. By 'Parishadaḥ' are here intended the Vedic schools, and their writings and teaching. Gautama also says, XVI, 49, Prâtividyam yān smaranti smaranti, '(he shall observe the stoppages of the

of the Veda-study may be learnt) from the (teaching and works of other) Vedic schools.

PRASNA I, PATALA 4, KHANDA 12.

1. A Brâhmaṇa declares, 'The daily recitation (of the Veda) is austerity.'

2. In the same (sacred text) it is also declared, 'Whether he recites the daily portion of the Veda standing, or sitting, or lying down, he performs austerity thereby; for the daily recitation is austerity.'

3. Now the Vâgasaneyi-brâhmaṇa declares also, 'The daily recitation is a sacrifice at which the Veda is offered. When it thunders, when lightning flashes or thunderbolts fall, and when the wind blows violently, these sounds take the place of the exclamations Vashaṭ (Vaushaṭ and Svâhâ). Therefore he shall recite the Veda whilst it thunders, whilst lightning flashes and thunderbolts fall, and whilst the wind blows violently, lest the Vashaṭ (should be heard) in vain.'

Veda-study) which they teach in (the writings belonging to) each of the Vedas.'

12. 1. 'It procures as much reward as penance.'—Haradatta. Manu II, 166; Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 113. The phrase occurs frequently in the Brâhmaṇas, e.g. Taitt. Âr. II, 14, 3.

2. Regarding the proper position at the 'Veda-offering,' or daily recitation, see above, I, 3, 11, 23, and Taitt. Âr. II, 11, 3. Passages similar to the first part of the sentence quoted in this Sûtra occur Taitt. Âr. II, 12, 3, and 15, 3. It ought to be observed, that the Taitt. Âr. in both places has the word 'vragan,' which is also read in the P. and P. U. MSS. The second part is taken apparently from the same work, II, 14, 2.

3. See Satapatha-brâhmaṇa XI, 5, 6, 8, where a passage very similar to that quoted by Âpastamba occurs. Vashaṭ and the other exclamations, which are pronounced by the Hotri-priest, serve as signals for the Adhvaryu to throw the oblations into the fire.

4. The conclusion of the passage from that (Vâga-saneyi-brâhmaṇa is found) in another Sâkhâ (of the Veda).

5. 'Now, if the wind blows, or if it thunders, or if lightning flashes, or thunderbolts fall, then he shall recite one *Rik*-verse (in case he studies the *Rig-veda*), or one *Yagus* (in case he studies the *Yagur-veda*), or one *Sâman* (in case he studies the *Sâma-veda*), or (without having regard to his particular Veda, the following *Yagus*), "Bhûh Bhuvaḥ, Suvaḥ, in faith I offer true devotion." Then, indeed, his daily recitation is accomplished thereby for that day.'

6. If that is done, (if the passage of the Vâga-saneyi-brâhmaṇa is combined with that quoted in Sûtra 5, the former stands) not in contradiction with the decision of the Âryas.

7. For they (who know the law) teach both the continuance and the interruption (of the daily recitation of the Veda). That would be meaningless, if one paid attention to the (passage of the) Vâga-saneyi-brâhmaṇa (alone).

8. For no (worldly) motive for the decision of those Âryas is perceptible; (and hence it must have a religious motive and be founded on a passage of the Veda).

9. (The proper interpretation therefore is, that) the prohibition to study (given above and by the

5. 'Some suppose that the words Bhûh Bhuvaḥ and Suvaḥ &c. (are to be used only) if one studies the Brâhmaṇa portion of the Veda, not everywhere.'—Haradatta.

6. Haradatta explains Âryas by *visishâḥ*, 'excellent ones,' i.e. persons who know the law, and he gives Manu as an instance.

8. See above, I, 1, 4, 9 and 10, and notes.

Âryas generally) refers only to the repetition of the sacred texts in order to learn them, not to their application at sacrifices.

10. (But if you ask, why the decision of the Âryas presupposes the existence of a Vedic passage, then I answer): All precepts were (originally) taught in the Brâhmanas, (but) these texts have been lost. Their (former existence) may, however, be inferred from usage.

11. But it is not (permissible to infer the former existence of) a (Vedic) passage in cases where pleasure is obtained (by following a rule of the Smṛiti or a custom).

12. He who follows such (usages) becomes fit for hell.

13. Now follow (some rites and) rules that have been declared in the Brâhmanas.

14. By way of laudation they are called 'great sacrifices' or 'great sacrificial sessions.'

15. (These rites include): The daily Bali-offering

10. How then is their existence known? 'They are inferred from usage.' "Usage" means the teaching of the law-books and the practice. From that it is inferred that Manu and other (authors of law-books) knew such texts of the Brâhmanas. For how could otherwise (Rishis like Manu) teach in their works or practise (such customs) for which no authority is now found? And certainly they were intimately connected with the revealed texts (i.e. saw them).—Haradatta.

11. Compare above, I, 1, 4, 8-10.

13. The consequence of the introduction of these rules into a Smṛiti work is, that their omission must be expiated by a Smārta penance and not by a Srauta one.

14. The commentator observes, that, as these rites are called 'great sacrifices,' by way of laudation only, the particular laws binding on performers of real Soma-sacrifices cannot be transferred to the performers of these ceremonies. Regarding the

to the (seven classes of) beings ; the (daily) gift of (food) to men according to one's power;

PRASNA I, PATALA 4, KHANDA 13.

1. The oblation to the gods accompanied by the exclamation Svâhâ, which may consist even of a piece of wood only ; the offering to the Manes accompanied by the exclamation Svadhâ, which may consist even of a vessel with water only ; the daily recitation.

2. Respect must be shown to those who are superior by caste,

3. And also to (persons of the same caste who are) venerable (on account of learning, virtue, and the like).

4. A man elated (with success) becomes proud, a proud man transgresses the law, but through the transgression of the law hell indeed (becomes his portion).

5. It has not been declared, that orders (may be addressed by the teacher) to a pupil who has returned home.

6. The syllable 'Om' is the door of heaven.

term 'great sacrifices,' see also Taitt. Âr. II, 11, 10, 1 seq., and Satapatha-brâhmana XI, 5, 6, 1.

13. 1. Taitt. Âr. II, 10, 2 and 3, and Satapatha-br. loc. cit. 2. Haradatta observes, that some consider the Devayagña, mentioned in the Sûtra, to be different from the Vaisvadeva, but that he holds it to be the same. Further he mentions, that some prescribe this Vaisvadeva to be performed even if one has nothing to eat.

2. 'Namely, by allowing them to walk in front on the road and by giving them perfumed garlands and the like at festive occasions.'—Haradatta.

5. Haradatta gives as an example the order to fetch water, and adds that a voluntary act on a former pupil's part ought not to be forbidden.

6. Compare also Taitt. Âr. I, 2, 4, and Manu II, 74.

Therefore he who is about to study the Veda, shall begin (his lesson) by (pronouncing) it.

7. If he has spoken anything else (than what refers to the lesson, he shall resume his reading by repeating the word 'Om'). Thus the Veda is separated from profane speech.

8. And at sacrifices the orders (given to the priests) are headed by this word.

9. And in common life, at the occasion of ceremonies performed for the sake of welfare, the sentences shall be headed by this word, as, for instance, '(Om) an auspicious day,' '(Om) welfare,' '(Om) prosperity.'

10. Without a vow of obedience (a pupil) shall not study (nor a teacher teach) a difficult (new book) with the exception of (the texts called) *Triśrāvāna* and *Triśahavaṭana*.

11. Hārīta declares, that the (whole) Veda must be studied under a vow of obedience until there is no doubt (regarding it in the mind of the pupil).

9. The example given in the Sūtra is that of the *Punyāhavāṭana*, which precedes every *Gṛhya* ceremony, and at which the sacrificer requests a number of invited Brāhmanas to wish him success. The complete sentences are, The sacrificer: *Om karmanāḥ punyāham bhavanto bruvantviti*, 'Om, wish that the day may be auspicious for the performance of the ceremony.' The Brāhmanas: *Om punyāham karmanā iti*, 'Om, may the day be auspicious for the ceremony.' In the same manner the Brāhmanas afterwards wish 'welfare,' *svasti*, 'prosperity,' *vṛiddhi*, to the sacrificer.

10. Manu II, 112.

11. The meaning of Hārīta is, that the vow of obedience is required for the *Triśrāvāna* and *Triśahavaṭana*, which Āpastamba exempted in the preceding Sūtra. It follows from this rule that the *Āngas* or works explanatory of the Veda need not be studied under a vow of obedience.

12. No obedience is due (to the teacher for teaching) works which do not belong to the Veda.

13. (A student) shall embrace the feet of a person, who teaches him at the request of his (regular teacher), as long as the instruction lasts.

14. Some (declare, that he shall do so) always, (if the substitute is) a worthy person.

15. But obedience (as towards the teacher) is not required (to be shown towards such a person).

16. And (pupils) older (than their teacher need not show him obedience).

17. If (two persons) teach each other mutually (different redactions of) the Veda, obedience (towards each other) is not ordained for them.

18. (For) the (wise) say, 'The Veda-knowledge (of either of them) grows.'

19. Svetaketu declares, 'He who desires to study more, after having settled (as a householder), shall dwell two months every year, with collected mind, in the house of his teacher,'

20. (And he adds), 'For by this means I studied a larger part of the Veda than before, (during my studentship.)'

21. That is forbidden by the Sâstras.

22. For after the student has settled as a householder, he is ordered by the Veda, to perform the daily rites,

13. This rule is a supplement to I, 2, 7, 29.

14. "A worthy person," i.e. on account of his learning or character.—Haradatta.

16. 'According to some, this rule refers only to the time after the instruction has been completed; according to others, to the time of studentship.'—Haradatta. But see Manu II, 151 seq.

PRASNA I, PATALA 4, KHANDA 14.

1. (That is to say) the Agnihotra, hospitality,
2. And what else of this kind (is ordained).
3. He whom (a student) asks for instruction, shall certainly not refuse it ;
4. Provided he does not see in him a fault, (which disqualifies him from being taught).
5. If by chance (through the pupil's stupidity the teaching) is not completed, obedience towards the (teacher is the pupil's only refuge).
6. Towards a mother (grandmother and great-grandmother) and a father (grandfather and great-grandfather) the same obedience must be shown as towards a teacher.
7. The feet of all Gurus must be embraced (every day) by a student who has returned home ;
8. And also on meeting them, after returning from a journey.
9. The feet of (elder) brothers and sisters must be embraced, according to the order of their seniority.
10. And respect (must) always (be shown to one's elders and betters), according to the injunction

14. 1. The Agnihotra, i.e. certain daily oblations of clarified butter.

3. Manu II, 109-115.

5. Manu II, 218.

6. Manu II, 228, 235.

7. The word Gurus, 'venerable persons,' includes besides the teacher and persons mentioned in the preceding Sûtra, an elder brother, a maternal uncle, and all others who are one's betters or elders. See above, I, 2, 6, 29-35.

8. 'That is to say, whether he himself or "the venerable persons" undertook the journey.'—Haradatta.

9. Manu II, 133.

10. See above, I, 4, 13, 2.

(given above and according to the order of their seniority).

11. He shall salute an officiating priest, a father-in-law, a father's brother, and a mother's brother, (though they may be) younger than he himself, and (when saluting) rise to meet them.

12. Or he may silently embrace their feet.

13. A friendship kept for ten years with fellow-citizens (is a reason for giving a salutation, and so is) a friendship, contracted at school, which has lasted for five years. But a learned Brâhmaṇa (known) for less than three years, must be saluted.

14. If the age (of several persons whom one meets) is exactly known, one must salute the eldest (first).

15. He need not salute a person, who is not a Guru, and who stands in a lower or higher place than he himself.

16. Or he may descend or ascend (to the place where such a person stands) and salute him.

17. But every one (Gurus and others) he shall salute, after having risen (from his seat).

18. If he is impure, he shall not salute (anybody);

19. (Nor shall he salute) a person who is impure.

11. Manu II, 130.

12. The commentator adds that the mode of salutation must depend on their learning and virtue.

13. Manu II, 134.

16. This Sûtra, like the preceding, refers to those who are not 'Gurus.'

17. Manu II, 120.

18. 'Impure,' i.e. unfit for associating with others on account of the death of relations or through other causes, see below, I, 5, 15, 7 seq.

20. Nor shall he, being impure, return a salutation.

21. Married women (must be saluted) according to the (respective) ages of their husbands.

22. He shall not salute with his shoes on, or his head wrapped up, or his hands full.

23. In saluting women, a Kshatriya or a Vaisya he shall use a pronoun, not his name.

24. Some (declare, that he shall salute in this manner even) his mother and the wife of his teacher.

25. Know that a Brāhmaṇa of ten years and a Kshatriya of a hundred years stand to each other in the relation of father and son. But between those two the Brāhmaṇa is the father.

26. A younger person or one of equal age he shall ask, about his well-being (employing the word *kusala*).

27. (He shall ask under the same conditions) a Kshatriya, about his health (employing the word *anāmaya*);

28. A Vaisya if he has lost anything (employing the word *anashṭa*).

23. He shall say, 'I salute,' not 'I, N. N., salute.' Manu II, 123.

24. Āpastamba, of course, holds the contrary opinion. Manu II, 216.

25. This verse, which is found with slight variations in most Smṛitis, contains, according to Haradatta, an instruction given by a teacher to his pupil. Manu II, 135.

26. Of course, in case the person addressed is a Brahman. Manu II, 127. Kullōka quotes under this verse the above and the following Sūtras. But his quotation has only a faint resemblance to our text.

28. That is to say in these terms: 'I hope you have not lost any cattle or other property!'—Haradatta.

29. A Sûdra, about his health (employing the word ârogya).

30. He shall not pass a learned Brâhmaṇa without addressing him ;

31. Nor an (unprotected) woman in a forest (or any other lonely place).

PRASNA I, PĀTALA 5, KHANDA 15.

1. When he shows his respect to Gurus or aged persons or guests, when he offers a burnt-oblation (or other sacrifice), when he murmurs prayers at dinner, when sipping water and during the (daily) recitation of the Veda, his garment (or his sacrificial thread) shall pass over his left shoulder and under his right arm.

2. By sipping (pure) water, that has been collected on the ground, he becomes pure.

3. Or he, whom a pure person causes to sip water, (becomes also pure).

31. He shall address a woman in order to re-assure her, and do it in these terms: 'Mother, or sister, what can I do for you? Don't be afraid!' &c.—Haradatta.

15. 1. Taitt. Âr. II, 1, 2 seq.; Manu IV, 58.

2. Pure water is that which a cow will drink. Yâgñ. I, 192; Manu V, 128.

3. The ceremony of 'sipping water' may be performed in two ways; either the 'person sipping' may take the water out of a river, pond, &c., or he may get the water poured into his hand by another person. But, according to Âpastamba, he must not take a pot or gourd in his left hand and pour the water into his right, as some Smṛitis allow. The reason for this rule is, that Âpastamba considers it essential that both hands should be used in conveying the water to the mouth; see also above, I, 1, 4, 21. This agrees with the custom now followed, which is to bend the right hand into the form of a cow's ear, and to touch the right wrist with the left hand while drinking.

4. He shall not sip rain-drops.
5. (He shall not sip water) from a (natural) cleft in the ground.
6. He shall not sip water heated (at the fire) except for a particular reason (as sickness).
7. He who raises his empty hands (in order to scare) birds, (becomes impure and) shall wash (his hands).
8. If he can (find water to sip) he shall not remain impure (even) for a muhūrta.
9. Nor (shall he remain) naked (for a muhūrta if he can help it).
10. Purification (by sipping water) shall not take place whilst he is (standing) in the water.
11. Also, when he has crossed a river, he shall purify himself by sipping water.
12. He shall not place fuel on the fire, without having sprinkled it (with water).

4. 'Some think, that this Sûtra is intended to forbid also the drinking of rain-water. Other commentators declare that, according to this Sûtra, it is allowed to use for "sipping" drops of water which fall from a vessel suspended by ropes [because the Sûtra emphatically excludes "rain-drops" only].'—Haradatta.

6. Manu II, 61. 'Because the term "heated by fire" is used, there is no objection to water heated by the rays of the sun. In the same manner the use of "hot" water only is usually forbidden in the Smṛitis.'—Haradatta.

7. 'Because the phrase "with empty hands" is used, he commits no fault if he raises his hand, holding a stick or a clod. Some declare, that the term "touching water" (rendered by "washing") means "sipping water."'—Haradatta.

11. The translation given above is based on the interpretation of Haradatta, who considers that Âpastamba holds 'crossing a river' to cause impurity. The natural and probably the right interpretation, however, is that rejected by Haradatta, 'But he shall sip water after having come out (of the river or tank).'

12. "'On the fire used for Vedic or Smārta sacrifices or for

13. (If he is seated in company with) other unclean persons on a seat consisting of a confused heap of straw, and does not touch them, he may consider himself pure.

14. (The same rule applies, if he is seated) on grass or wood fixed in the ground.

15. He shall put on a dress, (even if it is clean,) only after having sprinkled it with water.

16. If he has been touched by a dog, he shall bathe, with his clothes on ;

17. Or he becomes pure, after having washed that part (of his body) and having touched it with fire and again washed it, as well as his feet, and having sipped water.

18. Unpurified, he shall not approach fire, (so near that he can feel the heat).

19. Some declare, that (he shall not approach nearer) than the length of an arrow.

20. Nor shall he blow on fire with his breath.

21. Nor shall he place fire under his bedstead.

household purposes." . . . Some declare, that (the fuel need not be sprinkled with water) if used for the kitchen fire.'—Haradatta.

14. Haradatta's commentary is of little use, and I am not quite certain that my translation is correct.

15. Manu V, 118.

17. This second proceeding is adopted in case the dog has touched the hands or the lower parts of the body, as may be learnt by the comparison of a verse of Manu.

18. Manu IV, 142 ; Yâgñ. I, 155.

20. Manu IV, 53. Haradatta mentions other explanations of this Sûtra. Some say, that the Srauta fire may be kindled by blowing, because that is ordained particularly in the Vâgasaneyaka, but that the domestic fire is not to be treated so. Others again consider the rule absolute, and say, that a hollow reed or bellows must be used for kindling the fire, lest drops of saliva should fall upon it.

21. Manu IV, 54.

22. It is lawful for a Brâhmaṇa to dwell in a village, where there is plenty of fuel and water, (and) where he may perform the rites of purification by himself.

23. When he has washed away the stains of urine and fæces after voiding urine or fæces, the stains of food (after dinner), the stains of the food eaten the day before (from his vessels), and the stains of semen, and has also washed his feet and afterwards has sipped water, he becomes pure.

PRASNA I, PATALA 5, KHANDA 16.

1. He shall not drink water standing or bent forwards.

2. Sitting he shall sip water (for purification) thrice, the water penetrating to his heart.

22. The last condition mentioned in the Sûtra indicates, that the place must have a river or tank, not wells only, as the purification by sipping water cannot be performed without help, with water from wells.

23. Manu V, 138.

16. 1. Haradatta takes âkām here to mean 'to drink water,' and thinks that it is forbidden to do this standing or in a bent position. Others refer the prohibition to 'sipping water for the sake of purification,' and translate, 'He shall not sip water standing or in a bent position (except in case of necessity),' i.e. if the bank of the river is so high that he cannot reach the water sitting down, and in this case he shall enter it up to his thighs or up to his navel.

2. Manu II, 60 and 62; V, 139; and Yâgy. I, 20 and 27; Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 165. Haradatta observes, that the further particulars regarding purification by sipping water must be supplied from other Smṛitis. The rule quoted by him is as follows: 'The performer should be sitting in a pure place, not on a seat, except when sipping water after dinner, and should sip thrice from his hand water which is free from bubbles and foam, and which he has attentively regarded, in such a quantity as would cover a Mâsha-

3. He shall wipe his lips three times.
4. Some (declare, that he shall do so) twice.
5. He shall then touch (his lips) once (with the three middle fingers).
6. Some (declare, that he shall do so) twice.
7. Having sprinkled water on his left hand with his right, he shall touch both his feet, and his head and (the following three) organs, the eyes, the nose, and the ears.
8. Then he shall wash (his hands).
9. But if he is going to eat he shall, though pure, twice sip water, twice wipe (his mouth), and once touch (his lips).
10. He shall rub the gums and the inner part of his lips (with his finger or with a piece of wood) and then sip water.
11. He does not become impure by the hair (of his moustaches) getting into his mouth, as long as he does not touch them with his hand.
12. If (in talking), drops (of saliva) are perceived to fall from his mouth, then he shall sip water.
13. Some declare, that if (the saliva falls) on the ground, he need not sip water.

bean. The water sipped by a Brahman should reach his heart, that sipped by a Kshatriya the throat, and that sipped by a Vaisya the palate. A Sûdra sips once as much as to wet his tongue.'

7. The eyes are to be touched with the thumb and the fourth finger, either at once, or one after the other, the nostrils with the thumb and the second finger, the ears with the thumb and the small finger.

9. Manu V, 138.

11. Haradatta observes that this Sûtra shows, that every other foreign substance brought with the food into the mouth, makes the food 'leavings' and the eater impure. Manu V, 141.

12. Manu V, 141 declares sipping to be unnecessary in this case.

14. On touching during sleep or in sternutation the effluvia of the nose or of the eyes, on touching blood, hair, fire, kine, a Brâhmaṇa, or a woman, and after having walked on the high road, and after having touched an impure (thing or man), and after having put on his lower garment, he shall either bathe or sip or merely touch water (until he considers himself clean).

15. (Or he may touch) moist cowdung, wet herbs, or moist earth.

16. He shall not eat meat which has been cut with a sword (or knife) used for killing.

17. He shall not bite off with his teeth (pieces from) cakes (roots or fruits).

18. He shall not eat in the house of a (relation within six degrees) where a person has died, before the ten days (of impurity) have elapsed.

19. (Nor shall he eat in a house) where a lying-in woman has not (yet) come out (of the lying-in chamber),

20. (Nor in a house) where a corpse lies.

14. Manu V, 145.

18. 'The term "ten days" is used in order to indicate the time of impurity generally. In some cases, as that of a Kshatriya, this lasts longer. In other cases, where the impurity lasts thirty-six hours only, (the abstention from dining in such houses is shorter.)'—Haradatta. Manu IV, 217.

19. A lying-in woman is impure, and must not be touched during the first ten days after her confinement. During this time, she exclusively occupies the *Sûtikâgrîha* or lying-in chamber. Manu IV, 217.

20. Haradatta remarks that in the case of the death of a person who is not a relation, it is customary to place at the distance of 'one hundred bows' a lamp and water-vessel, and to eat (beyond that distance).

21. Food touched by a (Brâhmaṇa or other high-caste person) who is impure, becomes impure, but not unfit for eating.

22. But what has been brought (be it touched or not) by an impure Śûdra, must not be eaten,

23. Nor that food in which there is a hair,

24. Or any other unclean substance.

25. (Nor must that food be eaten) which has been touched with an unclean substance (such as garlic),

26. Nor (that in which) an insect living on impure substances (is found),

27. Nor (that in which) excrements or limbs of a mouse (are found),

28. Nor that which has been touched by the foot (even of a pure person),

29. Nor what has been (touched) with the hem of a garment,

30. Nor that which has been looked at by a dog or an Apapâtra,

21. 'Food which is simply impure, may be purified by putting it on the fire, sprinkling it with water, touching it with ashes or earth, and praising it.'—Haradatta.

22. Others say, that the food becomes unfit for eating, only, if in bringing it, the Śûdra has touched it.—Haradatta.

23. Manu IV, 207; Yâgñ. I, 167. 'But this rule holds good only if the hair had been cooked with the food. If a hair falls into it at dinner, then it is to be purified by an addition of clarified butter, and may be eaten.'—Haradatta.

24. Haradatta quotes a passage from Baudhâyaṇa, which enumerates as 'unclean things' here intended, 'hair, worms or beetles, nail-parings, excrements of rats.' The rule must be understood as the preceding, i.e. in case these things have been cooked with the food.

26. Manu IV, 207; Yâgñ. I, 167, 168. This Sûtra must be read with Sûtra 23 above.

30. Manu IV, 208; Yâgñ. I, 167. Apapâtras are persons whom

31. Nor what has been brought in the hem of a garment, (even though the garment may be clean),

32. Nor what has been brought at night by a female slave.

33. If during his meal,

PRASNA I, PATALA 5, KHANDA 17.

1. A Sûdra touches him, (then he shall leave off eating).

2. Nor shall he eat sitting in the same row with unworthy people.

3. Nor shall he eat (sitting in the same row with persons) amongst whom one, whilst they eat, rises and gives his leavings to his pupils or sips water;

4. Nor (shall he eat) where they give him food, reviling him.

one must not allow to eat from one's dishes, e.g. *Kandâlas*, *Patitas*, a woman in her courses or during the ten days of impurity after confinement. See also above, I, 1, 3, 25.

32. Haradatta thinks, that as the Sûtra has the feminine gender, *dâsî*, it does not matter if a male slave brings the food. But others forbid also this.

17. 1. 'Some say, that this Sûtra indicates that the touch of a Sûdra does not defile at any other time but at dinner, whilst others hold that a Sûdra's touch defiles always, and that the Sûtra is intended to indicate an excess of impurity, if it happens at dinner-time.'—Haradatta.

2. 'Unworthy people are those who are neither of good family, nor possess learning and virtue.'—Haradatta.

3. According to Haradatta a person who misbehaves thus, is called 'a dinner-thorn.' This point of etiquette is strictly observed in our days also. Manu IV, 212.

4. Manu IV, 212; *Yâgñ.* I, 167.

5. Nor (shall he eat) what has been smelt at by men or other impure (beings, as cats).

6. He shall not eat in a ship,

7. Nor on a wooden platform.

8. He may eat sitting on ground which has been purified (by the application of cowdung and the like).

9. (If he eats) out of an earthen vessel, he shall eat out of one that has not been used (for cooking).

10. (If he can get) a used vessel (only, he shall eat from it), after having heated it thoroughly.

11. A vessel made of metal becomes pure by being scoured with ashes and the like.

12. A wooden vessel becomes pure by being scraped.

13. At a sacrifice (the vessels must be cleaned) according to the precepts of the Veda.

14. He shall not eat food which has been bought or obtained ready-prepared in the market.

15. Nor (shall he eat) flavoured food (bought in the market) excepting raw meat, honey, and salt.

16. Oil and clarified butter (bought in the market) he may use, after having sprinkled them with water.

17. Prepared food which has stood for a night, must neither be eaten nor drunk.

5. 'As the text has *avagrâta*, "smelt at," it does not matter if they smell the food from a distance.'—Haradatta.

11. 'It must be understood from other *Smṛtis*, that brass is to be cleaned with ashes, copper with acids, silver with cowdung, and gold with water.'—Haradatta. *Manu* V, 114.

12. *Manu* V, 115.

16. 'Having sprinkled them with water and purified them by boiling; or, according to others, mixing them with so much water as will not spoil them.'—Haradatta.

17. The Sanskrit has two terms for 'eating;' the first '*khâd*'

18. Nor (should prepared food) that has turned sour (be used in any way).

19. (The preceding two rules do) not (hold good in regard to) the juice of sugar-cane, roasted rice-grains, porridge prepared with whey, roasted yava, gruel, vegetables, meat, flour, milk and preparations from it, roots and fruits of herbs and trees.

20. (Substances which have turned) sour without being mixed with anything else (are to be avoided).

21. All intoxicating drinks are forbidden.

22. Likewise sheep's milk,

23. Likewise the milk of camels, of does, of animals that give milk while big with young, of those that bear twins, and of (one-hoofed animals),

24. Likewise the milk of a cow (buffalo-cow or she-goat) during the (first) ten days (after their giving birth to young ones),

25. Likewise (food mixed) with herbs which serve for preparing intoxicating liquors,

26. (Likewise) red garlic, onions, and leeks,

applies to hard substances, the second 'ad' to soft substances. Manu IV, 211; Yâgñ. I, 167.

18. Manu IV, 211; V, 9; Yâgñ. I, 167.

19. Manu V, 10, 24 and 25.

20. According to Haradatta, Âpastamba returns once more to the question about sour food, in order to teach that dishes prepared with curds and other sour substances may be eaten.

22. Manu V, 8; Yâgñ. I, 170.

23. Manu V, 8, 9; Yâgñ. I, 170. 'Sandhinî, translated by "females that give milk while big with young," means, according to others, "female animals that give milk once a day."—Haradatta.

24. Manu V, 8.

26. Manu V, 5; Yâgñ. I, 176.

27. Likewise anything else which (those who are learned in the law) forbid.

28. Mushrooms ought not to be eaten; that has been declared in a Brāhmaṇa;

29. (Nor the meat) of one-hoofed animals, of camels, of the Gayal, of village pigs, of Sarabhas, and of cattle.

30. (But the meat) of milch-cows and oxen may be eaten.

31. The Vāgasaneyaka declares 'bull's flesh is fit for offerings.'

32. Amongst birds that scratch with their feet for food, the (tame) cock (must not be eaten).

33. Amongst birds that feed thrusting forward their beak, the (heron, called) Plava (or Saka/abila, must not be eaten).

34. Carnivorous (birds are forbidden),

35. Likewise the swan, the Bhāsa, the Brāhmaṇi duck, and the falcon.

36. Common cranes and Sâras-cranes (are not to

27. Haradatta observes that Āpastamba, finding the list of forbidden vegetables too long, refers his pupils to the advice of the Sishṭas. The force of this Sūtra is exactly the same as that of I, 3, 11, 38.

28. Yâgñ. I, 171.

29. The camel, Gayal, and Sarabha are mentioned as 'forbidden animals,' Satapatha-br. I, 2, 1, 8; Aitareya-br. II, 1, 8; see also Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 62; Manu V, 11, 18; Yâgñ. I, 172, 176.

32. Yâgñ. I, 176.

33. Manu V, 12; Yâgñ. I, 172.

34. Manu V, 11; Yâgñ. I, 172.

35. Yâgñ. I, 172.

36. Manu V, 12; Yâgñ. I, 172. Other commentators take the whole Sūtra as one compound, and explain it as an exception to Sūtra 34. In that case the translation runs thus: ('Carnivorous birds are forbidden) except the Kruñka, Krauñka, Vâdhrâṇasa,

be eaten) with the exception of the leather-nosed Lakshmana.

37. Five-toed animals (ought not to be eaten) with the exception of the iguana, the tortoise, the porcupine, the hedgehog, the rhinoceros, the hare, and the Pûtikhasha.

38. Amongst fishes, the *Keta* ought not to be eaten,

39. Nor the snake-headed fish, nor the alligator, nor those which live on flesh only, nor those which are misshaped (like) mermen.

PRASNA I, PATALA 6, KHANDA 18.

1. Honey, uncooked (grain), venison, land, roots, fruits, (a promise of) safety, a pasture for cattle, a house, and fodder for a draught-ox may be accepted (even) from an Ugra.

2. Hârîta declares, that even these (presents) are to be accepted only if they have been obtained by a pupil.

and Lakshmana.'—Haradatta. This translation is objectionable, because both the *Kruñkas*, now called Kulam or *Kûñk*, and the *Krauñka*, the red-crested crane, now called *Sâras* (Cyrus), feed on grain. *Kruñkakrauñka* is a Vedic dual and stands for *kruñka-krauñkâ* or *kruñkakrauñkau*.

37. *Manu* V, 18; *Yâgñ.* I, 177. Pûtikhasha is, according to Haradatta, an animal resembling a hare, and found in the Himâlayas.

39. Haradatta closes this chapter on flesh-eating by quoting *Manu* V, 56, which declares flesh-eating, drinking spirituous liquor, and promiscuous intercourse to be allowable, but the abstinence therefrom of greater merit. He states that the whole chapter must be understood in this sense.

18. 1. *Manu* IV, 247. 'Ugra denotes either a bad twice-born man or the offspring of a Vaisya and of a Sûdra-woman. Other persons of a similar character must be understood to be included by the term.'—Haradatta.

3. Or they (Brâhmana householders) may accept (from an Ugra) uncooked or (a little) unflavoured boiled food.

4. (Of such food) they shall not take a great quantity (but only so much as suffices to support life).

5. If (in times of distress) he is unable to keep himself, he may eat (food obtained from anybody),

6. After having touched it (once) with gold,

7. Or (having touched it with) fire.

8. He shall not be too eager after (such a way of living). He shall leave it when he has obtained a (lawful) livelihood.

9. (A student of the Brahmanic caste) who has returned home shall not eat (in the house) of people belonging to the three tribes, beginning with the Kshatriya (i. e. of Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sûdras).

10. He may (usually) eat (the food) of a Brâhmana on account of (the giver's) character (as a Brâhmana). It must be avoided for particular reasons only.

4. Also this rule seems to belong to Hârîta, on account of its close connection with the preceding two.

8. Haradatta quotes, in support of the last Sûtras, a passage of the *Khândogya* Upanishad, I, 10, 1, and one from the *Rig-veda*, IV, 18, 13, according to which it would be lawful to eat even impure food, as a dog's entrails, under such circumstances. Other commentators explain this and the preceding three Sûtras differently. According to them the translation would run thus: 'If he himself does not find any livelihood (in times of distress, he may dwell even with low-caste people who give him something to eat, and) he may eat (food given by them) paying for it with (some small gift in) gold or with animals.' This second explanation is perhaps preferable.

9. Manu IV, 218, 219, and 223.

11. He shall not eat in a house where (the host) performs a rite which is not a rite of penance, whilst he ought to perform a penance.

12. But when the penance has been performed, he may eat (in that house).

13. According to some (food offered by people) of any caste, who follow the laws prescribed for them, except that of *Sûdras*, may be eaten.

14. (In times of distress) even the food of a *Sûdra*, who lives under one's protection for the sake of spiritual merit, (may be eaten).

15. He may eat it, after having touched it (once) with gold or with fire. He shall not be too eager after (such a way of living). He shall leave it when he obtains a (lawful) livelihood.

16. Food received from a multitude of givers must not be eaten,

17. Nor food offered by a general invitation (to all comers).

18. Food offered by an artisan must not be eaten,

19. Nor (that of men) who live by the use of arms (with the exception of *Kshatriyas*),

11. 'If a *Brâhmana* who has been ordered to perform a penance, performs a *Vaisvadeva* or other rite without heeding the order of his spiritual teacher, then a student who has returned home ought not to eat in his house, until the enjoined penance has been performed.'—*Haradatta*.

12. 'The use of the part. perf. pass. "performed" indicates that he must not eat there, whilst the penance is being performed.'—*Haradatta*.

14. *Yâgñ.* I, 166.

15. *Manu* IV, 223.

16. *Manu* IV, 209.

17. *Manu* IV, 209; *Yâgñ.* I, 168.

18. *Manu* IV, 210, 215; *Yâgñ.* I, 162-164.

19. *Yâgñ.* I, 164.

20. Nor (that of men) who live by letting lodgings or land.

21. A (professional) physician is a person whose food must not be eaten,

22. (Also) a usurer,

23. (Also) a Brâhmana who has performed the Dikshantiyeshî (or initiatory ceremony of the Soma-sacrifice) before he has bought the king (Soma).

24. (The food given by a person who has performed the Dikshantiyeshî may be eaten), when the victim sacred to Agni and Soma has been slain.

25. Or after that the omentum of the victim (sacred to Agni and Soma) has been offered.

26. For a Brâhmana declares, 'Or they may eat of the remainder of the animal, after having set apart a portion for the offering.'

27. A eunuch (is a person whose food must not be eaten),

28. (Likewise) the (professional) messenger employed by a king (or others),

29. (Likewise a Brâhmana) who offers substances that are not fit for a sacrifice,

30. (Likewise) a spy,

21. Manu IV, 212; Yâgñ. I, 162.

22. Manu IV, 210; Yâgñ. I, 161.

23. 'That is to say, one who has begun, but not finished a Soma-sacrifice.'—Haradatta. Manu IV, 210, and Gopatha-brâhmana III, 19.

25. Aitareya-brâhmana II, 1, 9.

27. Manu IV, 211; Yâgñ. I, 161.

28. The village or town messengers are always men of the lowest castes, such as the Mahârs of Mahârâshîra.

29. 'For example, he who offers human blood in a magic rite.'—Haradatta.

30. Haradatta explains kârî, translated by 'spy,' to mean 'a

31. (Also) a person who has become an ascetic without (being authorized thereto by) the rules (of the law),

32. (Also) he who forsakes the sacred fires (without performing the sacrifice necessary on that occasion),

33. Likewise a learned Brāhmaṇa who avoids everybody, or eats the food of anybody, or neglects the (daily) recitation of the Veda, (and) he whose (only living) wife is of the Sūdra caste.

PRASNA I, PATALA 6, KHANDA 19.

1. A drunkard, a madman, a prisoner, he who learns the Veda from his son, a creditor who sits with his debtor (hindering the fulfilment of his duties), a debtor who thus sits (with his creditor, are persons whose food must not be eaten) as long as they are thus engaged or in that state.

2. Who (then) are those whose food may be eaten?

secret adherent of the Sākta sect' (*gūḍhakārī, sāktaḥ*). The existence of this sect in early times has not hitherto been proved.

31. Haradatta gives the Sākyas or Bauddhas as an instance. But it is doubtful, whether Āpastamba meant to refer to them, though it seems probable that heretics are intended.

32. *Yâgñ. I, 160.*

33. 'Who avoids everybody, i.e. who neither invites nor dines with anybody.'—Haradatta.

19. 1. Manu IV, 207; *Yâgñ. I, 161, 162.* Another commentator explains *avika*, translated above 'he who learns the Veda from his son,' by 'a money-lender,' and combines *pratyupavishṭaḥ* with this word, i.e. 'a money-lender who sits with his debtor hindering him from fulfilling his duties.' This manner of forcing a debtor to pay, which is also called *Ākarita* (see Manu VIII, 49), is, though illegal, resorted to sometimes even now.

2. 'The object of this Sūtra is to introduce the great variety of opinions quoted below.'—Haradatta.

3. Kāṇva declares, that it is he who wishes to give.

4. Kautsa declares, that it is he who is holy.

5. Vārshyâyaṇi declares, that it is every giver (of food).

6. For if guilt remains fixed on the man (who committed a crime, then food given by a sinner) may be eaten (because the guilt cannot leave the sinner). But if guilt can leave (the sinner at any time, then food given by the sinner may be eaten because) he becomes pure by the gift (which he makes).

7. Offered food, which is pure, may be eaten, according to Eka, Kuṇḍika, Kāṇva, Kutsa, and Pushkarasâdi.

8. Vārshyâyaṇi's opinion is, that (food) given unasked (may be accepted) from anybody.

9. (Food offered) willingly by a holy man may be eaten.

10. Food given unwillingly by a holy man ought not to be eaten.

11. Food offered unasked by any person whatsoever may be eaten,

12. 'But not if it be given after an express previous announcement ;' thus says Hârîta.

13. Now they quote also in a Purâṇa the following two verses :

4. 'Holy' means not only 'following his lawful occupations,' but particularly 'practising austerities, reciting prayers, and offering burnt-oblations.'—Haradatta.

10. Another commentator explains this Sûtra thus: 'He need not eat the food offered by a righteous man, if he himself does not wish to do so.'—Haradatta.

13. See Manu IV, 248 and 249, where these identical verses occur.

'The Lord of creatures has declared, that food offered unasked and brought by the giver himself, may be eaten, though (the giver be) a sinner, provided the gift has not been announced beforehand. The Manes of the ancestors of that man who spurns such food, do not eat (his oblations) for fifteen years, nor does the fire carry his offerings (to the gods).'

14. (Another verse from a *Purâṇa* declares): 'The food given by a physician, a hunter, a surgeon, a fowler, an unfaithful wife, or a eunuch must not be eaten.'

15. Now (in confirmation of this) they quote (the following verse): 'The murderer of a *Brâhmaṇa* learned in the *Veda* heaps his guilt on his guest, an innocent man on his calumniator, a thief set at liberty on the king, and the petitioner on him who makes false promises.'

PRASNA I, PATALA 7, KHANDA 20.

1. He shall not fulfil his sacred duties merely in order to acquire these worldly objects (as fame, gain, and honour).

2. For when they ought to bring rewards, (duties thus fulfilled) become fruitless.

3. (Worldly benefits) are produced as accessories (to the fulfilment of the law), just as in the case of a mango tree, which is planted in order to obtain fruit, shade and fragrance (are accessory advantages).

14. *Manu* IV, 211, 212.

15. Regarding the liberation of the thief, see *Âpastamba* I, 9, 25, 4. A similar verse occurs *Manu* VIII, 317, which has caused the confusion observable in many MSS., as has been stated in the critical notes to the text.

4. But if (worldly advantages) are not produced, (then at least) the sacred duties have been fulfilled.

5. Let him not become irritated at, nor be deceived by the speeches of hypocrites, of rogues, of infidels, and of fools.

6. For Virtue and Sin do not go about and say, 'Here we are ;' nor do gods, Gandharvas, or Manes say (to men), 'This is virtue, that is sin.'

7. But that is virtue, the practice of which wise men of the three twice-born castes praise ; what they blame, is sin.

8. He shall regulate his course of action according to the conduct which in all countries is unanimously approved by men of the three twice-born castes, who have been properly obedient (to their teachers), who are aged, of subdued senses, neither given to avarice, nor hypocrites.

9. Acting thus he will gain both worlds.

10. Trade is not lawful for a Brâhmana.

11. In times of distress he may trade in lawful merchandise, avoiding the following (kinds), that are forbidden :

12. (Particularly) men, condiments and liquids, colours, perfumes, food, skins, heifers, substances

20. 7. The Sûtra is intended to show how the law should be ascertained in difficult cases. Haradatta quotes here the passage of Yâgñ. I, 9, on Parishads, and states that the plural âryâh shows that three or four must be employed to arrive at a decision. See also Manu XII, 108 seq.

8. Manu I, 6.

11. This Sûtra, which specifies only one part of a Vaisya's occupations as permissible for Brâhmanas in distress, implies, according to Haradatta, that his other occupations also, as well as those of a Kshatriya, are permissible. Manu IV, 6 ; X, 82 ; Yâgñ. III, 35.

12. Manu X, 86-89 ; Yâgñ. III, 36-39.

used for glueing (such as lac), water, young corn-stalks, substances from which spirituous liquor may be extracted, red and black pepper, corn, flesh, arms, and the hope of rewards for meritorious deeds.

13. Among (the various kinds of) grain he shall especially not sell sesamum or rice (except he have grown them himself).

14. The exchange of the one of these (above-mentioned goods) for the other is likewise unlawful.

15. But food (may be exchanged) for food, and slaves for slaves, and condiments for condiments, and perfumes for perfumes, and learning for learning.

16. Let him traffic with lawful merchandise which he has not bought,

PRASNA I, PATALA 7, KHANDA 21.

1. With Muñga-grass, Balbaga-grass (and articles made of them), roots, and fruits,

2. And with (other kinds of) grass and wood which have not been worked up (into objects of use).

3. He shall not be too eager (after such a livelihood).

4. If he obtains (another lawful) livelihood, he shall leave off (trading).

13. The exception stated above, is given by Haradatta on the authority of Manu X, 90; Yâgñ. III, 39.

15. 'From the permission to exchange learning for learning, it may be known that it is not lawful to sell it.'—Haradatta. Manu X, 94.

21. 2. 'Since it is known that Muñga and Balbaga are kinds of grass, it may be inferred from their being especially mentioned (in Sûtra 1) that objects made of them (may be also sold).—Haradatta.

4. Yâgñ. III, 35.

5. Intercourse with fallen men is not ordained,
6. Nor with Apapâtras.
7. Now (follows the enumeration of) the actions which cause loss of caste (Pataniya).
8. (These are) stealing (gold), crimes whereby one becomes an Abhisasta, homicide, neglect of the Vedas, causing abortion, incestuous connection with relations born from the same womb as one's mother or father, and with the offspring of such persons, drinking spirituous liquor, and intercourse with persons the intercourse with whom is forbidden.
9. That man falls who has connection with a female friend of a female Guru, or with a female friend of a male Guru, or with any married woman.
10. Some (teachers declare), that he does not fall by having connection with any other married female except his teacher's wife.
11. Constant commission of (other) sins (besides those enumerated above) also causes a man to lose his caste.
12. Now follows (the enumeration of) the acts which make men impure (Asukikara).
13. (These are) the cohabitation of Aryan women with Sûdras,
14. Eating the flesh of forbidden (creatures),

5. Manu XI, 180.

6. Regarding the definition of the word Apapâtra, see above, I, 5, 16, 29.

8. The crimes by which a person becomes Abhisasta are enumerated below, I, 9, 24, 6 seq., where an explanation of the term will be given.

9. Regarding the 'male Gurus' see above. By 'female Gurus' their wives are meant.

10. I.e. he need not perform so heavy a penance.

15. As of a dog, a man, village cocks or pigs, carnivorous animals,

16. Eating the excrements of men,

17. Eating what is left by a Sûdra, the cohabitation of Aryans with Apapâtra women.

18. Some declare, that these acts also cause a man to lose his caste.

19. Other acts besides those (enumerated) are causes of impurity.

20. He who learns (that a man has) committed a sin, shall not be the first to make it known to others ; but he shall avoid the (sinner), when performing religious ceremonies.

PRASNA I, PATALA 8, KHANDA 22.

1. He shall employ the means which tend to the acquisition of (the knowledge of) the Âtman, which are attended by the consequent (destruction of the passions, and) which prevent the wandering (of the mind from its object, and fix it on the contemplation of the Âtman).

2. There is no higher (object) than the attainment of (the knowledge of the) Âtman.

3. We shall quote the verses (from the Veda)

20. 'That is to say, he is not to invite the sinner to dinners, given at the occasion of religious ceremonies.'—Haradatta.

22. 1. The knowledge of the Vedânta and the means which prepare men for the knowledge of the Âtman, the 'Self, the universal soul,' are placed in this Patala at the head of the penances, because they are most efficacious for the removal of all sin. The means are absence of anger &c., which are enumerated I, 8, 23, 6.

2. Haradatta gives in his commentary a lengthy discussion on the Âtman, which corresponds nearly to Saṅkara's Introduction to and Commentary on the first Sûtra of Bâdarâyana.

3. According to Haradatta, the following verses are taken from an Upanishad.

which refer to the attainment of (the knowledge of) the Âtman.

4. All living creatures are the dwelling of him who lies enveloped in matter, who is immortal and who is spotless. Those become immortal who worship him who is immovable and lives in a movable dwelling.

5. Despising all that which in this world is called an object (of the senses) a wise man shall strive after the (knowledge of the) Âtman.

6. O pupil, I, who had not recognised in my own self the great self-luminous, universal, (absolutely) free Âtman, which must be obtained without the mediation of anything else, desired (to find) it in others (the senses). (But now as I have obtained the pure knowledge, I do so no more.) Therefore follow thou also this good road that leads to welfare (salvation), and not the one that leads into misfortune (new births).

7. It is he who is the eternal part in all creatures, whose essence is wisdom, who is immortal, unchangeable, destitute of limbs, of voice, of the (subtle) body,

4. The spotless one &c. is the Paramâtman. The spots are merit and demerit which, residing in the Manas, the internal organ of perception, are only falsely attributed to the Âtman, 'the soul.' To become immortal means 'to obtain final liberation.'

5. It seems to me that Haradatta's explanation of the words 'idam idi ha idi ha' is wrong. They ought to be divided thus, 'idamid, iha id, iha loke.' The general sense remains the same, and there is no necessity to assume very curious and otherwise unknown Vedic forms.

6. The verse is addressed by a teacher to his pupil. My translation strictly follows Haradatta's gloss. But his interpretation is open to many doubts. However, I am unable to suggest anything better.

7. The Sûtra contains a further description of the Paramâtman.

(even) of touch, exceedingly pure ; he is the universe, he is the highest goal ; (he dwells in the middle of the body as) the Vishuvat day is (the middle of a Sattras-sacrifice) ; he, indeed, is (accessible to all) like a town intersected by many streets.

8. He who meditates on him, and everywhere and always lives according to his (commandments), and who, full of devotion, sees him who is difficult to be seen and subtle, will rejoice in (his) heaven.

PRASNA I, PATALA 8, KHANDA 23.

1. That Brâhmaṇa, who is wise and recognises all creatures to be in the Âtman, who pondering (thereon) does not become bewildered, and who recognises the Âtman in every (created) thing, shines, indeed, in heaven.

2. He, who is intelligence itself and subtler than the thread of the lotus-fibre, pervades the universe, and who, unchangeable and larger than the earth, contains the universe ; he, who is different from the knowledge of this world, obtained by the senses and identical with its objects, possesses the highest (form consisting of absolute knowledge). From him, who divides himself, spring all (created) bodies. He is the primary cause, he is eternal, he is unchangeable.

8. Haradatta explains the word *vishvat*, 'heaven,' by 'pain-freed greatness,' apparently misled by a bad etymology. The heaven of the Âtman is, of course, liberation, that state where the individual soul becomes merged in the Brahman or Paramâtman, which is pure essence, intelligence and joy.

23. 2. This Sûtra again contains a description of the Paramâtman. The translation strictly follows the commentary, though the explanation, given in the latter, is open to objections.

3. But the eradication of the faults is brought about in this life by the means (called Yoga). A wise man who has eradicated the (faults) which destroy the creatures, obtains salvation.

4. Now we will enumerate the faults which tend to destroy the creatures.

5. (These are) anger, exultation, grumbling, covetousness, perplexity, doing injury, hypocrisy, lying, gluttony, calumny, envy, lust, secret hatred, neglect to keep the senses in subjection, neglect to concentrate the mind. The eradication of these (faults) takes place through the means of (salvation called) Yoga.

6. Freedom from anger, from exultation, from grumbling, from covetousness, from perplexity, from hypocrisy (and) hurtfulness; truthfulness, moderation in eating, silencing slander, freedom from envy, self-denying liberality, avoiding to accept gifts, uprightness, affability, extinction of the passions, subjection of the senses, peace with all created beings, concentration (of the mind on the contemplation of the Âtman), regulation of one's conduct according to that of the Âryas, peacefulness and contentedness; —these (good qualities) have been settled by the agreement (of the wise) for all (the four) orders; he who, according to the precepts of the sacred law, practises these, enters the universal soul.

PRASNA I, PATALA 9, KHANDA 24.

1. He who has killed a Kshatriya shall give a thousand cows (to Brâhmanas) for the expiation of his sin.

24. 1. Manu XI, 128; Yâgñ. III, 266. Others explain the phrase *vairayâtânârtham*, 'for the expiation of his sin,' thus: 'He, who is

2. (He shall give) a hundred cows for a Vaisya,
3. Ten for a Sûdra,
4. And in every one (of these cases) one bull (must be given) in excess (of the number of cows) for the sake of expiation.
5. And if women of the (three castes mentioned have been slain) the same (composition must be paid).
6. He who has slain a man belonging to the two (first-mentioned castes) who has studied the Veda, or had been initiated for the performance of a Soma-sacrifice, becomes an Abhisasta.
7. And (he is called an Abhisasta) who has slain a man belonging merely to the Brâhmaṇa caste (though he has not studied the Veda or been initiated for a Soma-sacrifice),

slain by anybody, becomes, in dying, an enemy of his slayer (and thinks), "O that I might slay him in another life," for the removal of this enmity!"—Haradatta. I am strongly inclined to agree with the other commentator, and to translate *vairayâtânârtham*, 'in order to remove the enmity.' I recognise in this fine a remnant of the law permitting compositions for murder which was in force in ancient Greece and among the Teutonic nations. With the explanation adopted by Haradatta, it is impossible to find a reasonable interpretation for *prâyaścittârtha*, Sûtra 4. Haradatta, seduced by the parallel passage of Manu, takes it to be identical with *vairayâtânârtham*. I propose to translate our Sûtra thus: 'He who has killed a Kshatriya shall give a thousand cows (to the relations of the murdered man) in order to remove the enmity.' According to Baudhâyana I, 10. 19. 1 (compare *Zeitschr. d. D. Morg. Ges.*, vol. 41, pp. 672-76; Festgruss an Roth, pp. 44-52), the cows are to be given to the king.

2. Manu XI, 130; *Yâgñ.* III, 267.

3. Manu XI, 131; *Yâgñ.* III, 267.

6. Manu XI, 87. Abhisasta means literally 'accused, accursed,' and corresponds in Âpastamba's terminology to the *mahâpâtakin* of Manu and *Yâgñavalkya*, instead of which latter word Manu uses it occasionally, e.g. II, 185.

8. Likewise he who has destroyed an embryo of a (Brâhmana, even though its sex be) undistinguishable,

9. Or a woman (of the Brâhmana caste) during her courses.

10. (Now follows) the penance for him (who is an Abhisasta).

11. He (himself) shall erect a hut in the forest, restrain his speech, carry (on his stick) the skull (of the person slain) like a flag, and cover the space from his navel to his knees with a quarter of a piece of hempen cloth.

12. The path for him when he goes to a village, is the space between the tracks (of the wheels).

13. And if he sees another (Ârya), he shall step out of the road (to the distance of two yards).

14. He shall go to the village, carrying a broken tray of metal of an inferior quality.

15. He may go to seven houses only, (crying,) 'Who will give alms to an Abhisasta?'

16. That is (the way in which he must gain) his livelihood.

17. If he does not obtain anything (at the seven houses), he must fast.

18. And (whilst performing this penance) he must tend cows.

19. When they leave and enter the village, that is the second occasion (on which he may enter) the village.

9. 'Others interpret âtreya, "during her courses," by "belonging to the race of Atri."'—Haradatta.

11. Others say that he may carry the skull of any corpse. This Sûtra is to be construed with Sûtra 14, Sûtras 12 and 13 being inserted parenthetically.—Haradatta. Manu XI, 72-78; Yâgñ. III, 243.

20. After having performed (this penance) for twelve years, (he must perform) the ceremony known (by custom), through which he is re-admitted into the society of the good.

21. Or (after having performed the twelve years' penance), he may build a hut on the path of robbers, and live there, trying to take from them the cows of Brâhmanas. He is free (from his sin), when thrice he has been defeated by them, or when he has vanquished them.

22. Or he is freed (from his sin), if (after the twelve years' penance) he bathes (with the priests) at the end of a horse-sacrifice.

23. This very same (penance is ordained) for him who, when his duty and love of gain come into conflict, chooses the gain.

24. If he has slain a Guru or a Brâhmana, who has studied the Veda and finished the ceremonies of a Soma-sacrifice, he shall live according to this very same rule until his last breath.

25. He cannot be purified in this life. But his sin is removed (after death).

20. 'I.e. after having performed the penance, he shall take grass and offer it to a cow. If the cow approaches and confidently eats, then one should know that he has performed the penance properly, not otherwise.'—Haradatta. Manu XI, 195 and 196.

21. Manu XI, 81.—Thus Haradatta, better, 'when thrice he has fought with them,' see the Pet. Dict. s. v. rād h.

22. Manu XI, 83; Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 67.

23. 'Or the Sûtra may have reference to unrighteous gain acquired by false testimony and the like.'—Haradatta.

24. 'Guru means "the father and the rest."'—Haradatta.

25. 'His sin is removed after death. Hence the meaning is that his sons or other (relations) may perform the funeral ceremonies and the like. But others think that the first part of the Sûtra forbids this, and that the meaning of pratyâpattiḥ (can be

PRASNA I, PĀTALA 9, KHANDA 25.

1. He who has had connection with a Guru's wife shall cut off his organ together with the testicles, take them into his joined hands and walk towards the south without stopping, until he falls down dead.

2. Or he may die embracing a heated metal image of a woman.

3. A drinker of spirituous liquor shall drink exceedingly hot liquor so that he dies.

4. A thief shall go to the king with flying hair, carrying a club on his shoulder, and tell him his deed. He (the king) shall give him a blow with that (club). If the thief dies, his sin is expiated.

5. If he is forgiven (by the king), the guilt falls upon him who forgives him,

6. Or he may throw himself into the fire, or perform repeatedly severe austerities,

7. Or he may kill himself by diminishing daily his portion of food,

8. Or he may perform *Krikkhra* penances (uninterruptedly) for one year.

purified) is "connection by being received as a son or other relation."—Haradatta.

25. 1. Haradatta's explanation of a 'Guru's wife' by 'mother' rests on a comparison of similar passages from other *Smṛitis*, where a different 'penance' is prescribed for incestuous intercourse with other near relations. Manu XI, 105; *Yâgñ.* III, 259.

2. Manu XI, 104; *Yâgñ.* III, 259.

3. Manu XI, 91, 92; *Yâgñ.* III, 253.

4. I.e. who has stolen the gold of a *Brâhmana*. Manu VIII, 314, 316; XI, 99-101; *Yâgñ.* III, 257.

5. Manu VIII, 317.

6. Manu XI, 102.

8. According to Haradatta this *Sûtra* refers to all kinds of sins,

9. Now they quote also (the following verse) :

10. Those who have committed a theft (of gold), drunk spirituous liquor, or had connection with a Guru's wife, but not those who have slain a Brâhmaṇa, shall eat every fourth meal-time a little food, bathe at the times of the three libations (morning, noon, and evening), passing the day standing and the night sitting. After the lapse of three years they throw off their guilt.

11. (A man of any caste) excepting the first, who has slain a man of the first caste, shall go on a battle-field and place himself (between the two hostile armies). There they shall kill him (and thereby he becomes pure).

12. Or such a sinner may tear from his body and make the priest offer as a burnt-offering his hair, skin, flesh, and the rest, and then throw himself into the fire.

13. If a crow, a chameleon, a peacock, a Brâhmaṇi duck, a swan, the vulture called Bhâsa, a frog, an ichneumon, a musk-rat, or a dog has been killed, then the same penance as for a Śûdra must be performed.

and it must be understood that the *Krikkh* penances must be heavy for great crimes, and lighter for smaller faults; see also below, I, 9, 27, 7 and 8.

9. Haradatta states that the verse is taken from a *Purâṇa*.

11. *Manu* XI, 74; *Yâgñ.* III, 248.

12. The Mantras given in the commentary, and a parallel passage of *Vasishṭha* XX, 25-26, show that this terrible penance is not altogether a mere theory of Âpastamba. *Yâgñ.* III, 247.

13. 'According to some, the penance must be performed if all these animals together have been slain; according to others, if only one of them has been killed.'—Haradatta. *Manu* XI, 132, 136; *Yâgñ.* III, 270-272.

PRASNA I, PĀTALA 9, KHANDA 26.

1. (The same penance must be performed), if a milch-cow or a full-grown ox (has been slain), without a reason.

2. And for other animals (which have no bones), if an ox-load of them has been killed.

3. He who abuses a person who (on account of his venerability) ought not to be abused, or speaks an untruth (regarding any small matter) must abstain for three days from milk, pungent condiments, and salt.

4. (If the same sins have been committed) by a Sūdra, he must fast for seven days.

5. And the same (penances must also be performed) by women, (but not those which follow).

6. He who cuts off a limb of a person for whose murder he would become an Abhisasta (must perform the penance prescribed for killing a Sūdra), if the life (of the person injured) has not been endangered.

26. 1. 'A reason' for hurting a cow is, according to Haradatta, anger, or the desire to obtain meat.

2. Manu XI, 141; Yāgñ. III, 269. That 'animals without bones,' i.e. insects or mollusks, are intended in the Sūtra is an inference, drawn by Haradatta from the parallel passages of Gautama, Manu, and Yāgñavalkya.

3. 'A person who ought not to be abused, i. e. a father, a teacher, and the like.'—Haradatta.

5. The same penances, i. e. those prescribed I, 9, 24—I, 9, 26, 4. According to Haradatta this Sūtra is intended to teach that women shall not perform the penances which follow. Others, however, are of opinion that it is given in order to indicate that the preceding Sūtras apply to women by an atidesa, and that, according to a Smārta principle, applicable to such cases, it may be inferred, that women are to perform one-half only of the penances prescribed for men.

7. He who has been guilty of conduct unworthy of an Aryan, of calumniating others, of actions contrary to the rule of conduct, of eating or drinking things forbidden, of connection with a woman of the Sûdra caste, of an unnatural crime, of performing magic rites with intent (to harm his enemies) or (of hurting others) unintentionally, shall bathe and sprinkle himself with water, reciting the (seven) verses addressed to the Waters, or the verses addressed to Varuna, or (other verses chosen from the Anuvâka, called) Pavitra, in proportion to the frequency with which the crime has been committed.

8. A (student) who has broken the vow of chastity, shall offer to Nirṛiti an ass, according to the manner of the Pākayagña-rites.

9. A Sûdra shall eat (the remainder) of that (offering).

10. (Now follows) the penance for him who transgresses the rules of studentship.

11. He shall for a year serve his teacher silently, emitting speech only during the daily study (of the Veda, in announcing necessary business to) his teacher or his teacher's wife, and whilst collecting alms.

12. The following (penances) which we are going to proclaim, may be performed for the same sin, and

7. The Anuvâka intended is Taitt. Samh. II, 5, 12.

8. Taitt. Âr. II, 18, and Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 102; Manu XI, 119 seq.; and Yâgñ. III, 280. Regarding the Pākayagña-rites, see Âsv. Gri. Sû. I, 1, 2, and Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 203.

12. Regarding the Patanīya-crimes which cause loss of caste, see above, I, 7, 21, 7 seq.

also for other sinful acts, which do not cause loss of caste.

13. He may either offer oblations to Kâma and Manyu (with the following two Mantras), 'Kâma (passion) has done it; Manyu (anger) has done it.' Or he may mutter (these Mantras).

14. Or, after having eaten sesamum or fasted on the days of the full and new moon he may, on the following day bathe, and stopping his breath, repeat the Gâyatrî one thousand times, or he may do so without stopping his breath.

PRASNA I, PATALA 9, KHANDA 27.

1. After having eaten sesamum or having fasted on the full moon day of the month *Śrâvana* (July–August), he may on the following day bathe in the water of a great river and offer (a burnt-oblation of) one thousand pieces of sacred fuel, whilst reciting the Gâyatrî, or he may mutter (the Gâyatrî) as many times.

2. Or he may perform *Ishṭis* and Soma-sacrifices for the sake of purifying himself (from his sins).

3. After having eaten forbidden food, he must fast, until his entrails are empty.

4. That is (generally) attained after seven days.

5. Or he may during winter and during the dewy

13. Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 102. According to the greatness of the crime the number of the burnt-oblations must be increased and the prayers be repeated.

27. 1. 'The oblations of sacred fuel (*samidh*) are not to be accompanied by the exclamation *Svâhâ*.'—Haradatta.

2. *Ishṭis* are the simplest forms of the *Śrauta*-sacrifices, i.e. of those for which three fires are necessary.

3. For some particular kinds of forbidden food the same penance is prescribed, *Manu* XI, 153–154.

season (November–March) bathe in cold water both morning and evening.

6. Or he may perform a *Krikkhra* penance, which lasts twelve days.

7. The rule for the *Krikkhra* penance of twelve days (is the following) : For three days he must not eat in the evening, and then for three days not in the morning ; for three days he must live on food which has been given unasked, and three days he must not eat anything.

8. If he repeats this for a year, that is called a *Krikkhra* penance, which lasts for a year.

9. Now follows another penance. He who has committed even a great many sins which do not cause him to fall, becomes free from guilt, if, fasting, he recites the entire *Sākhâ* of his Veda three times consecutively.

10. He who cohabits with a non-Aryan woman, he who lends money at interest, he who drinks (other) spirituous liquors (than *Surâ*), he who praises everybody in a manner unworthy of a *Brâhmaṇa*, shall sit on grass, allowing his back to be scorched (by the sun).

11. A *Brâhmaṇa* removes the sin which he committed by serving one day and night (a man of) the black race, if he bathes for three years, eating at every fourth meal-time.

7. The same penance is described, under the name *Prâgâpatya krikkhra*, the *Krikkhra* invented by *Pragâpati*, *Manu* XI, 212, and *Yâgñ.* III, 320.

9. *Manu* XI, 259.

11. The expression *krishna varṇa*, 'the black race,' is truly Vedic. In the *Rîg-veda* it usually denotes the aboriginal races, and sometimes the demons. Others explain the *Sûtra* thus :

PRASNA I, PĀTALA 10, KHANDA 28.

1. He who, under any conditions whatsoever, covets (and takes) another man's possessions is a thief; thus (teach) Kautsa and Hârîta as well as Kaṇva and Pushkarasâdi.

2. Vârshyâyâzi declares, that there are exceptions to this law, in regard to some possessions.

3. (E.g.) seeds ripening in the pod, food for a draught-ox; (if these are taken), the owners (ought) not (to) forbid it.

4. To take even these things in too great a quantity is sinful.

5. Hârîta declares, that in every case the permission (of the owner must be obtained) first.

6. He shall not go to visit a fallen teacher or blood relation.

7. Nor shall he accept the (means for procuring) enjoyments from such a person.

8. If he meets them accidentally he shall silently embrace (their feet) and pass on.

9. A mother does very many acts for her son, therefore he must constantly serve her, though she be fallen.

10. But (there shall be) no communion (with a fallen mother) in acts performed for the acquisition of spiritual merit.

A Brâhmaṇa removes the sin, which he committed by cohabiting for one night with a female of the Sûdra caste, &c.—Haradatta. The latter explanation has been adopted by Kullûka on Manu XI, 179.

28. 3. The same rule Manu emphatically ascribes to himself, Manu VIII, 339. But see also VIII, 331.

7. Haradatta remarks, that this Sûtra implicitly forbids to accept the heritage of an outcast.

11. Enjoyments taken unrighteously he shall give up; he shall say, 'I and sin (do not dwell together).' Clothing himself with a garment reaching from the navel down to the knee, bathing daily, morn, noon, and evening, eating food which contains neither milk nor pungent condiments, nor salt, he shall not enter a house for twelve years.

12. After that he (may be) purified.

13. Then he may have intercourse with Aryans.

14. This penance may also be employed in the case of the other crimes which cause loss of caste (for which no penance has been ordained above).

15. But the violator of a Guru's bed shall enter a hollow iron image and, having caused a fire to be lit on both sides, he shall burn himself.

16. According to Hârîta, this (last-mentioned penance must) not (be performed).

17. For he who takes his own or another's life becomes an Abhisasta.

18. He (the violator of a Guru's bed) shall perform to his last breath (the penance) prescribed by that rule (Sûtra 11). He cannot be purified in this world. But (after death) his sin is taken away.

19. He who has unjustly forsaken his wife shall put on an ass's skin, with the hair turned outside, and beg in seven houses, saying, 'Give alms to him who forsook his wife.' That shall be his livelihood for six months.

20. But if a wife forsakes her husband, she shall

11. A similar but easier penance is prescribed, Manu XI, 194.

15. '(This penance, which had been prescribed above, I, 9, 25, 1), is enjoined (once more), in order to show that it is not optional (as might be expected according to Sûtra 14).'—Haradatta.

perform the twelve-night *Krikkhra* penance for as long a time.

21. He who has killed a *Bhrûna* (a man learned in the Vedas and Vedângas and skilled in the performance of the rites) shall put on the skin of a dog or of an ass, with the hair turned outside, and take a human skull for his drinking-vessel,

PRASNA I, PATALA 10, KHANDA 29.

1. And he shall take the foot of a bed instead of a staff and, proclaiming the name of his deed, he shall go about (saying), 'Who (gives) alms to the murderer of a *Bhrûna*?' Obtaining thus his livelihood in the village, he shall dwell in an empty house or under a tree, (knowing that) he is not allowed to have intercourse with Aryans. According to this rule he shall act until his last breath. He cannot be purified in this world. But (after death) his sin is taken away.

2. He even who slays unintentionally, reaps nevertheless the result of his sin.

3. (His guilt is) greater, (if he slays) intentionally.

4. The same (principle applies) also to other sinful actions,

5. And also to good works.

6. A *Brâhmana* shall not take a weapon into his hand, though he be only desirous of examining it.

7. In a *Purâna* (it has been declared), that he who

29. 5. Haradatta gives, as an example, the case where a warrior saves the property of a traveller from thieves. If the traveller turns out to be a *Brâhmana*, and the warrior did not know his caste before rescuing his property, his merit will be less than if he had rescued knowingly the property of a *Brâhmana*.

slays an assailant does not sin, for (in that case) wrath meets wrath.

8. But Abhisastas shall live together in dwellings (outside the village); considering this their lawful (mode of life), they shall sacrifice for each other, teach each other, and marry amongst each other.

9. If they have begot sons, let them say to them: 'Go out from amongst us, for thus the Âryas, (throwing the guilt) upon us, will receive you (amongst their number).

10. For the organs do not become impure together with the man.

11. (The truth of) that may be learned from this (parallel case); a man deficient in limbs begets a son who possesses the full number of limbs.

12. Hârta declares that this is wrong.

13. A wife is similar to the vessel which contains the curds (for the sacrifice).

14. For if one makes impure milk curdle (by mixing it with whey and water) in a milk-vessel and stirs it, no sacrificial rite can be performed with (the curds produced from) that. Just so no intercourse

9. It is impossible to agree with Haradatta's explanation of the words to be addressed by Abhisastas to their children. No Vedic license can excuse the use of the second person plural instead of the third. I propose the following: 'Go out from among us; for thus (leaving the guilt) to us, you will be received (as) Âryas.' It is, however, not improbable that our text is disfigured by several very old corruptions, compare Baudhâyana II, 1, 2, 18.

11. 'In like manner a man who has lost his rights, (can) beget a son, who possesses the rights (of his caste). For the wife is also a cause (of the birth of the son), and she is guiltless.'—Haradatta.

13. The statements now following are those with which Âpastamba agrees. Those contained in Sûtras 8–11 are merely the pûrvapaksha.

can be allowed with the impure seed which comes (from an Abhisasta).

15. Sorcery and curses (employed against a Brâhmaṇa) cause a man to become impure, but not loss of caste.

16. Hârîta declares that they cause loss of caste.

17. But crimes causing impurity must be expiated, (when no particular penance is prescribed,) by performing the penance enjoined for crimes causing loss of caste during twelve months, or twelve half months, or twelve twelve-nights, or twelve se'nnights, or twelve times three days, or twelve days, or seven days, or three days, or one day.

18. Thus acts causing impurity must be expiated according to the manner in which the (sinful) act has been committed (whether intentionally or unintentionally).

PRASNA I, PATALA 11, KHANDA 30.

1. Some declare, that a student shall bathe after (having acquired) the knowledge of the Veda, (however long or short the time of his studentship may have been).

2. (He may) also (bathe) after having kept the student's vow for forty-eight, (thirty-six or twenty-four) years, (though he may not have mastered the Veda).

3. Some declare, that the student (shall bathe) after (having acquired) the knowledge of the Veda and after (the expiration of) his vow.

30. 1. The bath is taken at the end of the studentship, and forms part of the Samâvartana-ceremony. From this rite a student who has completed his course of study derives the name Snâtaka, 'one who has bathed.' See also Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 125.

4. To all those persons who have bathed (in accordance with any of the above rules must be shown) the honour due to a Snâtaka.

5. The reverence (shown to a Snâtaka) brings, however, different rewards according to the degree of devotion or of learning (possessed by the person honoured).

6. Now follow the observances (chiefly to be kept) by a Snâtaka.

7. He shall usually enter the village and leave it by the eastern or the northern gate.

8. During the morning and evening twilights, he shall sit outside the village, and not speak anything (referring to worldly matters).

9. (But an Agnihotri, who is occupied at home by oblations in the morning and evening, must not go out; for) in the case of a conflict (of duties), that enjoined by the Veda is the more important.

10. He shall avoid all dyed dresses,

11. And all naturally black cloth.

12. He shall wear a dress that is neither shining,

13. Nor despicable, if he is able (to afford it).

14. And in the day-time he shall avoid to wrap up his head, except when voiding excrements.

15. But when voiding excrements, he shall envelop his head and place some (grass or the like) on the ground.

16. He shall not void excrements in the shade (of a tree, where travellers rest).

10. The rule to wear white garments is given Yâgñ. I, 131; Manu IV, 35.

13. Manu IV, 34.

15. Manu IV, 49.

17. But he may discharge urine on his own shadow.

18. He shall not void excrements with his shoes on, nor on a ploughed field, nor on a path, nor in water.

19. He shall also avoid to spit into, or to have connection with a woman in water.

20. He shall not void excrements facing the fire, the sun, water, a Brâhmana, cows, or (images of) the gods.

21. He shall avoid to clean his body from excrements with a stone, a clod of earth, or with (boughs of) herbs or trees which he has broken off, whilst they were on the tree and full of sap.

22. If possible, he shall not stretch out his feet towards a fire, water, a Brâhmana, a cow, (images of) the gods, a door, or against the wind.

23. Now they quote also (the following verse) :

PRASNA I, PATALA 11, KHANDA 31.

1. He shall eat facing the east, void fæces facing the south, discharge urine facing the north, and wash his feet turned towards the west.

2. He shall void excrements far from his house, having gone towards the south or south-west.

3. But after sunset he must not void excrements outside the village or far from his house.

4. And as long as he is impure he (shall avoid) to pronounce the names of the gods.

18. Manu IV, 45, 46 ; Yâgñ. I, 137.

19. Manu IV, 56.

20. Manu IV, 48, 52 ; Yâgñ. I, 134.

22. The prohibition to stretch the feet towards a fire occurs also Manu IV, 53 ; Yâgñ. I, 137.

31. 2. Manu IV, 151 ; Yâgñ. I, 16.

5. And he shall not speak evil of the gods or of the king.

6. He shall not touch with his foot a Brāhmaṇa, a cow, nor any other (venerable beings).

7. (Nor shall he touch them) with his hand, except for particular reasons.

8. He shall not mention the blemishes of a cow, of sacrificial presents, or of a girl.

9. And he shall not announce it (to the owner) if a cow does damage (by eating corn or grass in a field).

10. (Nor shall he call attention to it) if a cow is together with her calf, except for a particular reason.

11. And of a cow which is not a milch-cow he shall not say, 'She is not a milch-cow.' He must say, 'This is a cow which will become a milch-cow.'

12. He shall not call 'lucky' that which is lucky. He shall call it 'a mercy, a blessing.'

13. He shall not step over a rope to which a calf (or cow) is tied.

14. He shall not pass between the posts from which a swing is suspended.

15. (In company) he shall not say, 'This person

5. Manu IV, 163.

8. 'In the section on transcendental knowledge (I, 8, 23, 5), "speaking evil" has been forbidden, in connection with the means of salvation. And below (Sūtra 25) the (author) will declare that the sins which destroy the creatures are to be avoided. But this precept (is given in order to indicate that) in the case of cows and the rest an extra penance must be performed.'—Haradatta.

12. Manu IV, 139.

13. Manu IV, 38.

14. 'Or according to others, "He shall not pass between pillars supporting an arch."'—Haradatta.

is my enemy.' If he says, 'This person is my enemy,' he will raise for himself an enemy, who will show his hatred.

16. If he sees a rainbow, he must not say to others, 'Here is Indra's bow.'

17. He shall not count (a flock of) birds.

18. He shall avoid to look at the sun when he rises or sets.

19. During the day the sun protects the creatures, during the night the moon. Therefore let him eagerly strive to protect himself on the night of the new moon by purity, continence, and rites adapted for the season.

20. For during that night the sun and the moon dwell together.

21. He shall not enter the village by a by-path. If he enters it thus, he shall mutter this *Rîk*-verse, 'Praise be to Rudra, the lord of the dwelling,' or some other (verse) addressed to Rudra.

22. He shall not (ordinarily) give the residue of his food to a person who is not a Brâhmaṇa. When he gives it (to such a one), he shall clean his teeth and give (the food) after having placed in it (the dirt from his teeth).

16. Manu IV, 59.

17. 'Others explain (the Sûtra thus): He shall not announce it to others, if he sees (the souls of) good men falling from heaven on account of the expenditure of their merit, (i.e.) he shall not call attention to shooting-stars.'—Haradatta.

18. Manu IV, 37.

19. Manu IV, 153.

21. Manu IV, 73; Yâgñ. I, 140.

22. Manu IV, 80. 'This prohibition (given in the first part of the Sûtra) refers to Sûdras who are not dependents; to dependents the following (exception applies).—Haradatta.

23. And let him avoid the faults that destroy the creatures, such as anger and the like.

PRASNA I, PĀṬALA 11, KHANDA 32.

1. Let him who teaches, avoid connubial intercourse during the rainy season and in autumn.

2. And if he has had connection (with his wife), he shall not lie with her during the whole night.

3. He shall not teach whilst he is lying on a bed.

4. Nor shall he teach (sitting) on that couch on which he lies (at night with his wife).

5. He shall not show himself adorned with a garland, or anointed with ointments.

6. At night he shall always adorn himself for his wife.

7. Let him not submerge his head together with his body (in bathing),

8. And (let him avoid) to bathe after sunset.

9. Let him avoid to use a seat, clogs, sticks for cleaning the teeth, (and other utensils) made of Palāsa-wood.

10. Let him avoid to praise (himself) before his teacher, saying, 'I have properly bathed or the like.'

11. Let him be awake from midnight.

12. Let him not study (or teach) in the middle of the night; but (he may point out) their duties to his pupils.

13. Or (he may) by himself mentally (repeat the sacred texts).

14. After midnight he may teach.

23. See above, I, 8, 23, 4 and 5, and Manu IV, 163.

32. 1. Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 42.

2. Manu IV, 40.

5. Manu IV, 72.

15. When he has risen (at midnight, and taught) during the third watch of the night, let him not lie down again (saying), 'Studying is forbidden.'

16. At his pleasure he may (sleep) leaning (against a post or the like).

17. Or he may mentally repeat (the sacred texts).

18. Let him not visit inferior men (such as Nishâ-das), nor countries which are inhabited by them,

19. Nor assemblies and crowds.

20. If he has entered a crowd, he shall leave it, turning his right hand towards the crowd.

21. Nor shall he enter towns frequently.

22. Let him not answer directly a question (that is difficult to decide).

23. Now they quote also (the following verse):

24. (The foolish decision) of a person who decides wrongly destroys his ancestors and his future happiness, it harms his children, cattle, and house. 'Oh Dharmaprahârâda, (this deed belongs) not to Kumâlana!' thus decided Death, weeping, the question (addressed to him by the *Rîshi*).

15. I. e. if the following day is a forbidden day, e.g. an Ashvini. See also Manu IV, 99.

18. Manu IV, 60 and 61.

24. Haradatta tells the story to which the second half of the verse alludes, in the following manner: 'A certain *Rîshi* had two pupils, called Dharmaprahârâda and Kumâlana. Once they brought from the forest two great bundles of firewood and threw them negligently into their teacher's house, without looking. One of the bundles struck the teacher's little son so that he died. Then the teacher asked his two pupils, "Which of you two has killed him?" Both answered, "Not I, not I." Hereupon the teacher, being unable to (come to a decision in order to) send away the sinner and to keep the innocent one, called Death, and asked him, "Which of the two has killed the boy?" Then Death, finding himself involved in a difficult law-question, began to weep, and

25. Let him not ascend a carriage yoked with asses; and let him avoid to ascend or to descend from vehicles in difficult places.

26. And (let him avoid) to cross a river swimming.

27. And (let him avoid) ships of doubtful (solidity).

28. He shall avoid cutting grass, crushing clods of earth, and spitting, without a particular reason,

29. And whatever else they forbid.

PRASNA II, PATALA 1, KHANDA 1.

1. After marriage the rites prescribed for a householder and his wife (must be performed).

2. He shall eat at the two (appointed) times, (morning and evening).

giving his decision, said, "Oh Dharmaprahâda, not to Kumâlana (the dative has the sense of the genitive), this sin is none of Kumâlana's!" Instead of declaring, "Dharmaprahâda, thou hast done this," he said, "The other did not do it." Still from the circumstances of the case it appeared that the meaning of the answer was, "The other has done it." "This was the decision which he gave crying."—The reading of the text rendered in the translation is, *dharmaprahâda na kumâlanâya*.

26. Manu IV, 77.

28. Manu IV, 70 and 71.

1. 1. According to Haradatta, this rule is intended to refute the opinion of those who hold that the sacred household-fire may be kept, and the prescribed offerings therein may be performed, either from the time of the marriage, or after the division of the family estate. He also states that the use of the dual *gr̥hamedhinoḥ* indicates that husband and wife must perform the rites conjointly. Manu III, 67.

2. Haradatta thinks that this Sûtra is intended to prevent householders from having more than two meals a day, and to keep them from gluttony. Others are of opinion that its object is to keep householders from excessive fasting, and to make them perform the Prânâgnihotra at either meal. At the Prânâgnihotra the sacrificer eats five mouthfuls invoking successively, whilst he

3. And he shall not eat to repletion.
4. And both (the householder and his wife) shall fast on (the days of) the new and full moon.
5. To eat once (on those days in the morning), that also is called fasting.
6. And they may eat (at that meal) until they are quite satisfied.
7. And on (the anniversary of) that (wedding)-day they may eat that food of which they are fond.
8. And (on the night of that day) they shall sleep on the ground (on a raised heap of earth).
9. And they shall avoid connubial intercourse.
10. And on the day after (that day) a Sthâlpâka must be offered.
11. The manner in which that offering must be

eats, the five vital airs. At the first mouthful he says, 'To Prâṇa svâhâ;' at the second, 'To Apâna svâhâ,' &c.

5. Âsv. Gri. Sû. I, 10, 2.

7. Haradatta holds that the words 'on that day' do not refer to the days of the new and full moon, the Parvan-days, mentioned in Sûtra 4. His reasons are, first, that the permission to eat food, of which the householder may be particularly fond, has already been given in Sûtra 6, by the term *trīptiḥ*, 'satisfaction'; and, secondly, that the singular 'on this day' does not agree with the plural 'on the Parvan-days.' Hence he comes to the conclusion that the words 'on that day' must refer to the wedding-day, mentioned in Sûtra 1, as well as to its anniversary. Haradatta is, probably, right in his explanation, though the reasons adduced here are very weak. A stronger reason for detaching this Sûtra from Sûtra 4 will be brought forward below, under Sûtra 11. Mahâdeva, the commentator of the *Hiranyakesidharma*, adopts the view rejected by Haradatta.

8. Âsv. Gri. Sû. I, 3, 10.

10. A Sthâlpâka is an offering at which rice cooked in a pot, sthâlî, is offered in the fire. A full description of this kind of sacrifice occurs, Âsv. Gri. Sû. I, 10, 1 seq.

11. The Pârvana Sthâlpâka has been described by Âpastamba

performed has been declared by (the description of the Sthâlpâka) to be performed on the days of the new and full moon (the Pârvana).

12. And they declare (that this rite which is known) amongst the people (must be performed) every (year).

13. At every (burnt-offering), when he wishes to place the fire on the altar (called Sthandîla), let him draw on that (altar) three lines from west to east and three lines from south to north, and sprinkle (the altar) with water, turning the palm of the hand downwards, and let him then make the fire burn brightly by adding (fuel).

14. He shall pour out (the remainder of) this water used for sprinkling, to the north or to the east (of the altar), and take other (water into the vessel).

15. The water-vessels in the house shall never be empty; that is the duty to be observed by the householder and his wife.

in the *Gr̥hya-sûtra*, III, 7. Again, Haradatta returns to the question whether the words on that day (*Sûtra* 7) refer to the Parvan-days, or the marriage-day and its anniversaries. He now adds, in favour of the latter view, that the word Pârvana, 'by the rite to be performed on Parvan-days,' by which the Sthâlpâka on Parvan-days is intended, clearly proves the impossibility to refer the preceding rules to the Parvan-days. He adds that some, nevertheless, adopt the explanation rejected by himself.

12. They, i.e. the *Sishvas*, those learned in the law. 'Another commentator says, the rite which will be taught (in the following *Sûtra*), and which is known from the usage of the learned, is constant, i.e. must be performed in every case. That it is what the "learned" declare.'—Haradatta. The latter explanation of the *Sûtra* is adopted by Mahâdeva.

13. *Âsv. Gr̥i. Sû. I, 3, 1-3.*

15. Haradatta states that the object of the repetition of the words 'the householder and his wife' is to show that they

16. Let him not have connubial intercourse (with his wife) in the day-time.

17. But let him have connection with his wife at the proper time, according to the rules (of the law).

18. Let him have connubial intercourse in the interval also, if his wife (desires it, observing the restrictions imposed by the law).

19. (The duty of) connubial intercourse (follows from) the passage of a Brâhmaṇa, ('Let us dwell together until a son be born.')

20. But during intercourse he shall be dressed in a particular dress kept for this purpose.

21. And during intercourse only they shall lie together,

22. Afterwards separate.

23. Then they both shall bathe ;

PRASNA II, PATALA 1, KHANDA 2.

1. Or they shall remove the stains with earth or water, sip water, and sprinkle the body with water.

2. Men of all castes, if they fulfil their (assigned) duties, enjoy (in heaven) the highest, imperishable bliss.

3. Afterwards when (a man who has fulfilled his duties) returns to this world, he obtains, by virtue of

themselves must fill the water-vessels, and not employ others for this purpose. He adds that, according to another commentator, the object of the repetition is to show that Sûtras 13 and 14 apply not only to householders, but also to students, and that hence students, when they offer the daily oblations of sacred fuel (above, I, 1, 4, 14 seq.), should also perform the rites taught in the preceding Sûtras.

17. See Manu III, 46-48 ; Yâgñ. I, 79, 80.

18. Manu III, 45 ; Yâgñ. I, 81.

19. See Taittirîya Samhitâ II, 5, 1, 5.

a remainder of merit, birth in a distinguished family, beauty of form, beauty of complexion, strength, aptitude for learning, wisdom, wealth, and the gift of fulfilling the laws of his (caste and order). Therefore in both worlds he dwells in happiness, (rolling) like a wheel (from the one to the other).

4. As the seed of herbs (and) trees, (sown) in good and well-cultivated soil, gives manifold returns of fruit (even so it is with men who have received the various sacraments).

5. The increase of the results of sins has been explained hereby.

6. Thus after having undergone a long punishment in the next world, a person who has stolen (the gold of a *Brāhmaṇa*) or killed a (*Brāhmaṇa*) is born again, in case he was a *Brāhmaṇa* as a *Kāṇḍāla*, in case he was a Kshatriya as a Paulkasa, in case he was a Vaisya as a *Vaina*.

7. In the same manner other (sinners) who have become outcasts in consequence of their sinful actions are born again, on account of (these) sins, losing their caste, in the wombs (of various animals).

8. As it is sinful to touch a *Kāṇḍāla*, (so it is also sinful) to speak to him or to look at him. The penance for these (offences will be declared).

9. (The penance) for touching him is to bathe, submerging the whole body; for speaking to him to speak to a *Brāhmaṇa*; for looking at him to look at the lights (of heaven).

2. 6. Manu XII, 55; *Yâgñ.* III, 206, 207. A Paulkasa is said to be the offspring of a *Nishāda* and a Kshatriya woman. See the *Pet. Dict.* s. v. A *Vaina* is a rope-dancer, or equilibrist.

7. Manu XII, 52.

PRASNA II, PATALA 2, KHANDA 3.

1. Pure men of the first three castes shall prepare the food (of a householder which is used) at the Vaisvadeva ceremony.

2. The (cook) shall not speak, nor cough, nor sneeze, while his face is turned towards the food.

3. He shall purify himself by touching water if he has touched his hair, his limbs, or his garment.

4. Or Sûdras may prepare the food, under the superintendence of men of the first three castes.

5. For them is prescribed the same rule of sipping water (as for their masters).

6. Besides, the (Sûdra cooks) daily shall cause to be cut the hair of their heads, their beards, the hair on their bodies, and their nails.

7. And they shall bathe, keeping their clothes on.

8. Or they may trim (their hair and nails) on the eighth day (of each half-month), or on the days of the full and new moon.

9. He (the householder himself) shall place on the fire that food which has been prepared (by Sûdras) without supervision, and shall sprinkle it with water. Such food also they state to be fit for the gods.

10. When the food is ready, (the cook) shall place

3, 1. 'The food which is used at the Vaisvadeva, i. e. the food prepared for the meals of the householder and of his wife.'—Haradatta.

5. This Sûtra is a *Ghâpaka*, as it indicates that Âpastamba also recognises the different rules which are usually prescribed in the *Smritis* for Brâhmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sûdras. See above, I, 5, 16, 2.

7. Usually in bathing both Âryas and Sûdras wear no dress except the *langofi*.

himself before his master and announce it to him (saying), 'It is ready.'

11. The answer (of the master) shall be, 'That well-prepared food is the means to obtain splendour; may it never fail!'

12. The burnt-oblations and Bali-offerings made with the food which the husband and his wife are to eat, bring (as their reward) prosperity, (and the enjoyment of) heaven.

13. Whilst learning the sacred formulas (to be recited during the performance) of those (burnt-oblations and Bali-offerings, a householder) shall sleep on the ground, abstain from connubial intercourse and from eating pungent condiments and salt, during twelve days.

14. (When he studies the Mantras) for the last (Bali offered to the goblins), he shall fast for one (day and) night.

15. For each Bali-offering the ground must be prepared separately. (The performer) sweeps (the ground) with his (right) hand, sprinkles it with water, turning the palm downwards, throws down (the offering), and afterwards sprinkles water around it.

11. Manu II, 54.

12. Balis are portions of food which are thrown before the door, or on the floor of the house. See below, Sûtra 16 seq.

13. Others explain this Sûtra thus: 'After having used for the first time these sacred formulas (which are to be recited in offering the burnt-oblation and the Balis, the householder and his wife) shall sleep,' &c.

14. Regarding the use of *ekarâtra* in the sense of 'a (day and a) night,' see above. The 'last' Bali-offering is that described below, II, 2, 4, 5.

15. 'They say that the word "afterwards" is used in order to indicate that perfumes, garlands, and other (*Upakâras*) must be offered between (the last two acts).—Haradatta.

16. (At the Vaisvadeva sacrifice) he shall offer the oblations with his hand, (throwing them) into the kitchen-fire or into the sacred (*Grihya*)-fire, and reciting (each time one of) the first six Mantras (prescribed in the *Nârâyana* Upanishad).

17. He shall sprinkle water all around both times (before and after the oblations), as (has been declared) above.

18. In like manner water is sprinkled around once only after the performance of those Bali-offerings that are performed in one place.

19. (If a seasoning) has been prepared, (the Bali-offering should consist of rice) mixed with that seasoning.

20. With the seventh and eighth Mantras (Balis

16. It is a disputed point with the commentators whether every *Brâhmaṇa* may offer the Vaisvadeva in the common kitchen-fire, or those persons only who do not keep a sacred domestic fire. The six Mantras, which are given Taitt. Âr. X, 67, 1, are: 1. Agnaye svâhâ, 'to Agni svâhâ'; 2. Somâya svâhâ, 'to Soma svâhâ'; 3. Visvebhyo devebhyas svâhâ, 'to all the gods svâhâ'; 4. Dhruvâya bhûmaya svâhâ, 'to Dhruva Bhûma svâhâ'; 5. Dhruvakshitaye svâhâ, 'to Dhruvakshiti svâhâ'; 6. Âkyutakshitaye svâhâ, 'to Âkyutakshiti svâhâ.' Haradatta adds that some add a seventh formula, addressed to Agni svishṭakṛt, 'to the fire which causes the proper performance of the sacrifice,' while others leave out the second Mantra and give that addressed to Agni svishṭakṛt the sixth place. This latter is the order given in the Calcutta edition of the Taittirîya Âraṇyaka.

17. 'Above, i.e. *Grihya-sûtra*, I, 2, 3, 8.'—Haradatta. The Mantras recited are: 1. at the first sprinkling, Adite 'numanyasva, 'Aditi permit'; Anumate 'numanyasva, 'Anumati permit'; Sarasvaty anumanyasva, 'Sarasvatî permit'; Deva Savitâ prasuva, 'Divine Savitri permit'; 2. at the second sprinkling, the same as above, anva-mamsthâ and prâsâvî, 'thou hast permitted,' being substituted for anumanyasva and prasuva.

18. This Sûtra is a restriction of Sûtra 15.

20. The first six offerings constitute the Devayagña or Vaisva-

must be offered to Dharma and Adharma) behind the fire, and must be placed the one to the north of the other.

21. With the ninth (Mantra a Bali offered to the waters must be placed) near the water-vessel (in which the water for domestic purposes is kept).

22. With the tenth and eleventh (Mantras, Balis, offered to the herbs and trees and to Rakshodevaganas, must be placed) in the centre of the house, and the one to the east of the other.

23. With the following four (Mantras, Balis must be placed) in the north-eastern part of the house (and the one to the east of the other).

PRASNA II, PATALA 2, KHANDA 4.

1. Near the bed (a Bali must be offered) with (a Mantra) addressed to Kâma (Cupid).

2. On the door-sill (a Bali must be placed) with (a Mantra) addressed to Antariksha (the air).

3. With (the Mantra) that follows (in the Upanishad, he offers a Bali) near the door.

deva, which is offered in the fire. Now follow the Bali-offerings, which are merely placed on the ground. 'Behind the fire' means 'to the east of the fire'; for the sacrificer must face the east.

21. The Mantra is, *Adbhyaḥ svâhâ*, 'to the Waters *svâhâ*.'

22. The Mantras are, *Oshadhivanaspatibhyaḥ svâhâ*, 'to the herbs and trees *svâhâ*'; *Rakshodevaganebhyaḥ svâhâ*, 'to the Rākshasas and the servants of the gods *svâhâ*.'

23. These four Balis are sacred to the *Grhās*, to the *Avasânas*, to the *Avasânâpatis*, and to all creatures.

4. 2. 'Others explain *dehalî*, "the door-sill," to mean "the door-case."—Haradatta.

3. 'Others explain *apidhâna*, "the panels of the door," to mean "the bolt of the door."—Haradatta. The offering is made to Nâma, 'the name, or essence of things.'

4. With the following (ten Mantras, addressed to Earth, Air, Heaven, Sun, Moon, the Constellations, Indra, *Bṛihaspati*, *Pragâpati*, and Brahman, he offers ten Balis, each following one to the east of the preceding one), in (the part of the house called) the seat of Brahman.

5. He shall offer to the south (of the Balis offered before, a Bali) with a Mantra addressed to the Manes; his sacrificial cord shall be suspended over the right shoulder, and the (palm of his right hand shall be turned upwards and) inclined to the right.

6. To the north (of the Bali given to the Manes, a Bali shall be offered) to Rudra, in the same manner as to the (other) gods.

7. The sprinkling with water (which precedes and follows the oblation) of these two (Balis, takes place) separately, on account of the difference of the rule (for each case).

4. Haradatta gives two explanations of the word *Brahmasadana*, 'the seat of Brahman.' According to some, it is an architectural term, designating the centre of the house; according to others, it denotes the place where, at the time of the burnt-oblations, the Brahman or superintending priest is seated, i.e. a spot to the south of the sacred fire.

5. Balis and water for the Manes are placed or poured into the palm of the hand and thrown out between the thumb and forefinger. That part of the palm is, therefore, sometimes called 'the *tīrtha* sacred to the Manes.' See *Manu* II, 39.

6. 'That is to say, the sacrificial cord shall not be suspended over the right shoulder, nor shall the Bali be thrown out between the thumb and forefinger.'—Haradatta.

7. In sprinkling around an offering to the gods, the sacrificer turns his right hand towards the oblation and pours out the water, beginning in the south and ending in the east. In sprinkling around an offering to the Manes, exactly the opposite order is to be followed.

8. At night only he shall offer (the Bali to the goblins), throwing it into the air and reciting the last (Mantra).

9. He who devoutly offers those (above-described Balis and Homas), according to the rules, (obtains) eternal bliss in heaven and prosperity.

10. And (after the Balis have been performed, a portion of the food) must first be given as alms.

11. He shall give food to his guests first,

12. And to infants, old or sick people, female (relations, and) pregnant women.

13. The master (of the house) and his wife shall not refuse a man who asks for food at the time (when the Vaisvadeva offering has been performed).

14. If there is no food, earth, water, grass, and a kind word, indeed, never fail in the house of a good man. Thus (say those who know the law).

8. At night, i. e. before the evening meal. The Mantra is, 'To those beings which, being servants of Vituda, roam about day and night, desiring a Bali-offering, I offer this Bali, desirous of prosperity. May the Lord of prosperity grant me prosperity, svâhâ.' Haradatta adds, that according to another commentator, no other Bali but this is to be offered in the evening, and that some modify the Mantra for each occasion, offering the Bali in the morning to 'the Bhûtas that roam about during the day,' and in the evening 'to the night-walkers.' Compare for the whole section Manu III, 90-92; *Yâgñ.* I, 102-104.

10. Manu III, 94 seq.

11. Manu III, 115; *Yâgñ.* I, 105.

12. Manu III, 114; *Yâgñ.* I, 105.

14. Manu III, 101; *Yâgñ.* I, 107. As read in the text, the first line of the verse has one syllable in excess. This irregularity would disappear if *trinâ*, the Vedic form of the nom. acc. plural, were read for *trinâni*, and it seems to me not improbable that *trinâni* is a correction made by a Pandit who valued grammatical correctness higher than correctness of metre.

15. Endless worlds are the portion (of those householders and wives) who act thus.

16. To a Brâhmaṇa who has not studied the Veda, a seat, water, and food must be given. But (the giver) shall not rise (to do him honour).

17. But if (such a man) is worthy of a salutation (for other reasons), he shall rise to salute him.

18. Nor (shall a Brâhmaṇa rise to receive) a Kshatriya or Vaisya (though they may be learned).

19. If a Sûdra comes as a guest (to a Brâhmaṇa), he shall give him some work to do. He may feed him, after (that has been performed).

20. Or the slaves (of the Brâhmaṇa householder) shall fetch (rice) from the royal stores, and honour the Sûdra as a guest.

21. (A householder) must always wear his garment over (his left shoulder and under his right arm).

22. Or he may use a cord only, slung over his left shoulder and passed under his right arm, instead of the garment.

23. He shall sweep together (the crumbs) on the place where he has eaten, and take them away. He shall sprinkle water on that place, turning the palm downwards, and remove the stains (of food from the cooking-vessels with a stick), wash them with water, and take their contents to a clean place to the north (of the house, offering them) to Rudra. In this manner his house will become prosperous.

16. Manu III, 99.

18. Manu III, 110-112; Yâgy. I, 107.

19. Manu loc. cit.

20. 'Hence it is known that the king ought to keep stores of rice and the like in every village, in order to show hospitality to Sûdra guests.'—Haradatta.

24. It is declared in the *Smritis* that a *Brâhmaṇa* alone should be chosen as teacher (or spiritual guide).

25. In times of distress a *Brâhmaṇa* may study under a *Kshatriya* or *Vaisya*.

26. And (during his pupilship) he must walk behind (such a teacher).

27. Afterwards the *Brâhmaṇa* shall take precedence before (his *Kshatriya* or *Vaisya* teacher).

PRASNA II, PATALA 2, KHANDA 5.

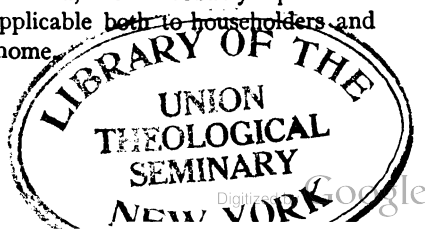
1. On the day on which, beginning the study of the whole sacred science, the *Upanishads* (and the rest, he performs the *Upâkarma* in the morning), he shall not study (at night).

2. And he shall not leave his teacher at once after having studied (the *Veda* and having returned home).

24. *Manu* II, 241, 242. From here down to II, 3, 6, 2, *Âpastamba* again treats of the duties of students and teachers, a subject which appears to have in his eyes a greater importance than any other. The rules given now apply chiefly to householders. It would seem that they have been inserted in this particular place, because the reception of a former teacher is to be described II, 3, 5, 4-11, and that of a 'learned guest' II, 3, 6, 3 seq.

5. 1. This rule refers to the *Upâkarma*, to be performed yearly by householders. In our days, too, the custom is observed, and the whole Brahminical community change on this occasion their *Genvis* or sacrificial cords in the month of *Śrâvāṇa*. The adherents of the various *Sâkhâs* of the *Vedas*, however, perform the ceremony on different days. According to *Haradatta*, the *Upanishads* are named, in order to show that they are of the highest importance. See also *Satapatha-brâhmaṇa* X, 3, 5, 12.

2. Others consider that this *Sûtra* refers to the annual *Upâkarma* of the householder. In that case the translation would be, 'And after having performed the *Upâkarma*,' &c. Probably *Âpastamba* means to give a general rule, applicable both to householders and to students who have returned home.



3. If he is in a hurry to go, he shall perform the daily recitation of the Veda in the presence of his teacher, and then go at his pleasure. In this manner good fortune will attend both of them.

4. If the (former) teacher visits him after he has returned home, he shall go out to meet him, embrace his (feet), and he shall not wash himself (after that act), showing disgust. He then shall let him pass first into the house, fetch (the materials necessary for a hospitable reception), and honour him according to the rule.

5. If (his former teacher is) present, he himself shall use a seat, a bed, food, and garments inferior to, and lower (than those offered to the teacher).

6. Standing (with his body bent), he shall place his left hand (under the water-vessel, and bending with his other hand its mouth downwards), he shall offer to his teacher water for sipping.

7. And (he shall offer water for sipping in this manner) to other guests also who possess all (good qualities) together.

8. He shall imitate (his teacher) in rising, sitting, walking about, and smiling.

4. 'Though he may suspect that the teacher had been defiled by the touch of a *Kāṇḍāla* or the like, still he shall not show disgust nor wash himself.'—Haradatta. Regarding the rule of receiving guests, see below, II, 4, 8, 6 seq.

6. According to Haradatta, the repetition of the word *âkâryam*, 'the teacher,' in this *Sûtra*, indicates that the rule holds good not only when the teacher comes as a guest to his former pupil, but on every occasion when he receives water for sipping.

7. 'He is called *samudeta*, "possessed of all (good qualities) together," who is endowed with (good) birth, disposition, behaviour, (great) learning, and a (venerable) age.'—Haradatta.

8. The word *syât* is to be understood from *Sûtra* 5.

9. In the presence (of his teacher) he shall not void excrements, discharge wind, speak aloud, laugh, spit, clean his teeth, blow his nose, frown, clap his hands, nor snap his fingers.

10. Nor shall he tenderly embrace or address caressing words to his wife or children.

11. He shall not contradict his teacher,

12. Nor any of his betters.

13. (He shall not) blame or revile any creature.

14. (He shall not revile one branch of) sacred learning by (invidiously comparing it with) another.

15. If he is not well versed in a (branch of) sacred learning (which he studied formerly), he shall again go to the (same) teacher and master it, observing the (same) rules as (during his first studentship).

16. The restrictions (to be kept) by the teacher from the beginning of the course of teaching to its end are, to avoid cutting the hair on the body, partaking of meat or of oblations to the Manes, and connection (with a woman).

17. Or (he may have conjugal intercourse) with his wife at the proper season.

18. He shall be attentive in instructing his pupils in the sacred learning, in such a manner that they

13. Haradatta states that 'speaking evil' is forbidden here once more in order that it should be particularly avoided.

14. 'For example, he shall not say, "The *Rîg*-veda is sweet to the ear, the other Vedas grate on the ear," or "the *Taittirîya*-veda is a *Sâkhâ* consisting of leavings," or "the *Brâhmaṇa* proclaimed by *Yâgñavalkya* is of modern origin."'—Haradatta. The second sentence refers to the story that *Yâgñavalkya* vomited the Black *Yagur*-veda, and his fellow-students, becoming partridges, picked it up. Regarding the third sentence, see *Vârttika* on *Pânini* IV, 3, 105, and *Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 363.

16. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* X, 42.

master it, and in observing the restrictions (imposed upon householders during their teaching). He who acts thus, gains heavenly bliss for himself, his descendants and ancestors.

19. He who entirely avoids with mind, word, nose, eye, and ear the sensual objects (such as are) enjoyed by the touch, the organ, or the stomach, gains immortality.

PRASNA II, PATALA 3, KHANDA 6.

1. If he has any doubts regarding the caste and conduct of a person who has come to him in order to fulfil his duty (of learning the Veda), he shall kindle a fire (with the ceremonies prescribed for kindling the sacrificial fire) and ask him about his caste and conduct.

2. If he declares himself to be (of) good (family and conduct, the teacher elect) shall say, 'Agni who sees, Vâyu who hears, Âditya who brings to light, vouch for his goodness; may it be well with this person! He is free from sin.' Then he shall begin to teach him.

3. A guest comes to the house resembling a burning fire.

6. 1. The person desirous to study addresses his teacher elect with the following Mantra : Bhagavan maitreṇa lakshushâ pasya sivena manasânugrîhâṇa prasîda mām adhyâpaya, 'venerable Sir, look on me with a friendly eye, receive me with a favourable mind, be kind and teach me.' The teacher elect then asks : Kimgotro'si saumya, kimâkâraḥ, 'friend, of what family art thou? what is thy rule of conduct?'

3. The object of this Sûtra is to show the absolute necessity of feeding a guest. For, if offended, he might burn the house with the flames of his anger.

4. He is called a Srotriya who, observing the law (of studentship), has learned one recension of the Veda (which may be current in his family).

5. He is called a guest (who, being a Srotriya), approaches solely for the fulfilment of his religious duties, and with no other object, a householder who lives intent on the fulfilment of his duties.

6. The reward for honouring (such a guest) is immunity from misfortunes, and heavenly bliss.

7. He shall go to meet such (a guest), honour him according to his age (by the formulas of salutation prescribed), and cause a seat to be given to him.

8. Some declare that, if possible, the seat should have many feet.

9. The (householder himself) shall wash the feet of that (guest) ; according to some, two Sûdras shall do it.

10. One of them shall be employed in pouring water (over the guest, the other in washing his feet).

11. Some declare that the water for the (guest) shall be brought in an earthen vessel.

4. The object of this Sûtra is to complete the definition of the term 'guest' to be given in the following Sûtra. In my translation I have followed Haradatta's gloss. The literal sense of Âpastamba's words is, 'He who, observing the law, has studied one recension of each (of the four) Vedas, becomes a Srotriya.' Haradatta says this definition would be contrary to the current acceptance of the term. That argument proves, however, nothing for Âpastamba's times.

5. Manu III, 102, 103; Yâgñ. I, 111.

6. Yâgñ. I, 109; Manu III, 101.

8. Haradatta states that this is also Âpastamba's opinion.

11. According to Haradatta, Âpastamba is of opinion that it should be brought in a pot made of metal.

12. But (a guest) who has not yet returned home from his teacher shall not be a cause for fetching water.

13. In case a (student comes, the host) shall repeat the Veda (together with him) for a longer time (than with other guests).

14. He shall converse kindly (with his guest), and gladden him with milk or other (drinks), with eatables, or at least with water.

15. He shall offer to his guest a room, a bed, a mattress, a pillow with a cover, and ointment, and what else (may be necessary).

16. (If the dinner has been finished before the arrival of the guest), he shall call his cook and give him rice or yava for (preparing a fresh meal for) the guest.

17. (If dinner is ready at the arrival of the guest), he himself shall portion out the food and look at it, saying (to himself), 'Is this (portion) greater, or this?'

18. He shall say, 'Take out a larger (portion for the guest).'

19. A guest who is at enmity (with his host) shall not eat his food, nor (shall he eat the food of a host) who hates him or accuses him of a crime, or of one who is suspected of a crime.

20. For it is declared in the Veda that he (who eats the food of such a person) eats his guilt.

12. I.e. it is unnecessary to offer water for washing the feet to a student.

15. 'Ointment, (i.e.) oil or clarified butter for anointing the feet.'—Haradatta. Manu III, 107.

16. Manu III, 108.

19. Manu IV, 213; Yâgñ. I, 162.

PRASNA II, PATALA 3, KHANDA 7.

1. This reception of guests is an everlasting (Srauta)-sacrifice offered by the householder to Pragâpati.

2. The fire in the stomach of the guest (represents) the Âhavantya, (the sacred fire) in the house of the host represents the Gârhapatya, the fire at which the food for the guest is cooked (represents) the fire used for cooking the sacrificial viands (the Dakshinâgni).

3. He who eats before his guest consumes the food, the prosperity, the issue, the cattle, the merit which his family acquired by sacrifices and charitable works.

4. Food (offered to guests) which is mixed with milk procures the reward of an Agnishôma-sacrifice, food mixed with clarified butter procures the reward of an Ukthya, food mixed with honey the reward of an Atirâtra, food accompanied by meat the reward of a Dvâdasâha, (food and) water numerous offspring and long life.

5. It is declared in the Veda, 'Both welcome and indifferent guests procure heaven (for their host).'

7. 1. 'Prâgâpatya may mean either "created by Pragâpati" or "sacred to Pragâpati."'—Haradatta.

2. In the first Sûtra the reception of guests had been compared to an everlasting Vedic sacrifice. This analogy is traced further in detail in this Sûtra. One of the chief characteristics of a Vedic sacrifice is the vitâna, or the use of three sacred fires. Hence Âpastamba shows that three fires also are used in offering hospitality to guests.

4. Regarding the Agnishôma and the other sacrifices mentioned, see Aitareya-brâhmaṇa III, 8; IV, 1; IV, 4.

6. When he gives food in the morning, at noon, and in the evening, (these gifts) are the Savanas (of that sacrifice offered to Pragâpati).

7. When he rises after his guest has risen (to depart), that act represents the Udavasântîyâ ishî (of a Vedic sacrifice).

8. When he addresses (the guest) kindly, that kind address (represents) the Dakshinâ.

9. When he follows (his departing guest, his steps represent) the steps of Vishnu.

10. When he returns (after having accompanied his guest), that (act represents) the Avabhṛitha, (the final bath performed after the completion of a sacrifice.)

11. Thus (a Brâhmana shall treat) a Brâhmana, (and a Kshatriya and a Vaisya their caste-fellows.)

12. If a guest comes to a king, he shall make (his Purohita) honour him more than himself.

13. If a guest comes to an Agnihotrin, he himself

6. The morning, midday, and evening offerings offered at the great Vedic sacrifices are called Savanas. The object of this Sûtra is to prescribe the hospitable reception of guests at all times of the day, and to further describe the similarity of a guest-offering to a Vedic sacrifice.

7. Regarding the Udavasântîyâ ishî, see Aitareya-brâhmana VIII, 5. It is the 'concluding ishî.'

8. Dakshinâ is the reward given to priests who officiate at a sacrifice.

9. 'The steps of Vishnu' are three steps which the sacrificer has to make between the Vedi and the Âhavanîya-fire. See Pet. Dict. s. v.

12. 'A guest,' i.e. such a one as described above, II, 3, 6, 4 and 5.

13. An Agnihotrin is a Brâhmana who offers certain daily burnt-offerings called Agnihotra. The translation of the last clause renders tarpayantu, the reading of the Atharva-veda.

shall go to meet him and say to him : ' O faithful fulfiller of thy vows, where didst thou stay (last night) ? ' (Then he offers water, saying) : ' O faithful fulfiller of thy vows, here is water.' (Next he offers milk or the like, saying) : ' O faithful fulfiller of thy vows, may (these fluids) refresh (thee).'

14. (If the guest stays at the time of the Agni-hotra, he shall make him sit down to the north of the fire and) murmur in a low voice, before offering the oblations : ' O faithful fulfiller of thy vows, may it be as thy heart desires ; ' ' O faithful fulfiller of thy vows, may it be as thy will is ; ' ' O faithful fulfiller of thy vows, may it be as thy wish is ; ' ' O faithful fulfiller of thy vows, may it be as thy desire is.'

15. If a guest comes, after the fires have been placed (on the altar), but before the oblations have been offered, (the host) himself shall approach him and say to him : ' O faithful fulfiller of thy vows, give me permission ; I wish to sacrifice.' Then he shall sacrifice, after having received permission. A Brāhmaṇa declares that he commits a sin if he sacrifices without permission.

16. He who entertains guests for one night obtains earthly happiness, a second night gains the middle air, a third heavenly bliss, a fourth the world of unsurpassable bliss ; many nights procure endless worlds. That has been declared in the Veda.

17. If an unlearned person who pretends to be

14. According to some, all these sentences must be pronounced ; according to Haradatta, one only, which may be selected optionally.

15. Haradatta states that the Brāhmaṇa mentioned in the text is the Ātharvāna-brāhmaṇa. See Atharva-veda XV, 11-12.

(worthy of the appellation) 'guest' comes to him, he shall give him a seat, water, and food, (thinking) 'I give it to a learned Brâhmaṇa.' Thus (the merit) of his (gift) becomes (as) great (as if a learned Brâhmaṇa had received it).

PRASNA II, PĀTALA 4, KHANDA 8.

1. On the second and following days of the guest's stay, the host shall not rise or descend (from his couch) in order to salute his (guest), if he has been saluted before (on the first day).

2. He shall eat after his guests.

3. He shall not consume all the flavoured liquids in the house, so as to leave nothing for guests.

4. He shall not cause sweetmeats to be prepared for his own sake.

5. (A guest) who can repeat the (whole) Veda (together with the supplementary books) is worthy to receive a cow and the Madhuparka,

6. (And also) the teacher, an officiating priest, a Snâtaka, and a just king (though not learned in the Veda).

7. A cow and the Madhuparka (shall be offered) to the teacher, to an officiating priest, to a father-in-law, and to a king, if they come after a year has elapsed (since their former visit).

8. 2. Manu III, 117; Yâgñ. I, 105.

3. Flavoured liquids, i.e. milk, whey, &c.

4. Manu III, 106.

5. Manu III, 119 and 120; Yâgñ. I, 110; Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 125. A guest is also called goghna, 'cow-killer,' because formerly a cow used to be killed on the arrival of a distinguished guest. The rite is described by Âsvalâyana Grîhya-sûtra I, 24, 31-33.

8. The Madhuparka shall consist of curds mixed with honey, or of milk mixed with honey.

9. On failure (of these substances) water (mixed with honey may be used).

10. The Veda has six *Āṅgas* (auxiliary works).

11. (The six auxiliary works are) the *Kalpa* (teaching the ritual) of the Veda, the treatises on grammar, astronomy, etymology, phonetics, and metrics.

12. (If any one should contend that) the term Veda (on account of its etymology, implying that which teaches duty or whereby one obtains spiritual merit) applies to the complete collection of (works which contain) rules for rites to be performed on the authority of precepts, (that, consequently, the *Kalpa-sūtras* form part of the Veda, and that thereby) the number (fixed above) for those (*Āṅgas*) is proved to be wrong,

13. (Then we answer), All those who are learned in *Mīmāṃsā* are agreed that (the terms Veda, *Brāhmaṇa*, and the like, which are applied to) the principal (works), do not include the *Āṅgas* (the *Kalpa-sūtras* and the rest).

14. If he remembers at any time during dinner, that he has refused a guest, he shall at once leave off eating and fast on that day,

8. *Āśvalāyana Gr̥hya-sūtra* I, 24, 5 and 6.

10. This *Sūtra* explains the term *vedādhyāya*, '(a guest) who can repeat the (whole) Veda,' which occurs above, *Sūtra* 5.—*Haradatta*. See Max Müller's *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 111.

12. This *Sūtra* and the following one are directed against those who consider the *Kalpa-sūtras* to be a part of the Veda, the revealed texts. See also Max Müller's *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 95 seq.

PRASNA II, PATALA 4, KHANDA 9.

1. And on the following day (he shall search for him), feast him to his heart's content, and accompany him (on his departure).

2. (If the guest) possesses a carriage, (he shall accompany him) as far as that.

3. Any other (guest he must accompany), until permission to return is given.

4. If (the guest) forgets (to give leave to depart), the (host) may return on reaching the boundary of his village.

5. To all (those who come for food) at (the end of) the Vaisvadeva he shall give a portion, even to dogs and *Kandâlas*.

6. Some declare that he shall not give anything to unworthy people (such as *Kandâlas*).

7. A person who has been initiated shall not eat the leavings of women or of an uninitiated person.

8. All gifts are to be preceded by (pouring out) water.

9. (But gifts offered to priests) at sacrifices (are to be given) in the manner prescribed by the Veda.

10. The division of the food must be made in such a manner that those who receive daily portions (slaves) do not suffer by it.

9. 1. Yâgñ. I, 113.

7. After a long discussion on the object of this Sûtra, Haradatta comes to the conclusion that it is given 'against the improper custom to dine out of the same vessel with one's wife and uninitiated children, which prevails in some countries.'

8. 'Consequently a gift of food also.' The custom is to pour water, usually with the spoon called Darvî (Pallî), into the extended palm of the recipient's right hand.

11. At his pleasure, he may stint himself, his wife, or his children, but by no means a slave who does his work.

12. And he must not stint himself so much that he becomes unable to perform his duties.

13. Now they quote also (the following two verses) :

‘Eight mouthfuls are the meal of an ascetic, sixteen that of a hermit living in the woods, thirty-two that of a householder, and an unlimited quantity that of a student. An Agnihotrin, a draught-ox, and a student, those three can do their work only if they eat; without eating (much), they cannot do it.’

PRASNA II, PATALA 5, KHANDA 10.

1. The reasons for (which) begging (is permissible are), (the desire to collect the fee for) the teacher, (the celebration of) a wedding, (or of) a *Srauta*-sacrifice, the desire to keep one's father and mother, and the (impending) interruption of ceremonies performed by a worthy man.

2. (The person asked for alms) must examine the qualities (of the petitioner) and give according to his power.

3. But if persons ask for alms for the sake of sensual gratification, that is improper; he shall not take heed of that.

4. The lawful occupations of a *Brāhmaṇa* are,

13. Manu VI, 28; *Yâgñ.* III, 55.

10. 1. Manu IV, 251; XI, 1 seq.; *Yâgñ.* I, 216. By the term *arhat*, ‘a worthy person,’ a *Brāhmaṇa* is here designated who has studied the Veda and performs an Agnihotra.

4. Manu I, 88; X, 75; *Yâgñ.* I, 118.

studying, teaching, sacrificing for himself, officiating as priest for others, giving alms, receiving alms, inheriting, and gleaning corn in the fields ;

5. And (he may live by taking) other things which belong to nobody.

6. (The lawful occupations) of a Kshatriya are the same, with the exception of teaching, officiating as priest, and receiving alms. (But) governing and fighting must be added.

7. (The lawful occupations) of a Vaisya are the same as those of a Kshatriya, with the exception of governing and fighting. (But in his case) agriculture, the tending of cattle, and trade must be added.

8. He (shall) not choose (for the performance of a Srauta-sacrifice) a priest who is unlearned in the Veda, nor one who haggles (about his fee).

9. (A priest) shall not officiate for a person unlearned in the Veda.

10. In war (Kshatriyas) shall act in such a manner as those order, who are learned in that (art of war).

11. The Âryas forbid the slaughter of those who have laid down their arms, of those who (beg for mercy) with flying hair or joined hands, and of fugitives.

12. The spiritual guide shall order those who,

5. I.e. wild roots and fruits.

6. Manu I, 89 ; X, 77, 79 ; Yâgñ. I, 118, 119.

7. Manu I, 90 ; X, 78, 79 ; Yâgñ. loc. cit.

11. Manu VII, 91 seq. ; Yâgñ. I, 325.

12. Haradatta explains the words Sâstrair adhigatânâm, 'who whilst participating, according to the sacred law, (in the rights of their caste,)' by 'who have been sanctified according to the law by the sacraments, such as the Garbhâdhâna, and are entitled (to the rights and occupations of their caste).'

(whilst) participating according to sacred law (in the rights of their caste), have gone astray through the weakness of their senses, to perform penances proportionate to (the greatness of) their sins, according to the precepts (of the *Smṛiti*).

13. If (such persons) transgress their (*Ātārya's*) order, he shall take them before the king.

14. The king shall (send them) to his domestic priest, who should be learned in the law and the science of governing.

15. He shall order (them to perform the proper penances if they are) *Brāhmaṇas*.

16. He shall reduce them (to reason) by forcible means, excepting corporal punishment and servitude.

PRASNA II, PĀTALA 5, KHANDA 11.

1. In the cases of (men of) other castes, the king, after having examined their actions, may punish them even by death.

2. And the king shall not punish on suspicion.

3. But having carefully investigated (the case) by means of questions (addressed to witnesses) and even of ordeals, the king may proceed to punish.

4. A king who acts thus, gains both (this and the next) world.

5. The road belongs to the king except if he meets a *Brāhmaṇa*.

16. Probably this *Sūtra* is meant to give a general rule, and to exempt *Brāhmaṇas* in every case from corporal punishment and servitude. *Manu* VIII, 379-380.

11. 3. See also below, II, 11, 29, 6.

5. *Manu* II, 139; *Yāgñ.* I, 117. According to Haradatta this *Sūtra* is given, though the precedence among the various castes has been already settled, in order to show that common *Kshatriyas* must make way for an anointed king.

6. But if he meets a Brâhmaṇa, the road belongs to the latter.

7. All must make way for a (laden) vehicle, for a person who carries a burden, for a sick man, for a woman and others (such as old men and infants).

8. And (way must be made), by the other castes, for those men who are superior by caste.

9. For their own welfare all men must make way for fools, outcasts, drunkards, and madmen.

10. In successive births men of the lower castes are born in the next higher one, if they have fulfilled their duties.

11. In successive births men of the higher castes are born in the next lower one, if they neglect their duties.

12. If he has a wife who (is willing and able) to perform (her share of) the religious duties and who bears sons, he shall not take a second.

13. If a wife is deficient in one of these two (qualities), he shall take another, (but) before he kindles the fires (of the Agnihotra).

14. For a wife who assists at the kindling of the fires, becomes connected with those religious rites of which that (fire-kindling) forms a part.

6. Manu II, 138; Yâgñ. I, 117.

10. Manu X, 64, 65; Yâgñ. I, 96.

12. Manu IX, 95; Yâgñ. I, 76.

13. Manu IX, 80, 81; Yâgñ. I, 73.

14. A wife who assists at the kindling of the fires for any sacrificial rite, becomes connected with that rite like any priest, and in that rite no other woman can take her place. Hence in the case of an Agnihotra, which lasts during the performer's lifetime, or at least as long as he is a householder, the performer cannot take another principal wife after he once has begun his sacrifice. If the wife of an Agnihotrin dies, he must marry again, and also kindle his fires afresh. Manu V, 167, 168; Yâgñ. I, 89.

15. He shall not give his daughter to a man belonging to the same family (Gotra),

16. Nor to one related (within six degrees) on the mother's or (the father's) side.

17. At the wedding called Brâhma, he shall give away (his daughter) for bearing children and performing the rites that must be performed together (by a husband and his wife), after having enquired regarding (the bridegroom's) family, character, learning, and health, and after having given (to the bride) ornaments according to his power.

18. At the wedding called Ârsha, the bridegroom shall present to the father of the bride a bull and a cow.

19. At the wedding called Daiva, (the father) shall give her to an officiating priest, who is performing a Srauta-sacrifice.

15. The term Gotra corresponds to the Latin Gens. It may be of two kinds, Vaidika for Brâhmanas and Laukika, 'worldly,' for men of other castes. In the first case it denotes 'persons descended from the same Rîshi;' in the second, 'persons distinguished by the same family name, or known to be descended from the same ancestor.' In our days Brâhmanas also have Laukika Gotras, which form subdivisions of the very large Vedic Gotras. Regarding the Vaidika Gotras, see Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 379-390, and particularly p. 387. Manu III, 5; Yâgñ. I, 33; Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 75 seq.

16. The term yonisambandha, 'related (within six degrees),' corresponds to the more common Sapinda of Manu, Yâgñavalkya, and others; see the definitions given below, II, 6, 15, 2. In Âpastamba's terminology Sapinda has probably a more restricted sense. It seems very doubtful whether Haradatta's explanation of *ka*, translated by 'or,' is correct, and whether his interpolation of 'the father's' ought to be admitted. Probably Sûtra 15 refers to the father's side, and Sûtra 16 to the mother's side.

17. Manu III, 27; Yâgñ. I, 58.

18. Manu III, 29; Yâgñ. I, 59.

19. Manu III, 28; Yâgñ. I, 59.

20. If a maiden and a lover unite themselves through love, that is called the Gândharva-rite.

PRASNA II, PATALA 5, KHANDA 12.

1. If the suitor pays money (for his bride) according to his ability, and marries her (afterwards), that (marriage is called) the Âsura-rite.

2. If the (bridegroom and his friends) take away (the bride), after having overcome (by force) her father (or relations), that is called the Râkshasa-rite.

3. The first three amongst these (marriage-rites are considered) praiseworthy; each preceding one better than the one following.

4. The quality of the offspring is according to the quality of the marriage-rite.

5. He shall not step on a spot which has been touched by the hand of a Brâhmaṇa, without having sprinkled it with water.

6. He shall not pass between a fire and a Brâhmaṇa,

7. Nor between Brâhmaṇas.

8. Or he may pass between them after having received permission to do so.

9. He shall not carry fire and water at the same time.

20. Manu III, 32; Yâgñ. I, 61.

12. 1. Manu III, 31; Yâgñ. I, 61. It must be understood that, at this rite, a regular sale of the bride must take place. If a suitor merely gives presents to the bride, that is not an Âsura-marriage.

2. Manu III, 33; Yâgñ. I, 61. Haradatta points out that the other law-books enumerate two additional marriage-rites, the Prâgâpatya or Kâya and the Paisâta. But Vasishṭha I, 29-35, like Âpastamba, gives six rites only.

3. Manu III, 24, 25; Yâgñ. I, 58-60.

4. I. e. from praiseworthy marriages virtuous children are born, and from blamable marriages bad ones. Manu III, 42.

10. He shall not carry fires (burning in) separate (places) to one (spot).

11. If, whilst he walks, fire is being carried towards him, he shall not walk around it with his right hand turned towards it, except after it has been placed on the ground.

12. He shall not join his hands on his back.

13. If the sun sets whilst he sleeps, he shall sit up, fasting and silent, for that night. On the following morning he shall bathe and then raise his voice (in prayer).

14. If the sun rises whilst he is asleep, he shall stand during that day fasting and silent.

15. Some declare that he shall restrain his breath until he is tired.

16. And (he shall restrain his breath until he is tired) if he has had a bad dream,

17. Or if he desires to accomplish some object,

18. Or if he has transgressed some other rule.

19. (If he is) doubtful (whether) the result (of an action will be good or evil), he shall not do it.

20. (He shall follow) the same principle (if he is in doubt whether he ought) to study or not.

21. He shall not talk of a doubtful matter as if it were clear.

22. In the case of a person who slept at sunset, of

10. Another commentator says, 'He shall not throw (brands taken from) one fire into another fire.'—Haradatta.

11. The Sûtra implies that under other circumstances he must show this respect to a fire.

13. Manu II, 220.

18. Manu XI, 200.

21. See above, I, 11, 32, 22.

22. These sinners are enumerated in nearly the same order,

one who slept at sunrise, of one who has black nails, or black teeth, of one who married a younger sister before the elder one was married, of one who married an elder sister whose younger sister had been married already, (of a younger brother who has kindled the sacred *Grihya*-fire before his elder brother,) of one whose younger brother has kindled the sacred fire first, (of a younger brother who offers a Soma-sacrifice before his elder brother,) of an elder brother whose younger brother offered a Soma-sacrifice first, of an elder brother who marries or receives his portion of the inheritance after his younger brother, and of a younger brother who takes a wife or receives his portion of the inheritance before his elder brother,—penances ordained for crimes causing impurity, a heavier one for each succeeding case, must be performed.

23. Some declare, that after having performed that penance, he shall remove its cause.

PRASNA II, PĀTALA 6, KHANDA 13.

1. Sons begotten by a man who approaches in the proper season a woman of equal caste, who has

Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa III, 2, 8, 11 and 12, and Âp. Srauta-sūtra IX, 12, 11. See also Manu XI, 44-49. Regarding the crimes causing impurity, see above, I, 7, 21, 12-19.

23. 'Its cause, i.e. the black nails, &c. According to another *Smṛiti*, one shall not put away a wife or extinguish a fire, for the taking or kindling of which the penance had to be performed.'—Haradatta. But see *Vasishṭha* XX, 7 seq.

13. 1. 'Sāstravihitā (translated by "who has been married to him legally") means either "married according to the rites prescribed in the *Sāstras*," or "possessed of the qualities (which have been described) by (the rule of) the *Sāstras*, He shall not give his daughter to a man of the same *Gotra*," and in similar (passages).'—Haradatta. See also Colebrooke, Digest, Book V, Text cxcix.

not belonged to another man, and who has been married legally, have a right to (follow) the occupations (of their castes),

2. And to (inherit the) estate,

3. If they do not sin against either (of their parents).

4. If a man approaches a woman who had been married before, or was not legally married to him, or belongs to a different caste, they both commit a sin.

5. Through their (sin) their son also becomes sinful.

6. A Brâhmana (says), 'The son belongs to the begetter.'

7. Now they quote also (the following Gâthâ from the Veda) : '(Having considered myself) formerly a father, I shall not now allow (any longer) my wives (to be approached by other men), since they have declared that a son belongs to the begetter in the world of Yama. The giver of the seed carries off the son after death in Yama's world; therefore they guard

3. Another (commentator) says, 'Neither of the parents shall pass them over at (the distribution of) the heritage. Both (parents) must leave their property to them.'—Haradatta. The text of the Sûtra admits of either explanation.

6. See also Manu IX, 32 seq., where the same difference of opinion occurs.

7. According to Haradatta this Gâthâ gives the sentiments of a husband who neglected to watch his wives, and who had heard from those learned in the law that the sons of his unfaithful wives would in the next world belong to their natural fathers, and that he would not derive any spiritual benefit from their oblations. He adds that this verse does not refer to or prevent the appointment of a eunuch's wife or of a childless widow to a relation. He also quotes a passage from the Srauta-sûtra I, 9, 7, in which the dvipitâ, 'the son of two fathers,' is mentioned. But Haradatta's view cannot be reconciled with the statements made below, II, 10, 27,

their wives, fearing the seed of strangers. Carefully watch over (the procreation of) your children, lest stranger seed be sown on your soil. In the next world the son belongs to the begetter, an (imprudent) husband makes the (begetting of) children vain (for himself).'

8. Transgression of the law and violence are found amongst the ancient (sages).

9. They committed no sin on account of the greatness of their lustre.

10. A man of later times who seeing their (deeds) follows them, falls.

11. The gift (or acceptance of a child) and the right to sell (or buy) a child are not recognised.

12. It is declared in the Veda that at the time of marriage a gift, for (the fulfilment of) his wishes, should be made (by the bridegroom) to the father

2-7, where the Niyoga is plainly forbidden. Baudhāyana, who (II, 2, 3, 34) quotes the same Gāthā, reads in the first line the vocative 'ganaka' instead of the nominative 'ganakāḥ,' and in the fifth line 'pare bîgāni' instead of 'parabîgāni.' The commentator Govindasvāmin adds that the verses are addressed by the Rishi Aupagāṅhani to king Ganaka of Videha. The translation of the first line must therefore run thus: 'O Ganaka, now I am jealous of my wives, (though I was) not so formerly,' &c. Baudhāyana's readings are probably the older ones, and Govindasvāmin's explanation the right one. See also Colebrooke, Digest, Book V, Text ccli.

11. Haradatta thinks that, as most other Smṛitis enumerate the adopted son, and 'the son bought' in their lists of substitutes for lawful sons of the body, Āpastamba's rule can refer only to the gift or sale of an eldest son, or to the gift or sale of a child effected by a woman. Though it is possible that he may be right in his interpretation, it remains a remarkable fact that Āpastamba does not mention the 'twelve kinds of sons,' which are known to other Smṛitis.

12. This Sūtra seems to be directed against Vasishṭha I, 36.

of the bride, in order to fulfil the law. 'Therefore he should give a hundred (cows) besides a chariot; that (gift) he should make bootless (by returning it to the giver).' In reference to those (marriage-rites), the word 'sale' (which occurs in some *Smṛitis* is only used as) a metaphorical expression; for the union (of the husband and wife) is effected through the law.

13. After having gladdened the eldest son by some (choice portion of his) wealth,

PRASNA II, PĀṬALA 6, KHANDA 14.

1. He should, during his lifetime, divide his wealth equally amongst his sons, excepting the eunuch, the mad man, and the outcast.

2. On failure of sons the nearest *Sapinda* (takes the inheritance).

14. 1. The last *Sūtra* of *Khandā* 13 and the first of *Khandā* 14 are quoted by Colebrooke, Digest, Book V, Text xlii, and *Mitāksharā*, Chap. I, Sect. iii, Par. 6. Colebrooke translates *gṛhan*, 'during his lifetime,' by 'who makes a partition during his lifetime.' I think that this is not quite correct, and that *Āpastamba* intends to exhort householders to make a division during their lifetime, as later they ought to become ascetics or hermits. *Haradatta* introduces into his commentary on this *Sūtra* the whole chapter on the division of a father's estate amongst his sons, supplementing *Āpastamba*'s short rule by the texts of other lawyers. No doubt, *Āpastamba* means to lay down, in these and the following *Sūtras*, only the leading principles of the law of inheritance, and he intends that the remaining particulars should be supplied from the law of custom or other *Smṛitis*.

2. *Haradatta* gives in his commentary a full summary of the rules on the succession of remoter relations. One point only deserves special mention. He declares that it is the opinion of *Āpastamba*, that widows cannot inherit. In this he is probably right, as *Āpastamba* does not mention them, and the use of the

3. On failure of them the spiritual teacher (inherits); on failure of the spiritual teacher a pupil shall take (the deceased's wealth), and use it for religious works for the (deceased's) benefit, or (he himself may enjoy it);

4. Or the daughter (may take the inheritance).

5. On failure of all (relations) let the king take the inheritance.

6. Some declare, that the eldest son alone inherits.

7. In some countries gold, (or) black cattle, (or) black produce of the earth is the share of the eldest.

8. The chariot and the furniture in the house are the father's (share).

masculine singular 'sapinda^h' in the text precludes the possibility of including them under that collective term. It seems to me certain, that Âpastamba, like Baudhâyana, considered women, especially widows, unfit to inherit.

4. 'Some say "on failure of sons," others that the rule refers to the preceding Sûtra (i.e. that the daughter inherits on failure of pupils only).—Haradatta. The latter seems to be the correct interpretation.

5. 'Because the word "all" is used, (the king shall take the estate) only on failure of Bandhus and Sagotras, i.e. gentiles within twelve degrees.'—Haradatta.

6. 'The other sons shall live under his protection.'—Haradatta. Colebrooke, Mitâksharâ, Chap. I, Sect. iii, Par. 6.

7. "'Black produce of the earth," i.e. black grain, or according to others black iron.'—Haradatta. Compare for this and the following Sûtras Colebrooke, Mitâksharâ, Chap. I, Sect. iii, Par. 6, and Digest, Book V, Text xlviii.

8. The translation given above agrees with what I now recognise to be Haradatta's explanation, and with Colebrooke, Mitâksharâ, Chap. I, Sect. iii, Par. 6. Both the P. U. and Mr. U. MSS. of the Uggvalâ read ratha^h pituramso grihe yatparibhândam upakaranam pîthâdi tadapi, 'the chariot (is) the father's share; the furniture which (is) in the house, that also.' To this reading Mahâdeva's Uggvalâ on the Hîranyakesi Sûtra points likewise, which gives pitur anta^h. The N. U. MS. of the Uggvalâ, according to which

9. According to some, the share of the wife consists of her ornaments, and the wealth (which she may have received) from her relations.

10. That (preference of the eldest son) is forbidden by the *Sâstras*.

11. For it is declared in the *Veda*, without (marking) a difference (in the treatment of the sons) : *Manu* divided his wealth amongst his sons.

12. Now the *Veda* declares also in conformity with (the rule in favour of the eldest son) alone : They distinguish the eldest by (a larger share of) the heritage.

I made the translation given in the Appendix to West and Bühler's Digest (1st edition), leaves out the word *amsah*, and therefore makes it necessary to combine this *Sûtra* with the preceding one, and to translate, 'The father's chariot and the furniture in the house (are) also (the share of the eldest).' This latter translation agrees nearly with that given by Colebrooke, Digest, Book V, Text xlvi, where this and the preceding *Sûtra* have been joined ; but the chariot is not mentioned. A further variation in the interpretation of this *Sûtra* occurs in Colebrooke's Digest, Book V, Text lxxxix, and *Mitâksharâ*, loc. cit., where the words 'the furniture in the house' are joined with *Sûtra* 9, and the furniture is declared to be the wife's share. Considering that *Sûtra* 9 is again quoted in Colebrooke's Digest, Book V, Text cccclxxii, and is not joined with the latter part of *Sûtra* 8, it is not too much to say that *Gagannâtha* has not shown any greater accuracy than his brethren usually do.

9. The *Mitâksharâ*, loc. cit., apparently takes the words 'according to some' as referring only to property received from relations. I follow *Haradatta*. The former interpretation is, however, admissible, if the *Sûtra* is split into two.

10. The *Sâstras* are, according to *Haradatta*, the *Vedas*.

11. *Taittirîyâ Samhitâ* III, 1, 9, 4.

12. 'Athâpi (now also) means "and certainly." They distinguish, they set apart the eldest son by wealth : this has been declared in the *Veda* in conformity with (the rule regarding) one (heir, *Sûtra* 6). He denies (*Sûtra* 13) that a passage also, which

13. (But to this plea in favour of the eldest I answer) : Now those who are acquainted with the interpretation of the law declare a statement of facts not to be a rule, as for instance (the following) : 'Therefore amongst cattle, goats and sheep walk together;' (or the following), 'Therefore the face of a learned Brâhmana (a Snâtaka) is, as it were, resplendent;' (or), 'A Brâhmana who has studied the Vedas (a Srotriya) and a he-goat evince the strongest sexual desires.'

14. Therefore all (sons) who are virtuous inherit.

15. But him who expends money unrighteously, he shall disinherit, though he be the eldest son.

16. No division takes place between husband and wife.

agrees with the statement that the eldest son alone inherits, is found in the Veda.'—Haradatta. See Taittiriya Samhitâ II, 5, 2, 7.

13. Those who are acquainted with the interpretation of the law are the Mimâmsakas. The translation of the second Vedic passage is by no means certain, as the root ribh, translated by 'to be resplendent,' usually means 'to give a sound.' Haradatta thinks that Âpastamba means to show that the passage 'Manu divided his wealth among his sons' is likewise merely a statement of facts, and cannot be considered a rule. This is probably erroneous, as Sûtras 10 and 11 distinctly state, that the practice to allow the eldest alone to inherit, is forbidden by the above-mentioned passage of the Veda.

15. Compare for this Sûtra and the following one Colebrooke's Digest, Book V, Text cccxv. The translation of pratipâdayati, 'expends,' by 'gains,' which is also proposed by Gagannâtha, is against Âpastamba's usage, see II, 5, 11, 17, and below, II, 8, 20, 19.

16. According to Haradatta, this Sûtra gives the reason why, in Sûtra 1, no share has been set apart for the wife. Compare Colebrooke's Digest, Book V, Text lxxxix, for this Sûtra and the following two.

17. For, from the time of marriage, they are united in religious ceremonies,

18. Likewise also as regards the rewards for works by which spiritual merit is acquired,

19. And with respect to the acquisition of property.

20. For they declare that it is not a theft if a wife expends money on occasions (of necessity) during her husband's absence.

PRASNA II, PĀṬALA 6, KHANDA 15.

1. By this (discussion) the law of custom, which is observed in (particular) countries or families, has been disposed of.

2. On account of the blood relations of his mother and (on account of those) of his father within six degrees, or, as far as the relationship is traceable, he shall bathe if they die, excepting children that have not completed their first year.

3. On account of the death of the latter the parents alone bathe,

4. And those who bury them.

5. If a wife or one of the chief Gurus (a father or Ātārya) die, besides, fasting (is ordained from the time at which they die) up to the same time (on the following day).

20. See below, II, 11, 29, 3.

15. 1. Customs are to be followed only if they are not opposed to the teaching of the Vedas and Smṛitis.

2. Manu V, 60; Yâgñ. I, 53; Manu V, 60; Manu V, 58; Yâgñ. III, 3.

4. Manu V, 69 and 70.

5. Manu V, 80.

6. (In that case) they shall also show the (following) signs of mourning :

7. Dishevelled their hair and covering themselves with dust (they go outside the village), and, clothed with one garment, their faces turned to the south, stepping into the river they throw up water for the dead once, and then, ascending (the bank), they sit down.

8. This (they repeat) thrice.

9. They pour out water consecrated in such a manner that the dead will know it (to be given to them). Then they return to the village without looking back, and perform those rites for the dead which (pious) women declare to be necessary.

10. Some declare, that these same (observances) shall also be kept in the case (of the death) of other (*Sapindas*).

11. At all religious ceremonies, he shall feed *Brâhmanas* who are pure and who have (studied and remember) the Veda.

12. He shall distribute his gifts at the proper places, at the proper times, at the occasion of purificatory rites, and to proper recipients.

13. That food must not be eaten of which (no portion) is offered in the fire, and of which no portion is first given (to guests).

7-9. *Yâgñ.* III, 5, 7 seq. The Mantra to be spoken in throwing the water is, 'I give this water to you N. N. of the family of N. N.' The water ought to be mixed with sesamum. According to Haradatta those who know the correct interpretation, declare that the word 'women' denotes in this *Sûtra* 'the *Smṛitis*.' But I fear these learned interpreters will find few adherents among those who pay attention to the last *Sûtra* of this work.

11. *Manu* III, 128.

12. *Manu* III, 98.

14. No food mixed with pungent condiments or salt can be offered as a burnt-offering.

15. Nor (can food) mixed with bad food (be used for a burnt-oblation).

16. If (he is obliged to offer) a burnt-offering of food unfit for that purpose, he shall take hot ashes from the northern part of his fire and offer the food in that. That oblation is no oblation in the fire.

17. A female shall not offer any burnt-oblation,

18. Nor a child, that has not been initiated.

19. Infants do not become impure before they receive the sacrament called *Annaprâsana* (the first feeding).

20. Some (declare, that they cannot become impure) until they have completed their first year,

21. Or, as long as they cannot distinguish the points of the horizon.

22. The best (opinion is, that they cannot be defiled) until the initiation has been performed.

23. For at that (time a child) according to the rules of the Veda obtains the right (to perform the various religious ceremonies).

14. 'That (substance) is called *kshâra*, "of pungent or alkaline taste," the eating of which makes the saliva flow.'—*Haradatta*.

15. *Avarâna*, 'bad food,' is explained by 'kulittha and the like.' *Kulittha*, a kind of vetch, is considered low food, and eaten by the lower castes only. The meaning of the *Sûtra*, therefore, is, 'If anybody has been forced by poverty to mix his rice or *Dâl* with *kulittha* or similar bad food, he cannot offer a burnt-oblation at the *Vaisvadeva* ceremony with that. He must observe the rule, given in the following *Sûtra*.

17. *Manu* V, 155 ; XI, 36.

18. *Manu* II, 171.

24. That ceremony is the limit (from which the capacity to fulfil the law begins).

25. And the *Smṛiti* (agrees with this opinion).

PRASNA II, PĀTALA 7, KHANDA 16.

1. Formerly men and gods lived together in this world. Then the gods in reward of their sacrifices went to heaven, but men were left behind. Those men who perform sacrifices in the same manner as the gods did, dwell (after death) with the gods and Brahman in heaven. Now (seeing men left behind), Manu revealed this ceremony, which is designated by the word *Śrāddha* (a funeral-oblation).

2. And (thus this rite has been revealed) for the salvation of mankind.

3. At that (rite) the Manes (of one's father, grandfather, and great-grandfather) are the deities (to whom the sacrifice is offered). But the *Brāhmaṇas*, (who are fed,) represent the *Āhavanīya*-fire.

4. That rite must be performed in each month.

25. Haradatta quotes Gautama II, 1-3, on this point, and is apparently of opinion that Âpastamba alludes to the same passage. But he is probably wrong, as all *Smṛitis* are agreed on the point mentioned by Âpastamba.

16. 1. 'Intending to give the rules regarding the monthly *Śrāddha*, he premises this explanatory statement in order to praise that sacrifice.'—Haradatta.

2. The reading '*niḥsreyasâ ka*' apparently has given great trouble to the commentators. Their explanations are, however, grammatically impossible. The right one is to take *niḥsreyasâ* as a Vedic instrumental, for *niḥsreyasena*, which may designate the 'reason.' If the dative is read, the sense remains the same.

3. 'The comparison of the *Brāhmaṇas* with the *Āhavanīya* indicates that to feed *Brāhmaṇas* is the chief act at a *Śrāddha*.'—Haradatta.

4. Manu III, 122, 123; *Yâgñ.* I, 217.

5. The afternoon of (a day of) the latter half is preferable (for it).

6. The last days of the latter half (of the month) likewise are (preferable to the first days).

7. (A funeral-oblation) offered on any day of the latter half of the month gladdens the Manes. But it procures different rewards for the sacrificer according to the time observed.

8. If it be performed on the first day of the half-month, the issue (of the sacrificer) will chiefly consist of females.

9. (Performed on the second day it procures) children who are free from thievish propensities.

10. (If it is performed) on the third day children will be born to him who will fulfil the various vows for studying (portions of the Veda).

11. (The sacrificer who performs it) on the fourth day becomes rich in small domestic animals.

12. (If he performs it) on the fifth day, sons (will be born to him). He will have numerous and distinguished offspring, and he will not die childless.

13. (If he performs it) on the sixth day, he will become a great traveller and gambler.

14. (The reward of a funeral-oblation performed) on the seventh day is success in agriculture.

15. (If he performs it) on the eighth day (its reward is) prosperity

16. (If he performs it) on the ninth day (its reward consists in) one-hoofed animals.

5. Manu III, 255, 278.

7. Manu III, 277; Yâgñ. I, 264, 265.

12. The translation follows the corrected reading given in the Addenda to the Critical Notes.

17. (If he performs it) on the tenth day (its reward is) success in trade.

18. (If he performs it) on the eleventh day (its reward is) black iron, tin, and lead.

19. (If he performs a funeral-oblation) on the twelfth day, he will become rich in cattle.

20. (If he performs it) on the thirteenth day, he will have many sons (and) many friends, (and) his offspring will be beautiful. But his (sons) will die young.

21. (If he performs it) on the fourteenth day (its reward is) success in battle.

22. (If he performs it) on the fifteenth day (its reward is) prosperity.

23. The substances (to be offered) at these (sacrifices) are sesamum, mâsha, rice, yava, water, roots, and fruits.

24. But, if food mixed with fat (is offered), the satisfaction of the Manes is greater, and (lasts) a longer time,

25. Likewise, if money, lawfully acquired, is given to worthy (persons).

26. Beef satisfies (the Manes) for a year,

20. Others read the last part of the Sûtra, *ayuvamârinas-tu bhavanti*, 'they will not die young.'—Haradatta. If the two halves of the Sûtra are joined and *Darsanîyâpatyoyuvamârinah* is read, the Sandhi may be dissolved in either manner.

21. Manu III, 276, and Yâgñ. I, 263, declare the fourteenth day to be unfit for a Srâddha, and the latter adds that Srâddhas for men killed in battle may be offered on that day. This latter statement explains why Âpastamba declares its reward to be 'success in battle.' The nature of the reward shows that on that day Kshatriyas, not Brâhmanas, should offer their Srâddhas.

23. Manu III, 267; Yâgñ. I, 257.

26. Manu III, 271.

27. Buffalo's (meat) for a longer (time) than that.
28. By this (permission of the use of buffalo's meat) it has been declared that the meat of (other) tame and wild animals is fit to be offered.

PRASNA II, PATALA 7, KHANDA 17.

1. (If) rhinoceros' meat (is given to Brâhmanas seated) on (seats covered with) the skin of a rhinoceros, (the Manes are satisfied) for a very long time.
2. (The same effect is obtained) by (offering the) flesh (of the fish called) Satabali,
3. And by (offering the) meat of the (crane called) Vârdhrâṇasa.
4. Pure, with composed mind and full of ardour, he shall feed Brâhmanas who know the Vedas, and who are not connected with him by marriage, blood relationship, by the relationship of sacrificial priest and sacrificer, or by the relationship of (teacher and) pupil.
5. If strangers are deficient in the (requisite) good qualities, even a full brother who possesses them, may be fed (at a Srâddha).
6. (The admissibility of) pupils (and the rest) has been declared hereby.
7. Now they quote also (in regard to this matter the following verse) :
8. The food eaten (at a sacrifice) by persons related to the giver is, indeed, a gift offered to the goblins. It reaches neither the Manes nor the

17. 1. Manu III, 272 ; Yâgñ. I, 259.

2. Manu V, 16, where Rohita is explained by Satabali.

4. Manu III, 128-138, and 149, 188 ; Yâgñ. I, 225.

8. See Manu III, 141, where this Trishubh has been turned into an Anushubh.

gods. Losing its power (to procure heaven), it errs about in this world as a cow that has lost its calf runs into a strange stable.

9. The meaning (of the verse) is, that gifts which are eaten (and offered) mutually by relations, (and thus go) from one house to the other, perish in this world.

10. If the good qualities (of several persons who might be invited) are equal, old men and (amongst these) poor ones, who wish to come, have the preference.

11. On the day before (the ceremony) the (first) invitation (must be issued).

12. On the following day the second invitation takes place.

13. (On the same day also takes place) the third invitation (which consists in the call to dinner).

14. Some declare, that every act at a funeral-sacrifice must be repeated three times.

15. As (the acts are performed) the first time, so they must be repeated) the second and the third times.

16. When all (the three oblations) have been

11. *Manu* III, 187; *Yâgñ.* I, 225. According to Haradatta the formula of invitation is, *Svaḥ srâddham bhavitâ, tatrâhavanî-yârthe bhavadbhiḥ prasâdaḥ kartavya iti*, 'to-morrow a *Srâddha* will take place. Do me the favour to take at that the place of the *Âhavanîya*-fire.'

12. The formula is, *Adya srâddham*, 'to-day the *Srâddha* takes place.'

13. The call to dinner is, *Siddham âgamyatâm*, 'the food is ready; come.'

16. *Âpastamba Grîhya-sûtra* VIII, 21, 9. 'He shall eat it pronouncing the Mantra, "*Prâṇe nivishto smṛitâm guhomi*.'" *Taitt. Âr.* X, 34, 1.

offered, he shall take a portion of the food of all (three), and shall eat a small mouthful of the remainder in the manner described (in the *Gṛihya-sūtra*).

17. But the custom of the Northerners is to pour into the hands of the *Brāhmaṇas*, when they are seated on their seats, (water which has been taken from the water-vessel.)

18. (At the time of the burnt-offering which is offered at the beginning of the dinner) he addresses the *Brāhmaṇas* with this Mantra : ' Let it be taken out, and let it be offered in the fire.'

19. (They shall give their permission with this Mantra) : ' Let it be taken out at thy pleasure, let it be offered in the fire at thy pleasure.' Having received this permission, he shall take out (some of the prepared food) and offer it.

20. They blame it, if dogs and *Apapātras* are allowed to see the performance of a funeral-sacrifice.

21. The following persons defile the company if they are invited to a funeral-sacrifice, viz. a leper, a bald man, the violator of another man's bed, the son of a *Brāhmaṇa* who follows the profession of a *Kshatriya*, and the son of (a *Brāhmaṇa* who by marrying first a *Sūdra* wife had himself become) a *Sūdra*, born from a *Brāhmaṇa* woman.

17. The North of India begins to the north of the river *Sarāvati*. The rule alluded to is given by *Yāgñ.* I, 226, 229 ; *Manu* III, 210.

18. *Yāgñ.* I, 235.

20. *Manu* III, 239.

21. *Manu* III, 152-166, and particularly 153 and 154 ; *Yāgñ.* I, 222-224. Haradatta's explanation of the word '*Sūdra*' by 'a *Brāhmaṇa* who has become a *Sūdra*' is probably right, because the son of a real *Sūdra* and of a *Brāhmaṇa* female is a *Kandāla*, and has been disposed of by the preceding *Sūtra*.

22. The following persons sanctify the company if they eat at a funeral-sacrifice, viz. one who has studied the three verses of the Veda containing the word 'Madhu,' each three times; one who has studied the part of the Veda containing the word 'Suparna' three times; a *Trinâkiketa*; one who has studied the Mantras required for the four sacrifices (called *Asvamedha*, *Purushamedha*, *Sarvamedha*, and *Pitri-medha*); one who keeps five fires; one who knows the *Sâman* called *Gyeshtha*; one who fulfils the duty of daily study; the son of one who has studied and is able to teach the whole Veda with its *Ângas*, and a *Srotriya*.

23. He shall not perform (any part of) a funeral-sacrifice at night.

24. After having begun (a funeral-sacrifice), he shall not eat until he has finished it.

25. (He shall not perform a funeral-sacrifice at

22. Compare *Manu* III, 185, 186; *Yâgñ.* I, 219-221. The three verses to be known by a *Trimadhu* are, *Madhu vâtâ ritâyate*, &c., which occur both in the *Taitt. Samh.* and in the *Taitt. Âr.* The explanation of *Trisuparna* is not certain. *Haradatta* thinks that it may mean either a person who knows the three verses *Katushkapardâ yuvati^h supesâ*, &c., *Taittirîya-brâhmana* I, 2, 1, 27, &c., or one who knows the three *Anuvâkas* from the *Taittirîya Âraṇyaka* X, 48-50, beginning, *Brahmametu mâm*, &c. The word '*Trinâkiketa*' has three explanations:—*a.* A person who knows the *Nâkiketa*-fire according to the *Taittirîyaka*, *Kaṭhavalî*, and the *Satapatha*, i.e. has studied the portions on the *Nâkiketa*-fire in these three books. *b.* A person who has thrice kindled the *Nâkiketa*-fire. *c.* A person who has studied the *Anuvâka*, called *Viragas*. *Katurmedha* may also mean 'one who has performed the four sacrifices' enumerated above.

23. *Manu* III, 280.

24. 'The *Śrâddha* is stated to begin with the first invitation to the *Brahmans*.'—*Haradatta*.

25. 'The Northerners do not generally receive this *Sûtra*, and

night), except if an eclipse of the moon takes place.

PRASNA II, PATALA 8, KHANDA 18.

1. He shall avoid butter, butter-milk, oil-cake, honey, meat.

2. And black grain (such as kulittha), food given by Sûdras, or by other persons, whose food is not considered fit to be eaten.

3. And food unfit for oblations, speaking an untruth, anger, and (acts or words) by which he might excite anger. He who desires a (good) memory, fame, wisdom, heavenly bliss, and prosperity, shall avoid these twelve (things and acts) ;

4. Wearing a dress that reaches from the navel to the knees, bathing morning, noon, and evening, living on food that has not been cooked at a fire, never seeking the shade, standing (during the day), and sitting (during the night), he shall keep this vow for one year. They declare, that (its merit) is equal to that of a studentship continued for forty-eight years.

5. (Now follows) the daily funeral-oblation.

6. Outside the village pure (men shall) prepare (the food for that rite) in a pure place.

therefore former commentators have not explained it.'—Haradatta.

18. 1. Sûtras 1-4 contain rules for a vow to be kept for the special objects mentioned in Sûtras 3 and 4 for one year only. Haradatta (on Sûtra 4) says that another commentator thinks that Sûtras 1-3 prescribe one vow, and Sûtra 4 another, and that the latter applies both to householders and students. A passage from Baudhâyana is quoted in support of this latter view.

5. Manu III, 82 seq.

6. The term 'pure (men)' is used in order to indicate that they must be so particularly, because, by II, 2, 3, 1, purity has already been prescribed for cooks.

7. New vessels are used for that,
8. In which the food is prepared, and out of which it is eaten.
9. And those (vessels) he shall present to the (Brâhmaṇas) who have been fed.
10. And he shall feed (Brâhmaṇas) possessed of all (good qualities).
11. And he shall not give the residue (of that funeral-dinner) to one who is inferior to them in good qualities.
12. Thus (he shall act every day) during a year.
13. The last of these (funeral-oblations) he shall perform, offering a red goat.
14. And let him cause an altar to be built, concealed (by a covering and outside the village).
15. Let him feed the Brâhmaṇas on the northern half of that.
16. They declare, that (then) he sees both the Brâhmaṇas who eat and the Manes sitting on the altar.
17. After that he may offer (a funeral-sacrifice once a month) or stop altogether.
18. For (by appearing on the altar) the Manes signify that they are satisfied by the funeral-offering.
19. Under the constellation Tishya he who desires prosperity,

7. For the unusual meaning of dravya, 'vessel,' compare the term sâtâdravyâni, 'implements of husbandry,' Manu IX, 293, and the Petersburg Dict. s. v.

13. The red goat is mentioned as particularly fit for a Śrâddha, Yâgñ. I, 259, and Manu III, 272.

PRASNA II, PĀṬALA 8, KHANḌA 19.

1. Shall cause to be prepared powder of white mustard-seeds, cause his hands, feet, ears, and mouth to be rubbed with that, and shall eat (the remainder). If the wind does not blow too violently, he shall eat sitting, silent and his face turned towards the south, on a seat (facing the) same (direction)—the first alternative is the skin of a he-goat.

2. But they declare, that the life of the mother of that person who eats at this ceremony, his face turned in that direction, will be shortened.

3. A vessel of brass, the centre of which is gilt, is best (for this occasion).

4. And nobody else shall eat out of that vessel.

5. He shall make a lump of as much (food) as he can swallow (at once).

6. (And he shall) not scatter anything (on the ground).

7. He shall not let go the vessel (with his left hand);

8. Or he may let it go.

19. 1. The ceremony which is here described, may also be performed daily. If the reading *prâsya* is adopted, the translation must run thus: 'and he shall scatter (the remainder of the powder). If the wind,' &c.

2. 'Therefore those whose mothers are alive should not perform this ceremony.'—Haradatta.

4. If the masculine *bhoktavyaḥ* is used instead of *bhoktavyam*, the participle must be construed with *kamasaḥ*.

5. The verbum finitum, which according to the Sanskrit text ought to be taken with the participle *samnyayan*, is *grasîta*, Sûtra 9.

8. 'Why is this second alternative mentioned, as (the first Sûtra) suffices? True. But according to the maxim that "restrictions are made on account of the continuance of an action once begun," the meaning of this second Sûtra is that he shall

9. He shall swallow the whole mouthful at once, introducing it, together with the thumb, (into the mouth.)

10. He shall make no noise with his mouth (whilst eating).

11. And he shall not shake his right hand (whilst eating).

12. After he (has eaten and) sipped water, he shall raise his hands, until the water has run off (and they have become dry).

13. After that he shall touch fire.

14. And (during this ceremony) he shall not eat in the day-time anything but roots and fruit.

15. And let him avoid Sthâlipâka-offerings, and food offered to the Manes or to the Gods.

16. He shall eat wearing his upper garment over his left shoulder and under his right arm.

17. At the (monthly) Srâddha which must necessarily be performed, he must use (food) mixed with fat.

18. The first (and preferable) alternative (is to employ) clarified butter and meat.

19. On failure (of these), oil of sesamum, vegetables, and (similar materials may be used).

20. And under the asterism Maghâ he shall feed the Brâhmanas more (than at other times) with (food mixed with) clarified butter, according to the rule of the Srâddha.

continue to the end to handle the vessel (in that manner in which) he has handled it when eating for the first time.'—Haradatta.

16. Haradatta remarks that some allow, according to II, 2, 4, 22, the sacred thread to be substituted, and others think that both the thread and the garment should be worn over the left shoulder and under the right arm.

PRASNA II, PATALA 8, KHANDA 20.

1. At every monthly *Srāddha* he shall use, in whatever manner he may be able, one *drona* of *sesamum*.

2. And he shall feed *Brāhmanas* endowed with all (good qualities), and they shall not give the fragments (of the food) to a person who does not possess the same good qualities (as the *Brāhmanas*).

3. He who desires prosperity shall fast in the half of the year when the sun goes to the north, under the constellation *Tishya*, in the first half of the month, for (a day and) a night at least, prepare a *Sthālpāka*-offering, offer burnt-oblations to *Kubera* (the god of riches), feed a *Brāhmaṇa* with that (food prepared for the *Sthālpāka*) mixed with clarified butter, and make him wish prosperity with (a *Mantra*) implying prosperity.

4. This (rite he shall repeat) daily until the next *Tishya*-(day).

5. On the second (*Tishya*-day and during the second month he shall feed) two (*Brāhmanas*).

6. On the third (*Tishya*-day and during the third month he shall feed) three (*Brāhmanas*).

7. In this manner (the *Tishya*-rite is to be performed) for a year, with a (monthly) increase (of the number of *Brāhmanas* fed).

20. 1. A *drona* equals 128 seers or *seras*. The latter is variously reckoned at 1-3 lbs.

3. The reason why the constellation *Tishya* has been chosen for this rite seems to be that *Tishya* has another name, *Pushya*, i.e. 'prosperous.' This sacrifice is to begin on the *Tishya*-day of the month called *Taisha* or *Pausha* (December-January), and to continue for one year.

8. (Thus) he obtains great prosperity.
9. But the fasting takes place on the first-
(Tishya-day) only.
10. He shall avoid to eat those things which
have lost their strength (as butter-milk, curds, and
whey).
11. He shall avoid to tread on ashes or husks of
grain.
12. To wash one foot with the other, or to place
one foot on the other,
13. And to swing his feet,
14. And to place one leg crosswise over the knee
(of the other),
15. And to make his nails
16. Or to make (his finger-joints) crack without
a (good) reason,
17. And all other (acts) which they blame.
18. And let him acquire money in all ways that
are lawful.
19. And let him spend money on worthy (persons
or objects).
20. And let him not give anything to an unworthy
(person), of whom he does not stand in fear.
21. And let him conciliate men (by gifts or
kindness).
22. And he may enjoy the pleasures which are
not forbidden by the holy law.
23. (Acting) thus he conquers both worlds.

11. Manu IV, 78.

16. 'Good reasons for cracking the joints are fatigue or rheumatism.'—Haradatta.

19. Manu XI, 6, and passim.

PRASNA II, PĀṬALA 9, KHANDA 21.

1. There are four orders, viz. the order of householders, the order of students, the order of ascetics, and the order of hermits in the woods.

2. If he lives in all these four according to the rules (of the law), without allowing himself to be disturbed (by anything), he will obtain salvation.

3. The duty to live in the teacher's house after the initiation is common to all of them.

4. Not to abandon sacred learning (is a duty common) to all.

5. Having learnt the rites (that are to be performed in each order), he may perform what he wishes.

6. Worshipping until death (and living) according to the rule of a (temporary) student, a (professed) student may leave his body in the house of his teacher.

7. Now (follow the rules) regarding the ascetic (*Samnyâsin*).

8. Only after (having fulfilled) the duties of that (order of students) he shall go forth (as an ascetic), remaining chaste.

21. 1. 'Though four (orders) are enumerated, he uses the word "four," lest, in the absence of a distinct rule of the venerable teacher, one order only, that of the householder, should be allowed, as has been taught in other *Smritis*.'—Haradatta. *Manu* VI, 87.

2. *Manu* VI, 88.

3. *Manu* II, 247-249, and above.

8. The meaning of the *Sûtra* is, that the studentship is a necessary preliminary for the *Samnyâsin*. If a man considers himself sufficiently purified by his life in that order, he may become a *Samnyâsin* immediately after its completion. Otherwise he may first become a householder, or a hermit, and enter the last

9. For him (the *Samnyâsin*) they prescribe (the following rules) :

10. He shall live without a fire, without a house, without pleasures, without protection. Remaining silent and uttering speech only on the occasion of the daily recitation of the Veda, begging so much food only in the village as will sustain his life, he shall wander about neither caring for this world nor for heaven.

11. It is ordained that he shall wear clothes thrown away (by others as useless).

12. Some declare that he shall go naked.

13. Abandoning truth and falsehood, pleasure and pain, the Vedas, this world and the next, he shall seek the *Âtman*.

14. (Some say that) he obtains salvation if he knows (the *Âtman*).

15. (But) that (opinion) is opposed to the *Sâstras*.

16. (For) if salvation were obtained by the knowledge of the *Âtman* alone, then he ought not to feel any pain even in this (world).

17. Thereby that which follows has been declared.

order, when his passions are entirely extinct. See also Manu VI, 36; *Yâgñ.* III, 56-57.

10. Manu VI, 33, 42-45; *Yâgñ.* III, 58 seq.

12. 'Another (commentator) says, "Some declare that he is free from all injunctions and prohibitions, i.e. he need neither perform nor avoid any (particular actions)."'—Haradatta.

13. 'He shall seek, i.e. worship, the *Âtman* or Self, which has been described in the section on transcendental knowledge (I, 8).'
—Haradatta.

15. Haradatta apparently takes the word *Sâstras* to mean 'Dharma-sâstras.'

17. 'That which follows' are the *Yogas*, which must be employed in order to cause the annihilation of pain, after the knowledge of the *Âtman* or Self has been obtained.

18. Now (follow the rules regarding) the hermit living in the woods.

19. Only after (completing) that (studentship) he shall go forth, remaining chaste.

20. For him they give (the following rules) :

21. He shall keep one fire only, have no house, enjoy no pleasures, have no protector, observe silence, uttering speech on the occasion of the daily recitation of the Veda only.

PRASNA II, PĀṬALA 9, KHANḌA 22.

1. A dress of materials procured in the woods (skins or bark) is ordained for him.

2. Then he shall wander about, sustaining his life by roots, fruits, leaves, and grass.

3. In the end (he shall live on) what has become detached spontaneously.

4. Next he shall live on water, (then) on air, then on ether.

5. Each following one of these modes of subsistence is distinguished by a (greater) reward.

6. Now some (teachers) enjoin for the hermit the

21. 'But which is that one fire? Certainly not the *Gr̥h̥ya*-fire, because he must remain chaste. Therefore the meaning intended is, "He shall offer a *Samidh* morn and evening in the common fire, just as formerly, (during his studentship)." Another commentator says, "Gautama declares that he shall kindle a fire according to the rule of the *Sr̥amanaka Sūtra*. The *Sr̥amanaka Sūtra* is the *Vaikhāṇasa Sūtra*. Having kindled a fire in the manner prescribed there, he shall sacrifice in it every morning and every evening."—Haradatta. See also *Manu* VI, 4; *Yâgñ.* III, 45.

22. 1. *Manu* VI, 6.

2. *Manu* VI, 5, 21; *Yâgñ.* III, 46.

4. 'Then he shall live on ether, i.e. eat nothing at all.'—Haradatta. *Manu* VI, 31; *Yâgñ.* III, 55.

successive performance (of the acts prescribed for the several orders).

7. After having finished the study of the Veda, having taken a wife and kindled the sacred fires, he shall begin the rites, which end with the Soma-sacrifices, (performing) as many as are prescribed in the revealed texts.

8. (Afterwards) he shall build a dwelling, and dwell outside the village with his wife, his children, and his fires,

9. Or (he may live) alone.

10. He shall support himself by gleaning corn.

11. And after that he shall not any longer take presents.

12. And he shall sacrifice (only) after having bathed (in the following manner):

13. He shall enter the water slowly, and bathe without beating it (with his hand), his face turned towards the sun.

14. This rule of bathing is valid for all (castes and orders).

15. Some enjoin (that he shall prepare) two sets of utensils for cooking and eating, (and) of choppers, hatchets, sickles, and mallets.

6. 'The word *atha*, "now," introduces a different opinion. Above, it has been declared that the life in the woods (may be begun) after the studentship only. But some teachers enjoin just for that hermit a successive performance of the acts.

8. *Manu* VI, 3 seq.; *Yâgñ.* III, 45.

10. *Haradatta* thinks that this rule refers both to the hermit who lives with his family and to him who lives alone. Others refer it to the latter only.

15. According to *Haradatta*, the word *kâga* appears to designate 'a mallet;' in the passage from the *Râmâyana* quoted in the *Petersburg Dict.* the commentator explains it by *peśaka*, 'basket.'

16. He shall take one of each pair (of instruments), give the others (to his wife), and (then) go into the forest.

17. After that time (he shall perform) the burnt-oblations, (sustain) his life, (feed) his guests, and (prepare) his clothes with materials produced in the forest.

18. Rice must be used for those sacrifices for which cakes mixed with meat (are employed by the householder).

19. And all (the Mantras), as well as the daily portion of the Veda, (must be recited) inaudibly.

20. He shall not make the inhabitants of the forest hear (his recitation).

21. (He shall have) a house for his fire (only).

22. He himself (shall live) in the open air.

23. His couch and seat must not be covered (with mats).

24. If he obtains fresh grain, he shall throw away the old (store).

PRASNA II, PATALA 9, KHANDA 23.

1. If he desires (to perform) very great austerities, he (shall not make a hoard of grain, but) collect food every day only, morning and evening, in his vessel.

2. Afterwards he shall wander about, sustaining his life with roots, fruits, leaves, and grass (which he

17. Yâgñ. III, 46.

20. This Sûtra explains the word upâmsu, 'inaudibly.'

24. Manu VI, 15; Yâgñ. III, 47.

23. 1. The following rules apply to a solitary hermit.

2. These Sûtras are repeated in order to show that, according to the opinion of those who allow hermits to live with their families, the end should be the same.

collects). Finally (he shall content himself with) what has become detached spontaneously. Then he shall live on water, then on air, (and finally) upon ether. Each succeeding mode of subsistence procures greater rewards.

3. Now they quote (the following) two verses from a Purâna :

4. Those eighty thousand sages who desired offspring passed to the south by Aryaman's road and obtained burial-grounds.

5. Those eighty thousand sages who desired no offspring passed by Aryaman's road to the north and obtained immortality.

6. Thus are praised those who keep the vow of chastity.

7. Now they accomplish also their wishes merely by conceiving them,

8. For instance, (the desire to procure) rain, to bestow children, second-sight, to move quick as thought, and other (desires) of this description.

9. Therefore on account of (passages) of the revealed texts, and on account of the visible results, some declare these orders (of men keeping the vow of chastity to be) the most excellent.

10. But (to this we answer) : It is the firm opinion of those who are well versed in the threefold sacred learning, that the Vedas are the highest authority.

3. 'The "orders" have been described. Now, giving conflicting opinions, he discusses which of them is the most important.'—Haradatta.

4. This verse and the next are intended to disparage the order of householders. Haradatta explains 'burial-grounds' by 'new births which lead to new deaths;' but see below, Sûtra 10. See also Yâgñ. III, 186-187.

They consider that the (rites) which are ordered there to be performed with rice, yava, animals, clarified butter, milk, potsherds, (in conjunction) with a wife, (and accompanied) by loud or muttered (Mantras), must be performed, and that (hence) a rule of conduct which is opposed to these (rites) is of no authority.

11. But by the term burial-ground (in the text above given) it is intended to ordain the last rites for those who have performed many sacrifices, (and not to mean that dead householders become demons and haunt burial-grounds.)

12. The revealed texts declare that after (the burial follows) a reward without end, which is designated by the term 'heavenly bliss.'

PRASNA II, PATALA 9, KHANDA 24.

1. Now the Veda declares also one's offspring to be immortality (in this verse): 'In thy offspring thou art born again, that, mortal, is thy immortality.'

2. Now it can also be perceived by the senses that the (father) has been reproduced separately (in the son); for the likeness (of a father and of a son) is even visible, only (their) bodies are different.

3. 'These (sons) who live, fulfilling the rites taught (in the Veda), increase the fame and heavenly bliss of their departed ancestors.'

4. 'In this manner each succeeding (generation increases the fame and heavenly bliss) of the preceding ones.'

11. The Sûtra is intended to remove the blame thrown on the order of householders by the verse quoted. Haradatta seems to have forgotten his former explanation of Smarânâni.

5. 'They (the ancestors) live in heaven until the (next) general destruction of created things.'

6. At the new creation (of, the world) they become the seed. That has been declared in the Bhavishyatpurâṇa.

7. Now Pragâpati also says,

8. 'Those dwell with us who fulfil the following (duties): the study of the three Vedas, the studentship, the procreation of children, faith, religious austerities, sacrifices, and the giving of gifts. He who praises other (duties), becomes dust and perishes.'

9. Those among these (sons) who commit sin, perish alone, just as the leaf of a tree (which has been attacked by worms falls without injuring its branch or tree). They do not hurt their ancestors.

10. (For) the (ancestor) has no connection with the acts committed (by his descendant) in this world, nor with their results in the next.

11. (The truth of) that may be known by the following (reason) :

12. This creation (is the work) of Pragâpati and of the sages.

13. The bodies of those (sages) who stay there (in heaven) on account of their merits appear visibly most excellent and brilliant (as, for instance, the constellation of the seven *Rîshis*).

14. But even though some (ascetic), whilst still

24. 6. 'They become the seed,' i.e. 'The Pragâpatîs.'

8. 'Other (duties), i.e. the order of ascetics and the like.'—Haradatta.

13. As the *Rîshis* have not lost heaven through the sins of their sons, the dogma according to which ancestors lose heaven through the sins of their sons, must be false.

14. Âpastamba's own opinion is apparently against pure asceticism.

in the body, may gain heaven through a portion of (the merit acquired by his former) works or through austerities, and though he may accomplish (his objects) by his mere wish, still this is no reason to place one order before the other.

PRASNA II, PATALA 10, KHANDA 25.

1. The general and special duties of all castes have been explained. But we will now declare those of a king in particular.

2. He shall cause to be built a town and a palace, the gates of both of which (must look) towards the south.

3. The palace (shall stand) in the heart of the town.

4. In front of that (there shall be) a hall. That is called the hall of invitation.

5. (At a little distance) from the town to the south, (he shall cause to be built) an assembly-house with doors on the south and on the north sides, so that one can see what passes inside and outside.

6. In all (these three places) fires shall burn constantly.

7. And oblations must be offered in these fires daily, just as at the daily sacrifice of a householder.

8. In the hall he shall put up his guests, at least those who are learned in the Vedas.

25. 3. 'In the heart of the town, i. e. in that town which is surrounded by all the walls.'—Haradatta. Compare *Manu* VII, 76.

6. According to Haradatta, the fires are to be common, not consecrated ones.

7. *Manu* VII, 78; *Yâgñ.* I, 313.

8. *Manu* VII, 82 seq.

9. Rooms, a couch, food and drink should be given to them according to their good qualities.

10. Let him not live better than his Gurus or ministers.

11. And in his realm no (Brâhmaṇa) should suffer hunger, sickness, cold, or heat, be it through want, or intentionally.

12. In the midst of the assembly-house, (the superintendent of the house) shall raise a play-table and sprinkle it with water, turning his hand downwards, and place on it dice in even numbers, made of Vibhītaka (wood), as many as are wanted.

13. Men of the first three castes, who are pure and truthful, may be allowed to play there.

14. Assaults of arms, dancing, singing, music, and the like (performances) shall be held only (in the houses) of the king's servants.

15. That king only takes care of the welfare of his subjects in whose dominions, be it in villages or forests, there is no danger from thieves.

10. 'The Gurus are the father and other (venerable relations).—Haradatta.

11. Manu VII, 134. 'Or intentionally; with reference to that the following example may be given. If anybody is to be made to pay his debts or taxes, then he is to be exposed to cold or heat, or to be made to fast (until he pays). The king shall punish (every one) who acts thus.'—Haradatta.

13. 'Having played there, they shall give a fixed sum to the gambling-house keeper and go away. The latter shall, every day or every month or every year, give that gain to the king. And the king shall punish those who play elsewhere or quarrel in the assembly-house.'—Haradatta.

14. 'At festivals and the like occasions (these performances) take place also elsewhere, that is the custom.'—Haradatta.

15. Manu VII, 143, and *passim*; Yâgñ. I, 335.

PRASNA II, PATALA 10, KHANDA 26.

1. A (king) who, without detriment to his servants, gives land and money to Brâhmanas according to their deserts gains endless worlds.

2. They say (that) a king, who is slain in attempting to recover the property of Brâhmanas, (performs) a sacrifice where his body takes the place of the sacrificial post, and at which an unlimited fee is given.

3. Hereby have been declared (the rewards of) other heroes, who fall fighting for a (worthy) cause.

4. He shall appoint men of the first three castes, who are pure and truthful, over villages and towns for the protection of the people.

5. Their servants shall possess the same qualities.

6. They must protect a town from thieves in every direction to the distance of one yogana.

7. (They must protect the country to the distance of) one krosa from each village.

8. They must be made to repay what is stolen within these (boundaries).

26. 1. Manu VII, 83, 84, 88; Yâgñ. I, 314.

2. According to Haradatta the king's body represents the post (yûpa), his soul the sacrificial animal, the recovered property the reward for the priests or fee.

3. Manu VII, 89; Yâgñ. I, 323, 324.

4. Manu VII, 115-124; Yâgñ. I, 321.

6. Yâgñ. II, 271-272. A yogana is a distance of 4 krosa, kos.

7. A krosa, kos, or gâu, literally 'the lowing of a cow,' is variously reckoned at $1\frac{1}{2}$ -4 miles.

8. Yâgñ. I, 272. This law is, with certain modifications, still in force. See Bombay Regulations, XII, 27 par.

9. The (king) shall make them collect the lawful taxes (*sulka*).
10. A learned *Brāhmaṇa* is free from taxes,
11. And the women of all castes,
12. And male children before the marks (of puberty appear),
13. And those who live (with a teacher) in order to study,
14. And those who perform austerities, being intent on fulfilling the sacred law,
15. And a *Sūdra* who lives by washing the feet,
16. Also blind, dumb, deaf, and diseased persons (as long as their infirmities last),
17. And those to whom the acquisition of property is forbidden (as *Sannyāsins*).
18. A young man who, decked with ornaments, enters unintentionally (a place where) a married woman or a (marriageable) damsel (sits), must be reprimanded.

9. According to Haradatta, who quotes Gautama in his commentary, the *sulka* is the $\frac{1}{16}$ th part of a merchant's gains. On account of the *Sūtras* immediately following, it is, however, more probable that the term is here used as a synonym of 'kara,' and includes all taxes. 'Lawful' taxes are, of course, those sanctioned by custom and approved of by the *Smṛtis*.

10. *Manu* VII, 133.

11. Haradatta thinks that the rule applies to women of the *Anuloma*, the pure castes, only.

14. 'Why does he say "intent on fulfilling the holy law?" Those shall not be free from taxes who perform austerities in order to make their magic charms efficacious.'—Haradatta.

18. The ornaments would indicate that he was bent on mischief. Compare above, I, 11, 32, 6.

19. But if he does it intentionally with a bad purpose, he must be fined.

20. If he has actually committed adultery, his organ shall be cut off together with the testicles.

21. But (if he has had intercourse) with a (marriageable) girl, his property shall be confiscated and he shall be banished.

22. Afterwards the king must support (such women and damsels),

23. And protect them from defilement.

24. If they agree to undergo the (prescribed) penance, he shall make them over to their (lawful) guardians.

PRASNA II, PATALA 10, KHANDA 27.

1. If (adulteresses) have performed (the prescribed penance), they are to be treated as before (their fault). For the connection (of husband and wife) takes place through the law.

2. (A husband) shall not make over his (wife), who occupies the position of a 'gentilis,' to others (than to his 'gentiles'), in order to cause children to be begot for himself.

19. 'The punishment must be proportionate to his property and the greatness of his offence. The term "with a bad purpose" is added, because he who has been sent by his teacher (to such a place) should not be punished.'—Haradatta. Manu VIII, 354; Yâgñ. II, 284.

24. 'I.e. a married woman to her husband or father-in-law, an unmarried damsel to her father or to her brother.'—Haradatta.

27. 2. This Sûtra refers to the begetting of a Kshetrâga son, and gives the usual rule, that only the Sagotras in the order of the grade of relationship, a brother-in-law, a Sapiṇḍa, &c., shall be employed for this purpose.

3. For they declare, that a bride is given to the family (of her husband, and not to the husband alone).

4. That is (at present) forbidden on account of the weakness of (men's) senses.

5. The hand (of a gentilis is considered in law to be) that of a stranger, and so is (that of any other person except the husband).

6. If the (marriage vow) is transgressed, both (husband and wife) certainly go to hell.

7. The reward (in the next world) resulting from obeying the restrictions of the law is preferable to offspring obtained in this manner (by means of Niyoga).

8. A man of one of the first three castes (who commits adultery) with a woman of the Sûdra caste shall be banished.

9. A Sûdra (who commits adultery) with a woman of one of the first three castes shall suffer capital punishment.

10. And he shall emaciate a woman who has committed adultery with a (Sûdra, by making her undergo penances and fasts, in case she had no child).

11. They declare, that (a Brâhmaṇa) who has

4. 'For now-a-days the senses of men are weak, and therefore the peculiar (law formerly) in force regarding gentiles is so no longer, lest husbands should be set aside under the pretended sanction of the Sâstras.'—Haradatta.

9. Manu VIII, 374; Yâgñ. II, 286. According to Haradatta, this refers to a Sûdra servant who seduces a woman committed to his charge. In other cases the punishment prescribed, II, 10, 26, 10, is to take effect. The same opinion is expressed by Gautama.

11. This refers to the wife of a Srotriya, as Haradatta states according to Gautama. The penance is three years' chastity.

once committed adultery with a married woman of equal class, shall perform one-fourth of the penance prescribed for an outcast.

12. In like manner for every repetition (of the crime), one-fourth of the penance (must be added).

13. (If the offence be committed) for the fourth time, the whole (penance of twelve years must be performed).

14. The tongue of a *Sûdra* who speaks evil of a virtuous person, belonging to one of the first three castes, shall be cut out.

15. A *Sûdra* who assumes a position equal (to that of a member of one of the first three castes), in conversation, on the road, on a couch, in sitting (and on similar occasions), shall be flogged.

16. In case (a *Sûdra*) commits homicide or theft, appropriates land (or commits similar heinous crimes), his property shall be confiscated and he himself shall suffer capital punishment.

17. But if these (offences be committed) by a *Brâhmaṇa*, he shall be made blind (by tying a cloth over his eyes).

18. He shall keep in secret confinement him who violates the rules (of his caste or order), or any other sinner, until (he promises) amendment.

19. If he does not amend, he shall be banished.

20. A spiritual teacher, an officiating priest, a

15. In conversation, i.e. addressing *Âryas* familiarly, with *tvam*, 'thou,' &c.

17. Haradatta states expressly that the eyes of a *Brâhmaṇa* must not be put out by any sharp instrument. He should be kept blindfold all his life.

20. 'The intercession is to take effect in this manner: that mutilation is commuted to a fine, a fine to a flogging, a flogging to a reprimand.'—Haradatta.

Snâtaka, and a prince shall be able to protect (a criminal from punishment by their intercession), except in case of a capital offence.

PRASNA II, PATALA 11, KHANDA 28.

1. If a person who has taken (a lease of) land (for cultivation) does not exert himself, and hence (the land) bears no crop, he shall, if he is rich, be made to pay (to the owner of the land the value of the crop) that ought to have grown

2. A servant in tillage who abandons his work shall be flogged.

3. The same (punishment shall be awarded) to a herdsman (who leaves his work);

4. And the flock (entrusted) to him shall be taken away (and be given to some other herdsman).

5. If cattle, leaving their stable, eat (the crops of other persons, then the owner of the crops, or the king's servants), may make them lean (by impounding them); (but) he shall not exceed (in such punishment).

28. 1. This Sûtra shows that the system of leasing land against a certain share of the crops, which now prevails generally in Native States, and is not uncommon in private contracts on British territory, was in force in Âpastamba's times.

2. See Colebrooke, Digest, Book III, Text lxviii, for this Sûtra and the following two. Another commentator, quoted by Haradatta, connects this Sûtra with the preceding, and refers it to a poor lessee of land, who cannot pay the value of the crop which was lost through his negligence. A third explanation refers the Sûtra to a cultivator who neglects to till his land. Gagannâtha's authorities, the *Kintâmani* and *Ratnâkara*, agree with Haradatta's first explanation.

5. Manu VIII, 240; Yâgñ. II, 159-161.

6. If (a herdsman) who has taken cattle under his care, allows them to perish, or loses (them by theft, through his negligence), he shall replace them (or pay their value) to the owners.

7. If (the king's forester) sees cattle that have been sent into the forest through negligence (without a herdsman), he shall lead them back to the village and make them over to the owners.

8. If the same negligence (occur) again, he shall once impound them (and afterwards give them back).

9. (If the same fault be committed again) after that (second time), he shall not take care (of them).

10. He who has taken unintentionally the property of another shall be reprimanded, in case (the property be) fuel, water, roots, flowers, fruits, perfumes, fodder, or vegetables.

11. (If he takes the above-mentioned kinds of property) intentionally, his garment shall be taken away.

12. He who takes intentionally food when he is in danger of his life shall not be punished.

13. If the king does not punish a punishable offence, the guilt falls upon him.

PRASNA II, PATALA 11, KHANDA 29.

1. He who instigates to, he who assists in, and he who commits (an act, these three) share its rewards in heaven and its punishments in hell.

2. He amongst these who contributes most to

6. Manu VIII, 232; Yâgñ. II, 164.

13. Manu VIII, 18, 308; Yâgñ. I, 336.

the accomplishment (of the act obtains) a greater share of the result.

3. Both the wife and the husband have power over (their) common property.

4. By their permission, others also may act for their good (in this and the next world, even by spending money).

5. Men of learning and pure descent, who are aged, clever in reasoning, and careful in fulfilling the duties (of their caste and order, shall be the judges) in lawsuits.

6. In doubtful cases (they shall give their decision) after having ascertained (the truth) by inference, ordeals, and the like (means).

7. A person who is possessed of good qualities (may be called as a witness, and) shall answer the questions put to him according to the truth on an auspicious day, in the morning, before a kindled fire, standing near (a jar full of) water, in the presence of the king, and with the consent of all (of both parties and of the assessors), after having been exhorted (by the judge) to be fair to both sides.

8. If (he is found out speaking) an untruth, the king shall punish him.

29. 3. 'Though this is so, still the wife cannot spend (money) without the permission of her husband, but the husband can do (so without the consent of his wife). That may be known by Sûtra II, 6, 14, 11, "They do not declare it to be a theft if the wife spends money for a good reason during the absence of her husband."'—Haradatta.

4. 'Others, i.e. the sons and the rest.'—Haradatta.

5. *Yâgñ.* II, 2.

6. 'And the like, i.e. by cross-examination, &c.'—Haradatta.

7. *Manu* VIII, 87 seq.; *Yâgñ.* II, 68-75.

8. *Manu* VIII, 119 seq.

9. Besides, in that case, after death, hell (will be his punishment).

10. If he speaks the truth, (his reward will be) heaven and the approbation of all created beings.

11. The knowledge which Sûdras and women possess is the completion (of all study).

12. They declare, that (this knowledge) is a supplement of the Atharva-veda.

13. It is difficult to learn the sacred law from (the letter of) the Vedas (only); but by following the indications it is easily accomplished.

14. The indications for these (doubtful cases are), 'He shall regulate his course of action according to the conduct which is unanimously recognised in all countries by men of the three twice-born castes, who have been properly obedient (to their teachers), who are aged, of subdued senses, neither given to avarice, nor hypocrites. Acting thus he will gain both worlds.'

15. Some declare, that the remaining duties (which have not been taught here) must be learnt from women and men of all castes.

9. Manu VIII, 89 seq.

10. Manu VIII, 81 seq.

11. Manu II, 223. The meaning of the Sûtra is, that men ought not to study solely or at first such Sâstras as women or Sûdras also learn, but that at first they must study the Veda. See Manu II, 168. The knowledge which women and Sûdras possess is dancing, music, and other branches of the Artharâstra.

14. See above, I, 7, 20, 8 and 9.

GAUTAMA,
INSTITUTES OF THE SACRED LAW.

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CHAPTER I.

1. THE Veda is the source of the sacred law,
2. And the tradition and practice of those who know the (Veda).
3. Transgression of the law and violence are observed (in the case) of (those) great (men); but both are without force (as precedents) on account of the weakness of the men of later ages.
4. If (authorities) of equal force are conflicting, (either may be followed at) pleasure.
5. The initiation of a Brâhmana (shall ordinarily take place) in his eighth year;

I. 1-2. Âpastamba I, 1, 1, 1-2.

3. Âpastamba II, 6, 13, 8-10. Instances of transgressions of the law are the adultery of Kataka and Bharadvâga, Vasishtha's marriage with the *Kândâlî* Akshamâlâ, Râma Gâmadagnya's murder of his mother. Haradatta explains the term 'âvara,' translated by 'men of later ages,' to mean 'men like ourselves' (asmadâdi). In his comment on the parallel passage of Âpastamba he renders it by *idânîntana*, 'belonging to our times;' and in his notes on Âpastamba I, 2, 5, 4, he substitutes *arvâkîna kaliyugavartin*, 'men of modern times living in the Kaliyuga.' The last explanation seems to me the most accurate, if it is distinctly kept in mind that in the times of Gautama the Kaliyuga was not a definite period of calculated duration, but the Iron Age of sin as opposed to the happier times when justice still dwelt on earth.

6. (It may also be performed) in the ninth or fifth (years) for the fulfilment of (some particular) wish.

7. The number of years (is to be calculated) from conception.

8. That (initiation) is the second birth.

9. The (person) from whom he receives that (sacrament is called) the *Āçārya* (teacher).

10. And (the same title is also bestowed) in consequence of the teaching of the Veda.

11. (The initiation) of a Kshatriya (shall ordinarily take place) in the eleventh (year after conception), and that of a Vaisya in the twelfth.

12. Up to the sixteenth year the time for the *Sāvitrī* of a Brāhmaṇa has not passed,

13. Nor (for the initiation) of a Kshatriya up to the twentieth (year).

14. (And the limit for that) of a Vaisya (extends) two years beyond (the latter term).

15. The girdles (worn by students) shall be strings of *Muñga* grass, a bow-string, or a (wool) thread, according to the order (of the castes).

16. (Their upper garments shall be) skins of black-bucks, spotted deer, (or) he-goats.

6. *Āpastamba* I, 1, 1, 20-21.

7. *Āpastamba* I, 1, 1, 19. 8. *Āpastamba* I, 1, 1, 17-18.

9. *Āpastamba* I, 1, 1, 14. 10. *Manu* II, 140; *Yāgñavalkya* I, 34.

11. *Āpastamba* I, 1, 1, 19.

12. *Āpastamba* I, 1, 1, 27. *Sāvitrī*, literally the *Rik* sacred to *Savitrī*, is here used as an equivalent for upanayana, initiation, because one of the chief objects of the ceremony is to impart to the neophyte the Mantra sacred to *Savitrī*, *Rig-veda* III, 62, 10.

13-14. *Āpastamba* I, 1, 1, 27.

15. *Āpastamba* I, 1, 2, 33-36. 16. *Āpastamba* I, 1, 3, 3-6.

17. Hempen or linen cloth, the (inner) bark (of trees), and woollen blankets (may be worn as lower garments by students) of all (castes),

18. And undyed cotton cloth.

19. Some (declare that it) even (may be dyed) red.

20. (In that case the garment) of a Brâhmaṇa (shall be dyed with a red dye) produced from a tree,

21. (And those of students) of the other two (castes shall be) dyed with madder or turmeric.

22. The staff (carried by a student) of the Brâhmaṇa (caste shall be) made of Bilva or Palâsa wood.

23. Staves made of Asvattha or Pîlu wood (are fit) for (students of) the remaining (two castes).

24. Or (a staff cut from a tree) that is fit to be used at a sacrifice (may be carried by students) of all (castes).

25. (The staves must be) unblemished, bent (at the top) like a sacrificial post, and covered by their bark.

26. They shall reach the crown of the head, the forehead, (or) the tip of the nose (according to the caste of the wearer).

17. Haradatta explains *ķira*, the inner bark of a tree, by 'made of Kusa grass and the like.' Regarding dresses made of Kusa grass, see the Petersburg Dict. s.v. *Kusaķira*. *Ķira* may also mean 'rags,' such as were worn by Sannyâsins (see below, III, 19) and Bauddha ascetics.

19-21. Âpastamba I, 1, 2, 41—I, 1, 3, 2.

22. Âpastamba I, 1, 2, 38.

24. 'Because the term "fit to be used at a sacrifice" is employed, the Vibhîtaka and the like (unclean trees) are excluded.'—Haradatta. Regarding the Vibhîtaka, see Report of Tour in Kasmîr, Journal Bombay Br. Roy. As. Soc. XXXIV A, p. 8.

25. Manu II, 47. 'Unblemished means uninjured by worms and the like.'—Haradatta.

26. Manu II, 46.

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27. (It is) optional (for students) to shave (their heads), to wear the hair tied in a braid, (or) to keep (merely) a lock on the crown of the head tied in a braid (shaving the other portions of the head).

28. If he becomes impure while holding things in his hands, he shall (purify himself) by sipping water without laying (them on the ground).

27. Âpastamba I, 1, 2, 31-32. The above translation follows the reading of my MSS. *mundagañilasikhâgañâ vâ*, which seems more in accordance with the Sûtra style. It must, however, be understood that the arrangement of the hair is not regulated by the individual choice of the student, but by the custom of his family, school, or country. In the commentary, as given by one of my MSS., it is stated the custom of shaving the whole head prevailed among the *Khandogas*. Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 53; Weber, *Indische Studien*, X, 95.

28. The above translation agrees with Professor Stenzler's text and Manu V, 143. But according to Haradatta the meaning of the Sûtra is not so simple. His explanation is as follows: 'If while holding things in his hands he becomes impure, i. e. he is defiled by urine, fæces, leavings of food, and the like (impurities) which are causes for sipping water, then he shall sip water after placing those things on the ground. This refers to uncooked food, intended to be eaten. And thus Vasishtha (III, 4, 3, Benares edition) declares: "If he who is occupied with eatables touches any impure substance, then he shall place that thing on the ground, sip water, and afterwards again use it." But the following text of another *Smṛiti*, "A substance becomes pure by being sprinkled with water after having been placed on the ground," refers to cooked food, such as boiled rice and the like. Or (the above Sûtra may mean), "If he becomes impure while holding things in his hands, then he shall sip water without laying them on the ground." And thus Manu (V, 143) says: "He who carries in any manner anything in his hands and is touched by an impure substance shall cleanse himself by sipping water without laying his burden down." This rule refers to things not destined to be eaten, such as garments. And in the (above) Sûtra the words, "He who becomes impure shall sip water," must be taken as one sentence, and (the whole), "If while holding things in his hands he becomes impure,

29. (As regards) the purification of things, (objects) made of metal must be scoured, those made of clay should be thoroughly heated by fire, those made of wood must be planed, and (cloth) made of thread should be washed.

30. (Objects made of) stone, jewels, shells, (or) mother-of-pearl (must be treated) like those made of metal.

31. (Objects made of) bone and mud (must be treated) like wood.

he shall sip water without laying (them) down," must be taken as a second.'

Though it may be doubted if the *yogavibhāga*, or 'division of the construction,' proposed by Haradatta, is admissible, still it seems to me not improbable that Gautama intended his *Sūtra* to be taken in two different ways. For, if according to the ancient custom it is written without an *Avagraha* and without separating the words joined by *Sandhi*, *dravyahasta uḥhishṭonidhāyâ-kâmet*, the latter group may either stand for *uḥhishṭo nidhāyâ-kâmet* or for *uḥhishṭo anidhāyâ-kâmet*. As the *Sūtra-kāras* aim before all things at brevity, the *Sūtra* may have to be read both ways. If that had to be done, the correct translation would be: 'If while holding things in his hands, he becomes impure, he shall (purify himself by) sipping water, either laying (his burden) down (or) not laying it down, (as the case may require).'

29. *Āpastamba* I, 5, 17, 10-12; *Manu* V, 115, 122.

30. *Manu* V, 111-112.

31. 'Bone, i.e. ivory and the like. Mud, i.e. (the mud floor of) a house and the like. The purification of these two is the same as that of wood, i.e. by scraping (or planing). How is it proper that, since the author has declared (*Sūtra* 29) that objects made of wood shall be purified by planing, the expression "like wood" should be substituted (in this *Sūtra*)? (The answer is that), as the author uses the expression "like wood," when he ought to have said "like objects made of wood," he indicates thereby that the manner of purification is the same for the material as for the object made thereof.'—Haradatta. The

32. And scattering (earth taken from a pure spot is another method of purifying defiled) earth.

33. Ropes, chips (of bamboo), and leather (must be treated) like garments.

34. Or (objects) that have been defiled very much may be thrown away.

35. Turning his face to the east or to the north, he shall purify himself from personal defilement.

36. Seated in a pure place, placing his right arm between his knees, arranging his dress (or his

Sûtra is, therefore, a so-called *Ghâpaka*, intended to reveal the existence of a general rule or *paribhâshâ* which has not been given explicitly.

32. 'Scattering over, i.e. heaping on (earth) after bringing it from another spot is an additional method of purifying earth. With regard to this matter *Vasishtha* (III, 57) says: "Earth is purified by these four (methods, viz.) by digging, burning, scraping, being trodden on by cows, and, fifthly, by being smeared with cowdung."'—Haradatta.

What Haradatta and probably Gautama mean, is that the mud floors of houses, verandahs, and spots of ground selected for sitting on, if defiled, should be scraped, and that afterwards fresh earth should be scattered over the spot thus cleansed. See, however, *Manu* V, 125, who recommends earth for the purification of other things also. The Sûtra may also be interpreted so as to agree with his rule.

33. 'Chips (*vidala*), i.e. something made of chips of ratan-cane or bamboo, or, according to others, something made of feathers.'—Haradatta.

34. 'The word "or" is used in order to exclude the alternative (i.e. the methods of purification described above).'—Haradatta. For the explanation of the expression 'very much' Haradatta refers to *Vasishtha* III, 58, with which *Manu* V, 123 may be compared.

35. 'The alternative (position) depends on the pleasure of the performer.'—Haradatta.

36. My MSS. more conveniently make five Sûtras of Professor Stenzler's one Sûtra. The divisions have been marked in the translation by semicolons.

a. 'How many times? Three times or four times; the alter-

sacrificial cord) in the manner required for a sacrifice to the gods, he shall, after washing his hands up to the wrist, three or four times, silently, sip water that reaches his heart; twice wipe (his lips); sprinkle his feet and (his head); touch the cavities in the head (severally) with (certain fingers of his) right hand; (and finally) place (all the fingers) on the crown of his head and (on the navel).

37. After sleeping, dining, and sneezing (he shall) again (sip water though he may have done so before).

38. (Remnants of food) adhering to the teeth (do not make the eater impure as little) as his teeth, except if he touches them with his tongue.

39. Some (declare, that such remnants do not defile) before they fall (from their place).

40. If they do become detached, he should know that he is purified by merely swallowing them, as (in the case of) saliva.

native depends upon the pleasure of the performer. Another (commentator says): When, according to a special rule of the Vedas the sipping must be accompanied by the recitation of sacred texts, then the act shall be repeated four times, else three times.—Haradatta.

b. The custom of touching the lips twice is noted as the opinion of some, by Âpastamba I, 5, 16, 4.

c. ““Sprinkle his feet and.” On account of the word “and” he shall sprinkle his head also.’—Haradatta.

d. ““Touch the cavities,” &c. Here the word “and” indicates that each organ is to be touched separately.’—Haradatta. Regarding the manner of touching, see Âpastamba I, 5, 16, 5 and 7 note.

e. ““ (And finally) place,” &c. Because the word “and” is used, he shall touch the navel and the head with all the fingers.’—Haradatta. Regarding the whole Âkamanakalpa, see Âpastamba I, 5, 16, 1 seq.

37. Manu V, 145.

38. Manu V, 141.

39. Vasishtha III, 41.

40. ‘As the author ought to have said, “If they become de-

41. Drops (of saliva) falling from the mouth do not cause impurity, except if they fall on a limb of the body.

42. Purification (from defilement) by unclean substances (has been effected) when the stains and the (bad) smell have been removed.

43. That (should be done) by first (using) water and (afterwards) earth,

44. When urine, fæces, or semen fall on a (limb) and when (a limb) is stained (by food) during meals (water should be sipped).

45. And in case the Veda ordains (a particular manner of purification, it must be performed according to the precept).

46. Taking hold with (his right) hand of the left

tached, he is purified by merely swallowing them," the addition of the words "he should know" and "as in the case of saliva" is intended to indicate that in the case of saliva, too, he becomes pure by swallowing it, and that purification by sipping need not be considered necessary.—Haradatta. This Sûtra consists of the second half of a verse, quoted by Baudhâyana I, 5, 8, 25, and Vasishtha III, 41.

41. Âpastamba I, 5, 16, 12.

42. In explanation of the term *amedhya*, 'unclean substances,' Haradatta quotes Manu V, 135.

43. Manu V, 134; see also Âpastamba I, 5, 16, 15.

44. Âpastamba I, 5, 16, 14.

45. 'If the Veda ordains any particular manner of purification for any particular purpose, that alone must be adopted. Thus the sacrificial vessels called *kamasa*, which have been stained by remnants of offerings, must be washed with water on the heap of earth called *mârgâlîya*.'—Haradatta.

46. This and the following rules refer chiefly to the teaching of the *Sâvitṛî*, which forms part of the initiation. According to Gobhila *Grîhya-sûtra* II, 10, 38, the complete sentence addressed to the teacher is, 'Venerable Sir, recite! May the worshipful one teach me the *Sâvitṛî*.'

hand (of his teacher), but leaving the thumb free, (the pupil) shall address his teacher, (saying): 'Venerable Sir, recite!'

47. He shall fix his eyes and his mind on the (teacher).

48. He shall touch with *Kusa* grass the (seat of the) vital airs.

49. He shall thrice restrain his breath for (the space of) fifteen moments;

50. And he shall seat himself on (blades of *Kusa* grass) the tops of which are turned toward the east.

51. The five *Vyâhr̥tis* must (each) be preceded by (the syllable) *Om* and end with *Satya*.

52. (Every) morning the feet of the teacher must be embraced (by the pupil),

53. And both at the beginning and at the end of a lesson in the *Veda*.

54. After having received permission, the pupil

47. *Âpastamba* I, 2, 5, 23; I, 2, 6, 20; *Manu* II, 192.

48. 'The (seat of the) vital airs are the organs of sense located in the head. The pupil shall touch these, his own (organs of sense) located in the head, in the order prescribed for the *Âkamaṇa* (see *Âpastamba* I, 5, 16, 7 note).—*Haradatta*. See also *Manu* II, 75.

49. 'Passing one's hand along the side of the knee, one will fill the space of one *Truṇikâ*. That is one moment (*mâtrâ*).—*Haradatta*. *Manu* II, 75.

50. *Manu* II, 75.

51. 'In the *Vyâhr̥ti-sâmans* (see *Burnell*, *Ârsheya-br.*, Index s.v.) five *Vyâhr̥tis* are mentioned, viz. *Bhûh*, *Bhuvah*, *Svah*, *Satyam*, *Purushah*. Each of these is to be preceded by the syllable *Om*. But they are to end with *Purushah*, which (in the above enumeration) occupies the fourth place.—*Haradatta*. See also *Manu* II, 75 seq.

52-53. *Âpastamba* I, 2, 5, 18-20.

54. *Âpastamba* I, 2, 6, 24; *Manu* II, 193. "Turning his face towards the east or towards the north." This alternative depends upon (the nature of) the business.—*Haradatta*.

shall sit down to the right (of his teacher), turning his face towards the east or towards the north,

55. And the *Sâvitṛī* must be recited ;

56. (All these acts must be performed) at the beginning of the instruction in the Veda.

57. The syllable *Om* (must precede the recitation of) other (parts of the Veda) also.

58. If (any one) passes between (the teacher and the pupil) the worship (of the teacher must be performed) once more.

59. If a dog, an ichneumon, a snake, a frog, (or) a cat (pass between the teacher and the pupil) a three days' fast and a journey (are necessary).

55. *Manu* II, 77.

56. 'All those acts beginning with the touching of the organs of sense with *Kusa* grass and ending with the recitation of the *Sâvitṛī*, which have been prescribed (*Sûtras* 48-57), must be performed before the pupil begins to study the Veda with his teacher, but should not be repeated daily. After the initiation follows the study of the *Sâvitṛī*. The touching of the organs of sense and the other (acts mentioned) form part of this (study). But the rules prescribed in the three *Sûtras*, the first of which is *Sûtra* 52, and the rule to direct the eye and mind towards the teacher (*Sûtra* 47), must be constantly kept in mind. This decision is confirmed by the rules of other *Smṛitis* and of the *Gr̥hya-sûtras*.'—*Haradatta*.

57. *Âpastamba* I, 4, 13, 6-7.

58. 'The worship of the teacher (*upasadana*) consists in the performance of the acts prescribed in *Sûtras* 46-57, with the exception of the study of the *Sâvitṛī* and the acts belonging to that. The meaning of the *Sûtra* is that, though the worship of the teacher may have already been performed in the morning of that day, it must, nevertheless, be repeated for the reason stated.'—*Haradatta*.

59. 'A journey (*vipravâsa*) means residence in some other place than the teacher's house.'—*Haradatta*. The commentator adds that the somewhat different rule, given by *Manu* IV, 126, may be reconciled with the above, by referring the former to the study for the sake of remembering texts recited by the teacher (*dhâraṇâdhya-yana*), and the latter to the first instruction in the sacred texts.

60. (In case the same event happens) with other (animals, the pupil) must thrice restrain his breath and eat clarified butter,

61. And (the same expiation must be performed), if (unwittingly) a lesson in the Veda has been given on the site of a burial-ground.

CHAPTER II.

1. Before initiation (a child) may follow its inclinations in behaviour, speech, and eating. (It shall) not partake of offerings. (It shall remain) chaste. It may void urine and fæces according to its convenience.

60. 'This penance must be performed by the pupil, not by the teacher. Others declare that both shall perform it.'—Haradatta.

61. See also *Āpastamba* I, 3, 9, 6–8. The last clauses of this and all succeeding chapters are repeated in order to indicate that the chapter is finished.

II. 1. In concluding the explanation of this *Sûtra*, Haradatta states that its last clause is intended to give an instance of the freedom of behaviour permitted to a child. In his opinion Gautama indicates thereby that a person who, before initiation, drinks spirituous liquor, commits murder or other mortal sins, becomes an outcast, and is liable to perform the penances prescribed for initiated sinners. In support of this view he quotes a passage, taken from an unnamed *Smṛiti*, according to which the parents or other relatives of children between five and eleven years are to perform penances vicariously for the latter, while children between eleven and fifteen years are declared to be liable to half the penances prescribed for initiated adults. Hence he infers that though the above text of Gautama speaks of uninitiated persons in general, its provisions really apply to children under five years of age only. Though it would seem that some of Gautama's rules refer to half-grown persons rather than to infants or very young boys, it is impossible to assume that Gautama meant to give full licence of behaviour, speech, and eating to *Brâhmanas* who were not

2. No rule of (purification by) sipping water is prescribed for it. But (the stains of impure substances) shall be removed by wiping, by washing, or by sprinkling water.

3. (Other persons) cannot be defiled by the touch of such (a child).

4. But one must not employ a (child) to perform oblations in the fire or Bali-offerings;

5. Nor must one make it recite Vedic texts, except in pronouncing Svadhâ.

6. The restrictive rules, (which will be enumerated hereafter, must be obeyed) after initiation,

7. And (for a student the duty of) chastity, which has been prescribed (above for a child is likewise obligatory),

8. (Also) to offer (daily) sacred fuel in the fire, and to beg, to speak the truth, (and) to bathe (daily).

initiated before their sixteenth year, or to Kshatriyas and Vaisyas up to the age of twenty and twenty-two. It seems more likely that, as Haradatta thinks, his rules are meant in the first instance for infants and very young children only, and that he intended the special cases of half-grown or nearly grown up boys to be dealt with according to the custom of the family or of the country.

2. Haradatta points out that the Sûtra does not forbid uninitiated persons to sip water, but that it merely denies the applicability of the rules (kalpa) given above, I, 36. Uninitiated persons may, therefore, sip water in the manner practised by women and Sûdras.

4. Âpastamba II, 6, 15, 18; Manu XI, 36.

5. 'The expression "pronouncing Svadhâ" includes by implication the performance of all funeral rites.'—Haradatta.

7. Âpastamba I, 1, 2, 26.

8. Âpastamba I, 1, 4, 14-17; I, 1, 3, 25; I, 1, 2, 28-30; Manu II, 176.

9. Some (declare, that the duty) to bathe (exists) after (the performance of) the Godâna (only).

10. And the morning and evening devotions (Sandhyâ must be performed) outside (the village).

11. Silent he shall stand during the former, and sit during the latter, from (the time when one) light (is still visible) until (the other) light (appears).

12. He shall not look at the sun.

13. He shall avoid honey, meat, perfumes, garlands, sleep in the day-time, ointments, collyrium, a carriage, shoes, a parasol, love, anger, covetousness, perplexity, garrulity, playing musical instruments, bathing (for pleasure), cleaning the teeth, elation, dancing, singing, calumny, (and) terror,

14. (And) in the presence of his Gurus, covering his throat, crossing his legs, leaning (against a wall or the like, and) stretching out his feet,

15. (As well as) spitting, laughing, yawning, cracking the joints of the fingers,

9. Regarding the sacrament called Godâna, see Gobhila *Grîhya-sûtra* I, 9, 26.

10. *Âpastamba* I, 11, 30, 8.

11. 'From (the time when one) light (is still visible,' &c.), i.e. in the morning from the time when the stars are still visible until the sun rises, and in the evening from the time when the sun still stands above the horizon until the stars appear. Haradatta observes that, as *Manu* II, 102 prescribes the recitation of the *Gâyatrî* during the morning and evening devotions, either his or Gautama's rule may be followed. He adds that another commentator refers the injunction to keep silence to conversations on worldly matters only. He himself has adopted this view in his commentary on *Âpastamba* I, 11, 30, 8.

12. *Âpastamba* I, 11, 31, 18.

13. *Âpastamba* I, 1, 2, 23-28; I, 1, 3, 11-14, 20-24; I, 2, 7, 5.

14. *Âpastamba* I, 2, 6, 3, 14, 17-18. The term *Guru* includes, besides the teacher, the parents and other venerable persons.

15. *Âpastamba* I, 2, 7, 6-7; II, 2, 5, 9. Haradatta observes

16. To gaze at and to touch women, if there is danger of a breach of chastity,

17. Gambling, low service, to take things not offered, to injure animate beings,

18. To pronounce the names of the teacher, of the (teacher's) sons and wives, and of a person who has performed the *Dikshantīyeshā* of a Soma-sacrifice,

19. To make bitter speeches.

20. A *Brāhmaṇa* (shall) always (abstain from) spirituous liquor.

21. (A student) shall occupy a seat and a couch lower (than those of his teacher), shall rise before (him) and retire to rest after (him).

22. He shall keep his tongue, his arms, and his stomach in subjection.

23. (If it is absolutely necessary to pronounce)

that this *Sūtra* again contains a general rule, and does not merely refer to the presence of Gurus.

16. *Āpastamba* I, 2, 7, 3, 8-10.

17. *Āpastamba* I, 1, 3, 12. "Low service," i.e. service by wiping off urine, faeces, and the like. . . . That is not even to be performed for the teacher. Or the expression may mean that he shall not serve a teacher deficient in learning and virtue. The same opinion is expressed by *Āpastamba* I, 1, 1, 11.—*Haradatta*.

18. *Manu* II, 199.

19. *Āpastamba* I, 2, 7, 24.

20. 'A *Brāhmaṇa* shall avoid it always, i.e. even as a householder; *Kshatriyas* and *Vaiśyas* need do it only as long as they are students. But in their case, too, they forbid the use of liquor distilled from bruised rice, under all circumstances.'—*Haradatta*.

21. *Āpastamba* I, 1, 2, 21; I, 1, 4, 22, 28.

22. *Āpastamba* I, 1, 3, 13. 'Keeping his arms in subjection means that he shall not (without a cause) break clods of earth and the like. Keeping his stomach in subjection, i.e. eating with moderation.'—*Haradatta*.

23. 'He shall indicate it by another synonymous word,

his teacher's name and family-name, he ought to indicate it by (using) a synonymous term.

24. (He must speak) in the same (respectful) manner of a man who is (generally) revered and of his betters.

25. (If the teacher speaks to him), he shall answer after having risen from his couch or seat (in case he was lying down or sitting).

26. At the command (of his teacher) he shall approach, though the (teacher) may not be visible.

27. And if he sees his teacher standing or sitting in a lower place or to the leeward or to the windward, he shall rise (and change his position).

28. If (his teacher) is walking, he shall walk after him, informing him of the work (which he is going to do and) telling (him what he has done).

29. He shall study after having been called (by the teacher, and not request the latter to begin the lesson).

e.g. instead of saying, "Haradatta (given by Hara)," he shall say, "the venerable Bhavarâta (given by Bhava)." —Haradatta.

25. Âpastamba I, 2, 6, 5-7.

26. He must not think that, as the teacher cannot see him, he need not obey the summons.

27. Âpastamba I, 2, 6, 15, 23.

28. 'Work (karma) means performance. The meaning is that the pupil shall announce to his teacher the performance of all he is going to do. But what is useful for the teacher, as fetching water and the like, he shall inform him of the performance of that, i.e. knowing himself (without being told) that such work is necessary at a particular time (and acting on this knowledge). Any other explanation of this Sûtra does not please me.' —Haradatta. See also Âpastamba I, 2, 6, 8. My MSS. divide this Sûtra into two, beginning the second with 'Informing' &c. Haradatta's final remark, quoted above, seems to indicate that the division was intended by him.

29. Âpastamba I, 2, 5, 26.

30. He shall be intent on (doing) what is pleasing and serviceable (to the teacher) ;

31. And (he shall behave) towards (the teacher's) wives and sons just as (towards the teacher),

32. But not eat their leavings, attend them while bathing, assist them at their toilet, wash their feet, shampoo them nor embrace their feet.

33. On returning from a journey he shall embrace the feet of the wives of his teacher.

34. Some declare, that (a pupil) who has attained his majority is not (to act thus) towards young (wives of his teacher).

35. Alms may be accepted from men of all castes, excepting Abhisastas and outcasts.

36. (In begging) the word 'Lady' must be pronounced in the beginning, in the middle, or at the end (of the request), according to the order of the castes.

37. (He may beg in the houses) of the teacher, of blood relations, (or) of Gurus, and in his own, if he obtains no (alms) elsewhere.

30. Âpastamba I, 1, 4, 23.

31. Âpastamba I, 2, 7, 27, 30; Manu II, 207-212.

34. 'One who has attained his majority, i.e. one who has completed his sixteenth year and is (already) a youth.'—Haradatta.

35. Haradatta explains abhisasta by upapâtakin, 'one who has committed a minor offence,' apparently forgetting Âpastamba I, 7, 21, 7. See also Âpastamba I, 1, 3, 25.

36. Âpastamba I, 1, 3, 28-30, where the formulas have been given in the notes. Haradatta remarks that the *Gaimini Gr̥hya-sūtra* forbids the lengthening or drawling pronunciation of the syllables *kshâm* and *hi* in begging. *Baudhâya* I, 2, 3, 16 likewise forbids it. In the text read *varṇânupûrvyeṇa*.

37. Manu II, 184. It is just possible that the translation ought to be 'in the houses of his teacher's blood relations,' instead of 'in the houses of his teacher (and) of blood relations.'

38. Among these he shall avoid each preceding one (more carefully than those named later).

39. Having announced to the teacher (what he has received) and having received his permission, the (student) may eat (the collected food).

40. If (the teacher) is not present, (he shall seek the permission to eat) from his (teacher's) wives or sons, from fellow-students or virtuous (strangers).

41. Having placed water by his side, (he shall eat) in silence, contented, (and) without greed.

42. (As a rule) a pupil shall not be punished corporally.

43. If no (other course) is possible, (he may be corrected) with a thin rope or a thin cane.

44. If (the teacher) strikes him with any other (instrument), he shall be punished by the king.

45. He shall remain a student for twelve years in order (to study) one (recension of the Veda),

46. Or, if (he studies) all (the Vedas) twelve years for each,

47. Or during (as long a period as he requires for) learning (them).

48. On completion of the instruction the teacher must be offered a fee.

38. The meaning of the Sûtra is, that if a student does not obtain anything from strangers, he shall first go to his own family, next to the houses of Gurus, i.e. paternal and maternal uncles and other venerable relatives, then to his other blood relations, i.e. *Sapindas*, and in case of extreme necessity only apply to the teacher's wife.

39. Âpastamba I, 1, 3, 31-32.

40. Âpastamba I, 1, 3, 33-34. 41. Manu II, 53-54.

42. Âpastamba I, 2, 8, 29; Macnaghten, Mitâksharâ IV, 1, 9.

43. Manu VIII, 299. 45-47. Âpastamba I, 1, 2, 12-16.

48. Âpastamba I, 2, 7, 19.

49. After (the pupil) has paid (that) and has been dismissed, he may, at his pleasure, bathe (as is customary on completion of the studentship).

50. The teacher is chief among all Gurus.

51. Some (say) that the mother (holds that place).

CHAPTER III.

1. Some (declare, that) he (who has studied the Veda) may make his choice (which) among the orders (he is going to enter).

2. (The four orders are, that of) the student, (that of) the householder, (that of) the ascetic (bhikshu), (and that of) the hermit in the woods (vaikhānasa).

49. Âpastamba I, 2, 8, 30.

50. Manu II, 225-237.

III. 1. Other *Smṛitikâras* maintain that a Brâhmana must pass through all the four orders. Compare Âpastamba II, 9, 21, 5; Manu VI, 34-38; and the long discussion on the comparative excellence of the orders of householders and of ascetics. Âpastamba II, 9, 23, 3-II, 9, 24, 14.

2. 'Though the order of studentship has already been described above, still in the following chapter the rules for a professed (naish/ika) student will be given (and it had therefore again to be mentioned). Bhikshu has generally been translated by ascetic (sannyâsin). Vaikhānasa, literally, he who lives according to the rule promulgated by Vikhanas, means hermit. For that (sage) has chiefly taught that order. In all other *Sâstras* (the order of) hermits is the third, and (the order of) ascetics the fourth. Here a different arrangement is adopted. The reason of the displacement of the hermit is that the author considers the first-named three orders preferable. Hence if a man chooses to pass through all four, the sequence is that prescribed in other *Sâstras*.'—Haradatta. In making these statements the commentator has apparently forgotten that Âpastamba (II, 9, 21, 1) agrees exactly with Gautama. It is, however, very probable that Haradatta has given correctly the reason why the hermit is placed last by our author and by Âpastamba.

3. The householder is the source of these, because the others do not produce offspring.

4. Among them a (professed) student (must follow the rules) given (in the preceding chapters).

5. He shall remain obedient to his teacher until (his) end.

6. In (the time) remaining after (he has attended to) the business of his Guru, he shall recite (the Veda).

7. If the Guru dies, he shall serve his son,

8. (Or) if there is no (son of the teacher), an older fellow-student, or the fire.

9. He who lives thus, gains the heaven of Brahman, and (of him it is said that) he has subdued his organs (of sense and action).

10. And these (restrictions imposed on students must also be observed by men) of other (orders, provided they are) not opposed (to their particular duties).

11. An ascetic shall not possess (any) store.

12. (He must be) chaste,

13. He must not change his residence during the rainy season.

3. Manu VI, 87.

4. Âpastamba I, 1, 4, 29.

5. Âpastamba II, 9, 21, 6.

6. According to Haradatta the term Guru here includes the father. But see the next Sûtra, where Guru can only mean the teacher.

10. Âpastamba II, 9, 21, 3-4. My MSS. have *utareshâm*, 'of the later named,' instead of *itareshâm*, 'of the other' (orders), both in the Sûtra and in subsequent quotations of the same.

11. Âpastamba II, 9, 21, 8-10; Manu VI, 41-43; Colebrooke, *Mitâksharâ* II, 8, 7.

13. This rule shows that the Vasso of the Baudhdhas and Gainas is also derived from a Brahmanical source; see also *Baudhâyana* II, 6, 11, 20.

14. He shall enter a village (only) in order to beg.
15. He shall beg late (after people have finished their meals), without returning (twice),
16. Abandoning (all) desire (for sweet food).
17. He shall restrain his speech, his eyes, (and) his actions.
18. He shall wear a cloth to cover his nakedness.
19. Some (declare, that he shall wear) an old rag, after having washed it.
20. He shall not take parts of plants and trees, except such as have become detached (spontaneously).
21. Out of season he shall not dwell a second night in (the same) village.
22. He may either shave or wear a lock on the crown of the head.
23. He shall avoid the destruction of seeds.
24. (He shall be) indifferent towards (all) creatures, (whether they do him) an injury or a kindness.
25. He shall not undertake (anything for his temporal or spiritual welfare).

15. Manu VI, 55-56.

19. Âpastamba II, 9, 21, 11.

20. 'He shall not appropriate, i. e. take parts of these, i. e. fruits, leaves, and the like, which have not been detached, i. e. have not fallen off. But he may take what has become detached spontaneously.'—Haradatta.

21. Out of season, i. e. except in the rainy season, during which, according to Sûtra 13, an ascetic must not wander about.

23. 'He shall avoid, i. e. neither himself nor by the agency of others cause the destruction, i. e. the pounding by means of a pestle or the like, of seeds, i. e. raw rice and the like. Hence he shall accept as alms cooked food only, not rice and the like.'—Haradatta.

26. A hermit (shall live) in the forest subsisting on roots and fruits, practising austerities.

27. Kindling the fire according to the (rule of the) *Srâmanaka* (*Sûtra*, he shall offer oblations in the morning and evening).

28. He shall eat wild-growing (vegetables only).

29. He shall worship gods, manes, men, goblins, and *Rishis*.

30. He shall receive hospitably (men of) all (castes) except those (with whom intercourse is) forbidden.

31. He may even use the flesh of animals killed by carnivorous beasts.

32. He shall not step on ploughed (land),

33. And he shall not enter a village.

34. He shall wear (his hair in) braids, and dress in (garments made of) bark and skins.

35. He shall not eat anything that has been hoarded for more than a year.

26. *Âpastamba* II, 9, 21, 18—II, 9, 23, 2. 'Austerities (tapas) means emaciating his body.'—*Haradatta*.

27. 'He shall offer oblations in the morning and evening,' (these words), though not expressed, are understood.

29. I. e. he shall perform the five *Mahâyagñas*, just like a householder, only using wild-growing fruits, roots, &c., for the oblations.

31. 'They declare, that *baishka* means the flesh of an animal, slain by a tiger or the like. He may use even that. The word "even" implies blame. Hence this is a rule for times of distress, and it must be understood that such food is to be eaten only on failure of roots and fruits and the like.'—*Haradatta*. The commentator adds that the flesh of forbidden animals must be avoided.

34. According to *Haradatta* the lower garment shall be made of *Āra*, which he again explains as cloth made of *Kusa* grass and the like, and the upper of a skin.

35. *Haradatta* reads *atisamvatsaram*, not *atisamvatsaram*, as in

36. But the venerable teacher (prescribes) one order only, because the order of householders is explicitly prescribed (in the Vedas).

CHAPTER IV.

1. A householder shall take a wife (of) equal (caste), who has not belonged to another man and is younger (than himself).

2. A marriage (may be contracted) between persons who have not the same Pravaras,

3. (And) who are not related within six degrees on the father's side,

4. Or on the side of the begetter,

Professor Stenzler's edition, though he notices the latter reading. Manu VI, 15.

36. 'The duties of a householder, the Agnihotra, and the like, are frequently prescribed and praised in all Vedas, Dharmasāstras, and Itihāsas. As, therefore, the order of householders is explicitly prescribed, this alone is the order (obligatory on all men). But the other orders are prescribed only for those unfit for the (duties of a householder). That is the opinion of many teachers.'—Haradatta. Haradatta's explanation of *âkâryâḥ*, which he takes to mean 'many teachers,' seems to me inadmissible. Eke, 'some (teachers),' is used in that sense, and *âkâryâḥ* cannot possibly be a synonymous term. Further on (IV, 23) Haradatta himself admits that by *âkâryâḥ* one teacher is meant. It must be translated 'the venerable teacher,' because the Hindus are very fond of the use of the pluralis majestatis. I have no doubt that Gautama means his own teacher, whom, of course, etiquette forbids him to name. See also R. Garbe, Uebersetzung des Vaitâna-sūtra, I, 3.

IV. 1. Âpastamba II, 6, 13, 1; Manu III, 4, 12; Yâgñ. I, 52.

2. Regarding the Pravaras, see Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 386. Âpastamba II, 5, 11, 15.

3. Âpastamba II, 5, 11, 16; Manu III, 5; Yâgñ. I, 52.

4. This rule refers to the case where a husband has made over his wife to another man and the bridegroom stands in the relation of a son to the husband of his mother and to his natural father (dvipitâ). See Yâgñ. I, 68.

5. (Nor) within four degrees on the mother's side.

6. (If the father) gives (his daughter) dressed (in two garments) and decked with ornaments to a person possessing (sacred) learning, of virtuous conduct, who has relatives and a (good) disposition, (that is a) Brâhma (wedding).

7. At the Prâgâpatya (wedding) the marriage-formula is, 'Fulfil ye the law conjointly.'

8. At the Ârsha (wedding the bridegroom) shall present a cow and a bull to him who has (authority over) the maiden.

9. (If the bride) is given, decked with ornaments, to a priest at the altar, that is a Daiva wedding.

10. The spontaneous union with a willing (maiden is called) a Gândharva wedding.

11. If those who have (authority over) a female are propitiated by money, (that is) an Âsura wedding.

12. (If the bride) is taken by force, (that is) a Râkshasa wedding.

13. If (a man) embraces a female deprived of consciousness, (that is) a Paisâka wedding.

14. The first four (rites) are lawful;

15. Some say, (the first) six.

5. Yâgñ. I, 53.

6. Âpastamba II, 5, 11, 17. 'Virtuous conduct (*kâritra*), i.e. the performance of the acts prescribed (in the Vedas and *Smritis*), . . . good disposition (*śīla*), i.e. faith in the ordinances of the law.'—Haradatta.

7. Manu III, 30; Yâgñ. I, 60.

8. Âpastamba II, 5, 11, 18.

10. Âpastamba II, 5, 11, 20.

12. Âpastamba II, 5, 12, 2.

14. Manu III, 24, 39.

9. Âpastamba II, 5, 11, 19.

11. Âpastamba II, 5, 12, 1.

13. Manu III, 34; Yâgñ. I, 61.

15. Manu III, 23.

16. (Children) born in the regular order of wives of the next, second or third lower castes (become) *Savarnas*, *Ambashthas*, *Ugras*, *Nishâdas*, *Daushyantas* or *Pârasavas*.

17. (Children born) in the inverted order (of wives of higher castes become) *Sûtas*, *Mâgadhas*, *Âyogavas*, *Kshattris*, *Vaidehakas* or *Kandâlas*.

18. Some declare, that a woman of the *Brâhmana* caste has born successively to (husbands of) the (four) castes, sons (who are) *Brâhmanas*, *Sûtas*, *Mâgadhas* or *Kandâlas* ;

19. (And that) a woman of the *Kshatriya* caste (has born) to the same, *Mûrdhâvasiktas*, *Kshatriyas*, *Dhîvaras*, *Pulkasas* ;

20. Further, a woman of the *Vaisya* caste to the same, *Bhrigyakanthas*, *Mâhishyas*, *Vaisyas*, and *Vaidehas* ;

21. (And) a woman of the *Sûdra* caste to the same, *Pârasavas*, *Yavanas*, *Karanas*, and *Sûdras*.

16. I.e. from a *Brâhmana* and a *Kshatriyâ* springs a *Savarna*, from a *Brâhmana* and a *Vaisyâ* a *Nishâda*, from a *Brâhmana* and a *Sûdrâ* a *Pârasava*, from a *Kshatriya* and a *Vaisyâ* an *Ambashtha*, and from a *Kshatriya* and a *Sûdrâ* a *Daushyanta*, from a *Vaisya* and a *Sûdrâ* an *Ugra*. Compare for this and the following five *Sûtras* *Manu* X, 6-18 ; *Yâgñ.* I, 91-95.

17. I.e. from a *Kshatriya* and a *Brâhmanî* springs a *Sûta*, from a *Vaisya* and a *Kshatriyâ* a *Mâgadha*, from a *Sûdra* and a *Vaisyâ* an *Âyogava*, from a *Vaisya* and a *Brâhmanî* a *Kshattri*, from a *Sûdra* and a *Kshatriyâ* a *Vaidehaka*, from a *Sûdra* and a *Brâhmanî* a *Kandâla*.

18. The words 'Some declare' stand only at the end of *Sûtra* 21. But *Haradatta* rightly declares that they refer to all the four *Sûtras*. The proof for the correctness of his interpretation lies in the use of the form *agîganat*, which refers to each of the *Sûtras*. The four *Sûtras* are, however, probably spurious, as *Sûtra* 28 refers back to *Sûtra* 17 by calling the *Kandâla* 'the last (named).'

22. In the seventh (generation men obtain) a change of caste, either being raised to a higher one or being degraded to a lower one.

23. The venerable teacher declares (that this happens) in the fifth (generation).

24. And (the same rule applies) to those born (from parents of different classes that are) intermediate between (two of the castes originally) created (by Brahman).

25. But those born in the inverse order (from fathers of a lower and mothers of a higher caste stand) outside (the pale of) the sacred law,

22. Âpastamba II, 5, 11, 10-11. 'That is as follows: If a Savarnâ female, born of the Kshatriya wife of a Brâhmana, is married to a Brâhmana, and her female descendants down to the seventh likewise, then the offspring which that seventh female descendant bears to her Brâhmana husband is equal in caste to a Brâhmana. In like manner, if a Savarna male, the son of a Brâhmana and of his Kshatriya wife, again marries a Kshatriya wife and his male descendants down to the seventh likewise, then the offspring of that seventh male descendant is equal in caste to a Kshatriya. The same principle must be applied to the offspring of Kshatriyas and wives of the Vaisya caste as well as to Vaisyas and wives of the Sûdra caste.'—Haradatta.

23. '(The venerable) teacher opines that the change of caste takes place in the fifth generation. They declare that the plural may be used to denote one teacher. This Sûtra refers to (cases of extraordinary merit acquired through) virtuous conduct and study of the Veda.'—Haradatta. It is clear that in this case Haradatta, too, has seen that the word âkâryâh has another force than the more common eke; see above, note to III, 36.

24. 'That is as follows: If the daughter of a Savarna, born of a wife of the Ambashtha caste, is married again to a Savarna, and her female descendants down to the seventh likewise, then the offspring of that seventh female descendant, begotten by a Savarna husband, is equal in caste to a Savarna.'—Haradatta. Regarding the birth of the four castes from Brahman, see Rig-veda X, 90, 12.

25. Manu X, 41, 67-68.

26. As well as (those born in the regular order) from a female of the Sûdra caste.

27. But he whom a Sûdra (begets) on a female of unequal caste shall be treated like an outcast.

28. The last (named, the *Kandâla*), is the foulest.

29. Virtuous sons (born of wives of equal caste) and wedded according to approved rites sanctify (their father's family).

30. (A son born of a wife married) according to the Ârsha rite (saves) three ancestors (from hell),

31. (A son born of a wife married) according to the Daiva rite ten,

32. (A son born of a wife married) according to the Prâgâpatya rite, also ten.

33. (But) the son of a wife married according to the Brâhma rite (saves) ten ancestors, ten descendants, and himself.

CHAPTER V.

1. (A householder) shall approach (his wife) in the proper season,

2. Or (he may do so) at any time except on the forbidden (days).

26. Manu X, 68.

27. "Shall be treated like an outcast," i.e. one must avoid to look at him, &c., just as in the case of an outcast.—Haradatta.

28. Manu X, 51-56.

30. Manu III, 38; Yâgñ. I, 59.

31. Manu III, 38; Yâgñ. I, 59.

32. Manu III, 38; Yâgñ. I, 60.

33. Manu III, 37; Yâgñ. I, 58.

V. 1. Âpastamba II, 1, 1, 17.

2. Âpastamba II, 1, 1, 18.

3. He shall worship gods, manes, men, goblins, (and) *R̥ishis*.

4. Every day he shall recite privately (a portion of the Veda),

5. And the (daily) libation of water to the manes (is obligatory on him).

6. Other (rites than these he may perform) according to his ability.

7. The (sacred) fire (must be kindled) on his marriage or on the division of the family estate.

8. The domestic (ceremonies must be performed) with (the aid of) that (fire).

9. (Also) the sacrifices to the gods, manes, (and) men, and the private recitation (and) the Bali-offerings.

3. Âpastamba I, 4, 12, 15; I, 4, 13, 1; Manu III, 69-72; IV, 29, 21; *Yâgñ.* I, 99, 102-104.

4. Manu III, 81; *Yâgñ.* I, 104.

5. Manu III, 82; *Yâgñ.* I, 104. 'The word "and" indicates that water must be offered to the gods and *R̥ishis* also.'—Haradatta.

6. '(Rites) other than those prescribed in *Sûtras* 3-5 he may perform according to his energy, i.e. according to his ability. But those he should zealously perform. As the oblations to the gods and the other (*Mahâyagñas*) are mentioned before the kindling of the domestic fire, they must be performed by a person who has not yet kindled the domestic fire with the aid of the common (kitchen)-fire.'—Haradatta.

7. As long as the family remains united, its head offers the oblations for all its members.

8. 'The domestic rites, i.e. the *Pumsavana* and the rest. . . . Now with the aid of which fire must a man, who has not yet kindled the domestic fire, perform the *Pumsavana*, &c.? Some answer that he shall use a common fire. But the opinion of the teacher (*Gautama*) is that he shall use the sacred fire which has been kindled on that occasion.'—Haradatta.

9. Haradatta states that the *Mahâyagñas* are again enumerated in order to show that a person who has kindled the sacred fire

10. The oblations (which are thrown) into the (sacred) fire (at the Vaisvadeva-sacrifice are offered) to Agni, to Dhanvantari, to all the gods, to Pragâpati, (and to Agni) Svishṭakṛit;

11. And (Bali-offerings must be given) to the deities presiding over the (eight) points of the horizon, in their respective places,

12. At the doors (of the house) to the Maruts,

13. To the deities of the dwelling inside (the house),

shall use this for them, not a common fire. He also states that a passage of Usanas, according to which some teachers prescribe the performance of the daily recitation near the sacred fire, shows that this rite too has a connection with the sacred fire.

10. Âpastamba II, 2, 3, 16, where, however, as in all other works, the order of the offerings differs. Haradatta adds that the word 'oblations' is used in the Sûtra in order to indicate that the word svâhâ must be pronounced at the end of each Mantra, and that the expression 'in the fire' indicates that the Bali-offerings described in the following Sûtra must be thrown on the ground.

11. Compare Âpastamba II, 2, 3, 20—II, 2, 4, 8; Manu III, 87—90, where, as elsewhere, the order of the offerings differs. According to Haradatta the deities intended are, Indra, Agni, Yama, Nirṛiti, Varuṇa, Vâyu, Soma, and Îrâna. The first offering must be placed to the east, the next to the south-east, south, &c.

12. At all the doors, as many as there are, a Bali must be offered with the Mantra, 'To the Maruts, svâhâ.'—Haradatta.

13. 'As he says "inside" (pravisya, literally "entering") he must stand outside while offering the Balis at the doors. . . . At this occasion some require the following Mantra, "To the deities of the dwelling, svâhâ," because that is found in the Âsvalâyana (Gṛihya-sûtra I, 2, 4). Others consider it necessary to mention the deities by name, and to present as many offerings as there are deities, while pronouncing the required words.'—Haradatta. The commentator then goes on to quote a passage from Usanas, which he considers applicable, because it contains the names of the Gṛihadevatâs. I doubt, however, if the 'others' are right, and still more if, in case they should be right, it would be advisable to supply the names of the Gṛihadevatâs from Usanas.

14. To Brahman in the centre (of the house),
15. To the Waters near the water-pot,
16. To the Ether in the air,
17. And to the Beings walking about at night in the evening.

18. A gift of food shall be preceded by a libation of water and (it shall be presented) after (the recipient) has been made to say, 'May welfare attend thee,'

19. And the same (rule applies) to all gifts presented for the sake of spiritual merit.

20. The reward of a gift (offered) to a person who is not a Brâhmana is equal (to the value of the gift), those (of presents given) to a Brâhmana twofold, to a Srotriya thousandfold, to one who knows the whole Veda (vedapârâga) endless.

21. Presents of money (must be given) outside the Veda to persons begging for their Gurus, (or) in order to defray the expenses of their wedding, (or

14. 'Because the word "and" occurs in Sûtra 11 after the word "to the deities presiding over the points of the horizon" a Bali-offering must be presented to the deities mentioned by the author in Sûtra 10, viz. to the earth, wind, Pragâpati, and to all the gods, after a Bali has been offered to Brahman.'—Haradatta.

16. 'The Bali presented to Âkâra, "the ether," must be thrown up into the air, as Manu says, III, 90.'—Haradatta.

17. 'Because of the word "and," he must, also, present Balis to the deities mentioned above.'—Haradatta. The commentator means to say that in the evening not only the 'Beings walking about at night' (naktamkara) are to receive a portion, but all the other deities too, and that the Balikarma must be offered twice a day.

18-19. Âpastamba II, 4, 9, 8.

20. According to Haradatta the term Srotriya here denotes one who has studied one Veda, (but see also Âpastamba II, 3, 6, 4; II, 4, 8, 5.) Vedapârâga is a man who has studied one Veda, together with the Ângas, Kalpa-sûtras, and Upanishads.

21. Âpastamba II, 5, 10, 1-2. 'Now he promulgates a Sûtra

to procure) medicine for the sick, to those who are without means of subsistence, to those who are going to offer a sacrifice, to those engaged in study, to travellers, (and) to those who have performed the Visvagit-sacrifice.

22. Prepared food (must be given) to other beggars.

23. For an unlawful purpose he shall not give (anything), though he may have promised it.

24. An untruth spoken by people under the influence of anger, excessive joy, fear, pain (or) greed, by infants, very old men, persons labouring under a delusion, those being under the influence of drink (or) by mad men does not cause (the speaker) to fall.

25. Before (a householder eats) he shall feed his guests, the infants, the sick people, the pregnant women, the females under his protection, the very aged men, and those of low condition (who may be in his house).

which refers to those cases where one must necessarily make gifts, and where one incurs guilt by a refusal. . . . As the expression "outside the Veda" is used, presents must be given to others also "inside the Veda" (i.e. fees to priests, &c.)—Haradatta.

22. Âpastamba II, 2, 4, 14.

23. Âpastamba II, 5, 10, 3; Colebrooke II, Digest IV, 47; Mayûkha IX, 5. 'As he says "for an unlawful purpose," what has been promised must in other cases necessarily be given.'—Haradatta.

24. Colebrooke II, Digest IV, 56. "'Does not cause (the speaker) to fall," i.e. produces no guilt. Hence such persons need not even give a promised present.'—Haradatta.

25. Âpastamba II, 2, 4, 11-13; II, 4, 9, 10; Manu III, 116. 'Females under his protection (suvâsinyâh), i.e. daughters and sisters . . . , those of low condition (gaghanyâh), i.e. servants, slaves, and the like. . . . The term "men of low condition" is made a separate word in the text in order to show that they come after the others.'—Haradatta.

26. But (when) his teacher, parents (or intimate) friends (visit his house), he shall proceed to the preparation of the dinner after asking them (for orders).

27. When an officiating priest, his teacher, his father-in-law, paternal or maternal uncles visit (him), a Madhuparka (or honey-mixture must be offered to them).

28. (If they have been once honoured in this manner, the ceremony need be) repeated (only) after a year.

29. (But) on (the occasion of) a sacrifice and of the wedding (a Madhuparka must be offered, though) less than a year (has passed since the last visit of the persons thus honoured).

30. And to a king who is a Srottriya (a Madhuparka must be offered as often as he comes),

31. (But to a king) who is not a Srottriya a seat and water.

32. But for a Srottriya he shall cause to be prepared a foot-bath, an Arghya, and food of a superior quality,

26. Manu III, 113.

27. Âpastamba II, 4, 8, 5-9.

30. 'And to a king a Madhuparka must be offered on his arrival. If he is a Srottriya (this must be done) on each visit.'—Haradatta.

31. 'A king who is not a Srottriya shall be honoured with a seat and water, not with a Madhuparka.'—Haradatta.

32. Âpastamba II, 3, 6, 7-10, 14-15. 'This Sûtra may be optionally taken as referring to a Brâhmana, because the word Srottriya is repeated. For a Srottriya who has come as a guest, a foot-bath, i. e. water for washing the feet, an Arghya, i. e. water mixed with Dârvâ grass, flowers, &c., and food of a superior quality, i. e. milk and rice; cakes and the like shall be particularly prepared, if the host is able to afford it.'—Haradatta.

33. Or his usual food distinguished by a (particularly careful) preparation.

34. To a (Brâhmaṇa) who is not learned in the Vedas, (but) of good conduct, food of a middling (quality) shall be given,

35. To one who is the reverse (of virtuous) grass, water, and earth,

36. (Or) at least a welcome.

37. Honour (must be shown to a guest, and the host must) not dine better (than his guest).

38. A couch, a seat, (and) a lodging (of the) same (quality as the host uses must be given) to (a guest) of equal condition and to one's betters; they must be accompanied (on departure) and respectfully attended to (during their stay).

39. (The host shall show similar) though less (attention) to (a guest) who is inferior (to himself).

33. 'But if (the host is) not able (to afford dainties), he shall prepare that same food which is daily used in his house, distinguished in the preparation, i.e. by adding pepper and the like condiments, by frying it, and so forth.'—Haradatta.

34. Âpastamba II, 2, 4, 16; II, 3, 6, 12. Haradatta points out that in this case nothing but a simple dinner shall be given.

36. Âpastamba II, 2, 4, 14. 'On failure of grass and the rest, a welcome, i.e. (the host shall say), "Thou art tired, sit down here."'—Haradatta.

37. Manu III, 106-107. 'This Sûtra refers solely to such a guest, as is described below, Sûtra 40.'—Haradatta.

38. 'Accompanying, i.e. walking after him; respectfully attending to, i.e. sitting with him and so forth. As it is not possible that these two acts can be performed by the host in the same manner as for himself, the meaning of the Sûtra must be taken to be merely that they are to be performed.'—Haradatta.

39. Haradatta says that some explain this Sûtra to mean, '(The host shall show the same attention) even to a man who is a little inferior (to himself in learning, &c.)' but that he disapproves of their opinion.

40. He is called a guest who, belonging to a different village (and) intending to stay for one night only, arrives when the sun's beams pass over the trees.

41. According (to his caste a guest) must be asked about his well-being (*kusala*), about his being free from hurt (*anāmaya*), or about his health (*ārogya*).

42. The last (formula must also be used in addressing) a *Sūdra*.

43. A man of a lower caste (is) not (to be considered) a guest by a *Brāhmaṇa*, except if he has approached on (the occasion of) a sacrifice.

44. But a *Kshatriya* must be fed after the *Brāhmaṇa* (guests).

45. (Men of) other (castes he shall feed) with his servants for mercy's sake.

CHAPTER VI.

1. (To salute) every day on meeting (by) an embrace of the feet,

2. And (particularly) on return from a journey,

3. (Is prescribed in the case) of parents, of their blood relations, of elder (brothers), of persons venera-

40. *Āpastamba* II, 3, 6, 5. *Haradatta* states, that by 'the time when the sun's rays pass over the trees,' either the middle of the day or the late afternoon may be meant.

41. *Āpastamba* I, 4, 14, 26-29.

43. *Āpastamba* II, 2, 4, 18-19.

VI. 1. *Āpastamba* I, 4, 14, 7-9; I, 2, 5, 18; I, 2, 8, 17-18.

3. 'Their blood relations, i.e. paternal and maternal uncles and the rest; elders, i.e. elder brothers; persons venerable on account of their learning, i.e. the teacher who has initiated him (*âkârya*), the teacher who has instructed him (*upâdhyâya*), and the rest.'—*Haradatta*.

ble on account of their learning, and of the Gurus of the latter.

4. On meeting (several persons, to whom such a salutation is due), together, the most venerable (must be saluted first).

5. On meeting persons who understand (the rule of returning salutes) one shall salute (them) pronouncing one's name, and (saying), 'I N. N. (ho ! salute thee).'

6. Some (declare that) there is no restrictive rule for salutations between man and wife.

4. Âpastamba I, 2, 6, 29 ; I, 2, 8, 19. 'On meeting his mother and other persons whose feet must be embraced, he shall first embrace the highest, i.e. the most excellent, afterwards the others. Who the most excellent is has been declared above, II, 50-51.

5. Âpastamba I, 2, 5, 12-15. Professor Stenzler reads *agñasamavâye*, while my copies and their commentary show that *gñasamavâye* has to be read. Besides, it seems impossible to make any sense out of the former reading without assuming that the construction is strongly elliptical. 'On meeting, i.e. on coming together with him who knows the rule of returning a salute, he shall utter, i.e. loudly pronounce his name, i.e. the name which he has received on the tenth day (after his birth), and which is to be employed in saluting, and speak the word "I" as well as the word "this." They declare that instead of the word "this," which here is explicitly prescribed, the word "I am" must be used. Some salute thus, "I Haradatta by name;" others, "I Haradattasarman;" and the common usage is to say, "I Haradattasarman by name." Thus the salutation must be made. Salutation means saluting. The affix *aḥ* is added to causatives and the rest. With reference to this matter the rule for returning salutes has been described by Manu II, 126. . . . As (in the above Sûtra) the expression "on meeting persons knowing" is used, those who are unacquainted with the manner of returning a salute must not be saluted in this manner. How is it then to be done? It is described by Manu III, 123.'—Haradatta.

6. 'As Gautama says, "Some declare," the restrictive rule must, in his opinion, be followed.'—Haradatta.

7. (The feet of) other female (relations) than the mother, a paternal uncle's wife and (elder) sisters (need) not (be embraced, nor need they be saluted) except on return from a journey.

8. The feet of wives of brothers and of the mother-in-law (need) not be embraced (on any occasion).

9. But (on the arrival of an) officiating priest, a father-in-law, paternal and maternal uncles who are younger (than oneself), one must rise; they need not be saluted (as prescribed above, Sûtra 5).

10. In like manner (any) other aged fellow-citizen, even a Sûdra of eighty years and more, (must be honoured) by one young enough to be his son,

11. (And) an Ārya, though (he be) younger, by a Sûdra;

12. And he shall avoid (to pronounce) the name of that (person who is worthy of a salutation).

13. And an official who (is) not (able to) recite (the Veda shall avoid to pronounce the name) of the king.

7. Manu II, 132; Āpastamba I, 4, 14, 6, 9.

9. Āpastamba I, 4, 14, 11.

10. 'Old (pûrva), i. e. of greater age. . . . A Sûdra even, who answers this description, must be honoured by rising, not, however, be saluted by one young enough to be his son, i. e. by a Brâhmana who is very much younger. The Sûdra is mentioned as an instance of a man of inferior caste. Hence a Sûdra must (under these circumstances) be honoured by rising, not be saluted by men of the three higher castes, a Vaisya by those of the two higher castes, and a Kshatriya by a Brâhmana.'—Haradatta.

11. 'An Ārya, i. e. a man of the three twice-born castes, though he be inferior, i. e. younger, must be honoured by rising, not be saluted by a Sûdra. The Sûdra is mentioned in order to give an instance of (a man of) inferior caste.'—Haradatta.

12. 'An inferior shall avoid to take his name, i. e. that of a superior.'—Haradatta.

14. A contemporary who is born on the same day (shall be addressed with the terms) *bhoḥ* or *bhavan* (your honour),

15. (Likewise) a fellow-citizen who is ten years older (than oneself),

16. (Also) an artist who is five years (older),

17. And a *Srotriya* belonging to one's own Vedic school who is three years older,

18. (Further), *Brâhmaṇas* destitute of learning and those who follow the occupations of *Kshatriyas* or *Vaiśyas*,

19. And (a contemporary) who has performed the *Dīkṣantīyeshṭi* of a Soma-sacrifice before he buys (the Soma).

20. Wealth, relations, occupation, birth, learning, and age must be honoured ; (but) each later named

14. Haradatta says that *saṁānehani*, 'on the same day,' means 'in the same year.' He is probably right in thinking that the expression must not be interpreted too strictly. But his assertion that *ahaḥ* means also 'year' cannot be proved by his quotation from the *Nighantuka*, abde *saṁvatsaram* *ahagaram*.

15. 'A person aged by ten years, i. e. at least ten years older, who lives in the same town as oneself, is to be addressed as *bhoḥ*, *bhavan*, though he may be deficient in good qualities.'—Haradatta.

16. 'The words "years older" must be understood. He who lives by the fine arts (*kalâ*), i. e. the knowledge of music, painting, leaf-cutting, and the like, and is at least five years older than oneself, must be addressed as *bhoḥ* or *bhavan*.'—Haradatta.

17. Haradatta notes that *Âpastamba* I, 4, 14, 13 gives a somewhat different rule.

18. Haradatta adds that a person destitute of learning, be he ever so old, may still be treated as an equal, and addressed as *bhoḥ*, *bhavan*, by a more learned man.

20. *Manu* II, 136. 'As wealth and the rest cannot be directly honoured, the persons possessing them are to be honoured. . . . Respect (*mâna*) means honour shown by saluting and the like.'—Haradatta.

(quality) is more important (than the preceding ones).

21. But sacred learning is more important than all (other good qualities),

22. Because that is the root of the sacred law,

23. And because the Veda (expressly declares it).

24. Way must be made for a man seated in a carriage, for one who is in his tenth (decade), for one requiring consideration, for a woman, for a Snâtaka, and for a king.

25. But a king (must make way) for a Srotriya.

CHAPTER VII.

1. The rule for (times of) distress (is) that a Brâhmana may study under a teacher who is not a Brâhmana.

2. (A student is bound) to walk behind and to obey (his non-Brahmanical teacher).

3. (But) when (the course of study) has been finished, the Brâhmana (pupil is more) venerable (than his teacher).

4. (In times of distress it is permissible) to offer

21. Manu II, 154.

23. Haradatta says that a passage to this effect occurs in the *Khândogya-brâhmana*. He also refers to Manu II, 151.

24. Âpastamba II, 5, 11, 5, 7-9. 'A person requiring consideration, i.e. one afflicted by disease. A woman, i.e. a bride or a pregnant woman. A Snâtaka, i.e. a person who has bathed after completing his studies and after having kept the vow of studentship.'—Haradatta.

25. Âpastamba II, 5, 11, 6.

VII. 1. Âpastamba II, 2, 4, 25.

2. Âpastamba II, 2, 4, 26.

3. Âpastamba II, 2, 4, 27.

4. Haradatta quotes Manu X, 103 in support of the above explanation, and adds that another commentator interprets the

sacrifices for (men of) all (castes), to teach (them), and to accept (presents from them).

5. Each preceding (mode of living is) preferable (to those named later).

6. On failure of the (occupations lawful for a Brâhmaṇa) he may live by the occupations of a Kshatriya.

7. On failure of those, he may live by the occupations of a Vaisya.

8. (Goods) that may not be sold by a (Brâhmaṇa are),

9. Perfumes, substances (used for) flavouring (food), prepared food, sesamum, hempen and linen cloth, skins,

10. Garments dyed red or washed,

11. Milk and preparations from it,

12. Roots, fruits, flowers, medicines, honey, flesh, grass, water, poison,

Sûtra to mean, that in times of distress men of all castes may support themselves by sacrificing for others, teaching, and the acceptance of gifts, though in ordinary times these modes of living are reserved for Brâhmaṇas.

5. The use of the masculine in the text, 'pûrvaḥ pûrvo guruḥ,' may, I think, be explained by the fact that the compound in the preceding Sûtra ends with a noun of the masculine gender.

6. Manu X, 81; Yâgy. III, 35. 7. Âpastamba I, 7, 20, 11.

9. Âpastamba I, 7, 20, 12-13. 'Substances used for flavouring (rasa), i. e. oil, sugar, clarified butter, salt, and the like.'—Haradatta. From Sûtra 19 it is clear that 'rasa' does not simply mean 'liquids.'

10. My MSS. read nirṇikte for nikte, and nirṇiktam is explained by 'washed by a washerman or the like person.' It is possible to translate Professor Stenzler's reading in accordance with Manu X, 87, 'pairs of (i. e. upper and lower) garments dyed red.'

11. 'Preparations from it, i. e. sour milk and the like.'—Haradatta.

13. Nor animals for slaughter,
14. Nor, under any circumstances, human beings, heifers, female calves, cows big with young.
15. Some (declare, that the traffic in) land, rice, barley, goats, sheep, horses, bulls, milch-cows, and draught-oxen (is) likewise (forbidden).
16. But (it is permissible) to barter,
17. One kind of substances used for flavouring others,
18. And animals (for animals).
19. Salt and prepared food (must) not (be bartered),
20. Nor sesamum.
21. But for present use an equal (quantity of) uncooked (food may be exchanged) for cooked (food).
22. But if no (other course is) possible (a Brâhmana) may support himself in any way except by (following the occupations) of a Sûdra.
23. Some (permit) even this in case his life is in danger.
24. But to mix with that (caste) and forbidden food must be avoided (even in times of distress).

14. 'Under any circumstances (nityam, literally "always") means even when they are not sold for slaughter. Another (commentator) says, that, as the expression "under any circumstances" is used here, the prohibition regarding the above-mentioned things, i.e. sesamum and the like, does not hold good under all circumstances, and that hence self-grown sesamum and other grain may be sold, see Manu X, 90.'—Haradatta.

15. Manu X, 88. Haradatta explains 'land' by 'houses.'

16-21. Âpastamba I, 7, 20, 14-15.

19. 'The sale of salt and prepared food has been forbidden by Sûtra 9, but their barter has been permitted (by Sûtra 17).'—Haradatta.

22. Regarding the Sûdra's occupations, see below, X, 57-60.

24. 'Restriction (niyama), i. e. avoiding. That Brâhmana

25. If his life is threatened, even a Brâhmaṇa may use arms.

26. (In times of distress) a Kshatriya (may follow) the occupations of a Vaisya.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. A king and a Brâhmaṇa, deeply versed in the Vedas, these two, uphold the moral order in the world.

2. On them depends the existence of the fourfold human race, of internally conscious beings, of those which move on feet and on wings, and of those which creep,

even who lives the life of a Sûdra must not mix with that Sûdra caste, i.e. he must not sit among Sûdras and so forth.—Haradatta.

25. Âpastamba I, 10, 29, 7; Manu VIII, 348.

26. Haradatta adds, that in accordance with the principle exemplified by the rule of this Sûtra a Vaisya may follow in times of distress the occupations of a Sûdra.

VIII. 1. Satapatha-brâhmaṇa V, 4, 4, 5; Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 29. Haradatta explains vrata, 'moral order,' by karmâzi, 'the rites and occupations,' and loka, 'world,' by râsh/ra, 'kingdom.' Ultimately my translation and his explanation come to the same thing. He adds that the king upholds order by punishing, and a learned Brâhmaṇa by teaching. Regarding the excellence of these two, see also Manu IV, 135.

2. 'Internally conscious beings, i.e. trees and the like, which are immovable, but grow and decay. For such possess internal consciousness only, no corresponding external faculty of acting.... The existence of these, i.e. of men and the rest, depends upon, i.e. is subordinate to the king and to a Brâhmaṇa deeply versed in the Vedas. How is that? As regards the Brâhmaṇa, an offering which has been properly thrown into the fire reaches the sun; from the sun comes rain; from rain food is produced and thereon live the creatures. By this reasoning he is shown to

3. (As well as) the protection of offspring, the prevention of the confusion (of the castes and) the sacred law.
4. He is (called) deeply versed in the Vedas,
5. Who is acquainted with the (ways of the) world, the Vedas (and their) Aṅgas (auxiliary sciences),
6. Who is skilled in disputations (and), in (reciting) legends and the Purâṇa,
7. Who looks to these (alone), and lives according to these,
8. Who has been sanctified by the forty sacraments (*samskāra*),
9. Who is constantly engaged in the three occupations (prescribed for all twice-born men),
10. Or in the six (occupations prescribed specially for a Brâhmana),
11. (And) who is well versed in the duties of

be the cause of their existence. But the king is (also) the cause of their existence; for he punishes robbers and the like.'—Haradatta.

3. Haradatta takes *prasûtirakṣaṇam*, 'the protection of their offspring,' as a copulative compound, and explains it by 'their prosperity (*abhivṛddhi*) and their protection.' But a *samâhâradvandva* is here out of place.

4. Macnaghten, *Mitâksharâ* I, 2, 27. 'By the word *loka*, "the world," are intended the laws of countries and the like, which may be learnt from the practice of the world.'—Haradatta. Regarding the Aṅgas, see *Âpastamba* II, 4, 8, 10.

8. Regarding the forty sacraments, see below, *Sûtras* 14–20.

9. Regarding the three occupations, common to all twice-born men, see below, X, 1.

10. See below, X, 2.

11. The *Sâmayaâkârika* or *Smârta* duties are those taught in the *Dharma-sûtras* and *Smṛitis*, see *Âpastamba* I, 1, 1, 1, and Max Müller's *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 101.

daily life settled by the agreement (of those who know the law).

12. (Such a Brâhmana) must be allowed by the king immunity from (the following) six (kinds of opprobrious treatment) :

13. (I. e.) he must not be subjected to corporal punishment, he must not be imprisoned, he must not be fined, he must not be exiled, he must not be reviled, nor be excluded.

14. The Garbhâdhâna (or ceremony to cause conception), the Pumsavana (or ceremony to cause the birth of a male child), the Sîmantonnayana (or arranging the parting of the pregnant wife's hair), the Gâtakarman (or ceremony on the birth of the child), the ceremony of naming the child, the first feeding, the Kaula (or tonsure of the head of the child), the initiation,

15. The four vows (undertaken) for the study of the Veda,

16. The bath (on completion of the studentship),

12. See Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 41, 60, 66; Macnaghten, Mitâksharâ I, 2, 27.

14. Regarding the Samskâras mentioned in this Sûtra, see Âsvalâyana Grîhya-sûtra I, 13-23; Sâṅkhâya Grîhya-sûtra I, 19-II, 5; Pâraskara Grîhya-sûtra I, 13-II, 2.

15. The four vows, as Haradatta states, are, according to Âsvalâyana, the Mahânâmnîvrata, the Mahâvrata, the Upanishadvrata, and the Godâna; see Âsvalâyana Srauta-sûtra VIII, 14, where the first three are described in detail, and Grîhya-sûtra I, 22, 3, with the commentary thereon. Other Grîhya-sûtras give more and different names, see H. Oldenberg, Sâṅkhâya Grîhya-sûtra II, 11-12 (S. B. E., vol. xxix), and Gobhila Grîhya-sûtra III, 1, 28-III, 2, 62.

16. Haradatta explains snâna, 'the bath,' by samâvartana, 'the ceremony on completion of the studentship.' Regarding the five sacrifices, usually called the great sacrifices, see above, VII, 9 seq.

the taking of a help-mate for the fulfilment of the religious duties, the performance of the five sacrifices to gods, manes, men, goblins, and Brahman,

17. And (the performance) of the following (sacrifices) :

18. The seven kinds of Pākayagñas (or small sacrifices), viz. the Ashṭakâ, the Pârvana (Sthâlipâka, offered on the new and full moon days), the funeral oblations, the Srâvanî, the Âgrahâyani, the Kaitrî, and the Âsvayugî ;

19. The seven kinds of Haviryagñas, viz. the Agnyâdheya, the Agnihotra, the Darsapaurṇamâsas, the Âgrayana, the Kâturmâsyas, the Nirûdhasambandha, and the Sautrâmani ;

20. The seven kinds of Soma-sacrifices, viz. the Agnishôma, the Atyagnishôma, the Ukthya, the Shodasin, the Atirâtra, and the Aptoryâma ;

21. These are the forty sacraments.

22. Now (follow) the eight good qualities of the soul,

18. The various Pākayagñas, named here, are fully described by Âsvalâyana *Grihya-sûtra* II, 1, 1—II, 10, 8 ; Gobhila III, 10 seq. ; Pâraskara III, 3 seq. See also Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 203. The Ashṭakâs are sacrifices offered on the eighth day of the dark halves of the winter months, and of those of the dewy season, i.e. Kârttika, Mârgasiras, Pausha, and Mâgha. The Srâvanî is offered on the full moon day of the month of Srâvana, the Âgrahâyani on the fourteenth, or on the full moon day of Mârgasiras, the Kaitrî on the full moon day of the Kaitra, and the Âsvayugî on the full moon day of the month Âsvayuga or Âsvina.

19–20. The Haviryagñas and Soma-sacrifices are described in the Brâhmanas and Srauta-sûtras. Havis denotes any kind of food used for oblations, such as clarified butter, milk, rice, meat, &c.

22. Âpastamba I, 8, 23, 6.

23. (Viz.) compassion on all creatures, forbearance, freedom from anger, purity, quietism, auspiciousness, freedom from avarice, and freedom from covetousness.

24. He who is sanctified by these forty sacraments, but whose soul is destitute of the eight good qualities, will not be united with Brahman, nor does he reach his heaven.

25. But he, forsooth, who is sanctified by a few only of these forty sacraments, and whose soul is endowed with the eight excellent qualities, will be united with Brahman, and will dwell in his heaven.

CHAPTER IX.

1. Such (a man) shall bathe, after (having fulfilled) the law (regarding studentship), take unto him a wife, and, fulfilling the duties of a householder which have been declared above, in addition obey the following ordinances :

23. Haradatta explains *maṅgalya*, 'auspiciousness,' to mean 'always doing what is praised (by good men) and avoiding what is blamed by them.' *Anâyâsa*, 'quietism,' means, according to him, 'avoiding to undertake that which causes pain to oneself, even though it be a duty.'

IX. 1. *Âpastamba* I, 11, 30, 1-4. Haradatta says that the expression *sa*, 'such (a man),' refers to the king and to the *Brâhmana* deeply versed in the Vedas, who have been described in the preceding chapter. My MSS. insert between this and the following one another *Sûtra*, which has been left out in Professor Stenzler's edition. It seems to me that it is absolutely required, and I therefore insert it here, together with Haradatta's comment, according to my best copy, P.

Gautama : '(And) a *Snâtaka* (i.e. a person who has completed his studentship, but has not yet taken a wife, shall act thus).' Haradatta : 'It must be understood that the word "and" has been left

2. (He shall be) always pure (and) sweet-smelling (and) bathe frequently.

3. If he possesses wealth, he shall not be dressed in old or dirty clothes ;

4. Nor shall he wear dyed or sumptuous garments, nor such as have been worn (before) by others,

5. Nor a garland and shoes (that have been worn by others).

6. (He may wear a cast-off garment) which has been washed, if he is unable (to afford a new one).

7. He shall not allow his beard to grow without a (sufficient) reason.

out. (The meaning is): "And a Snâtaka shall obey the following ordinances." If this Sûtra were not given, those ordinances would have to be obeyed after marriage only ; and if the preceding Sûtra (1) had not been given, before marriage only, because the term Snâtaka is usually employed in that (sense) only. For this reason both (Sûtras) have been given. Hence, though a man may not enter another order, he shall, after taking the bath (on completion of his studentship), obey these ordinances during his whole life. As here (Sûtra 1) the word sa, "such a man," is used, a Kshatriya and a Brâhmana only must necessarily obey the rules prescribed for a Snâtaka and perform a penance for breaking them ; and the penance for breaking the rules prescribed for a Snâtaka is fasting. This is (the object of the insertion of the word sa, "such (a man).") But, if a Vaisya follows them, (his reward will be) prosperity ; if he breaks them, he need not perform a penance. With respect to this matter another Smṛiti says : "The penance which is prescribed for a breach of the Snâtaka laws, must be performed by a Kshatriya and a Brâhmana alone, never by (men of) the other (caste)."

2. Manu IV, 35.

3-4. Âpastamba I, 11, 30, 10-13.

5. Manu IV, 66.

6. According to Haradatta the same rule applies to garlands and shoes.

7. Manu IV, 35. 'The expression "his beard" includes by implication the nails and the rest. . . . As he says "without a sufficient reason," he shall allow his beard to grow during the preg-

8. He shall not carry water and fire at the same time.

9. He shall not drink out of his joined hands.

10. He shall not sip water standing, nor (shall he sip) water drawn up (from a well),

11. Nor (water) that is offered by a Sûdra or an impure man, or that has been taken up with one hand.

12. Facing or within sight of wind, fire, Brâhmanas, the sun, water, (images of the) gods, and cows he shall not eject urine or fæces or other impurities.

13. He shall not stretch out his feet towards those divine beings.

14. He shall not remove urine or fæces with leaves, clods of earth, or stones.

15. He shall not stand upon ashes, hair, nail (parings), husks (of grain), pot-sherds, or impure substances.

16. He shall not converse with barbarians, impure or wicked men.

nancy of his wife and on other occasions. With respect to this matter they quote the following verse: "In the sixth year and in the sixteenth year, likewise in the year of his marriage and during the pregnancy of his wife, he shall avoid the use of a razor."—Haradatta.

8. Âpastamba II, 5, 12, 9.

9. Manu IV, 63.

10. Âpastamba I, 5, 16, 1.

11. Âpastamba I, 4, 21; I, 5, 15, 3.

12. Âpastamba I, 11, 30, 18-20.

13. Âpastamba I, 11, 30, 22.

14. Âpastamba I, 11, 30, 21. Haradatta remarks that some explain *losh/ta*, 'a clod of earth,' by *kapâla*, 'a pot-sherd.'

15. Âpastamba II, 8, 20, 11-12. *Kapâla*, 'pot-sherds,' may also mean 'skull-bones.'

16. Manu IV, 57. Haradatta says that only a conversation,

17. If he has conversed (with such persons), he shall meditate on virtuous (men);
18. Or he may speak with a Brâhmaṇa.
19. He shall call (a cow that is) not a milch-cow, a cow that will become a milch-cow.
20. (An event) that is not lucky (he shall call) lucky.
21. (In speaking of) a skull (he shall use the word) bhagâla instead of kapâla,
22. (And in speaking of) a rainbow, mañidhanus (the jewelled bow) instead of indradhanus (Indra's bow).
23. Let him not announce it to others, if a cow suckles (her calf),
24. Nor let him prevent her (from doing it).
25. After conjugal intercourse he shall at once clean himself.
26. Let him not recite the daily portion of the Veda (lying) on that couch (on which he lies with his wife).

properly so called, is forbidden, not to ask barbarians &c. about the road and similar matters.

18. Compare the analogous case, mentioned Âpastamba I, 3, 9, 13.

19. Âpastamba I, 11, 31, 11.

22. Âpastamba I, 11, 31, 16.

23. Âpastamba I, 11, 31, 10. Haradatta remarks that the prohibition does not extend to those cases where the Vedic ritual requires the fact to be pointed out. He is, of course, right in making this statement, as an express injunction of the Śruti always overrides the rules of the Smṛiti.

24. Haradatta adds that this and the preceding Sûtras include by implication the cases where a cow does damage in a field; see Âpastamba I, 11, 31, 9.

25. Âpastamba II, 1, 1, 21—II, 1, 2, 1.

26. Âpastamba I, 11, 32, 3.

27. And when he has studied during the third watch of the night, he shall not again retire to rest.

28. Let him not have intercourse with his wife when she is ill,

29. Nor during her courses ;

30. Nor let him embrace her (during that period),

31. Nor an unmarried female.

32. He shall avoid to blow the fire with his mouth, to contend with words, to show himself covered with perfumed ointments or wearing garlands, to scratch himself with any impure (implement), to take his meals with his wife, to look at (a woman) who is anointing herself, to enter (his village) by a back-gate, to wash one foot with the other, to eat food deposited on a chair, to cross a river swimming, to ascend trees and dangerous (places), or to descend therefrom, and to imperil his life (in any other manner).

33. Let him not ascend a ship (of) doubtful (solidity).

34. He shall protect himself by all (possible) means.

35. In the day-time he shall not wrap up his head while walking about ;

36. But at night he shall cover it,

37. And while voiding urine and fæces.

27. Âpastamba I, 11, 32, 15.

29-30. Manu IV, 40.

32. Âpastamba I, 5, 15, 20 ; I, 11, 32, 5 ; Manu IV, 43 ; Âpastamba I, 11, 31, 21 ; Manu IV, 74 ; Âpastamba I, 11, 32, 26 ; I, 11, 32, 25.

33. Âpastamba I, 11, 32, 27.

35. Âpastamba I, 11, 30, 14. Haradatta adds that he may wrap up his head while sitting down and in walking when the sun or rain annoys him.

38. (Let him) not (ease nature) without (first) covering the ground (with grass or the like),

39. Nor close to his dwelling,

40. Nor on ashes, on cow-dung, in a ploughed field, in the shade (of a tree), on a road, in beautiful (spots).

41. Let him eject both urine and fæces, facing the north in the day-time,

42. And in the twilight,

43. But at night, facing the south.

44. Let him avoid to use a seat, clogs, a stick for cleaning the teeth (and other implements) made of Palâsa-wood.

45. With shoes on (his feet), he shall not eat, sit down, salute, or worship (the gods).

46. Let him not pass idly (any part of the day, be it) morning, midday, or evening; (but) according to his ability (he shall make each useful) by the acquisition of spiritual merit or of wealth, and by taking his pleasure.

47. But among those (three aims of human life) he shall chiefly attend to the acquisition of spiritual merit.

38. Âpastamba I, 11, 30, 15.

39. Âpastamba I, 11, 31, 2.

40. Âpastamba I, 11, 30, 16-18.

41. Âpastamba I, 11, 31, 1.

43. Âpastamba I, 11, 31, 3.

44. Âpastamba I, 11, 32, 9.

45. Âpastamba I, 4, 14, 22.

46. Colebrooke, Mitâksharâ II, 1, 22. 'He shall use the morning, according to his ability, for acts tending to the acquisition of spiritual merit, such as reciting the Vedas; the middle part of the day for the acquisition of wealth; and the evening for scenting himself, adorning himself with garlands and the like acts giving pleasure.'—Haradatta.

47. Âpastamba I, 7, 20, 1-4.

48. Let him not look at a naked woman wedded to another man.

49. Let him not draw a seat towards himself with his foot.

50. He shall keep his organ, his stomach, his hands, his feet, his tongue, and his eyes under due restraint.

51. Let him avoid to cut, to break, to scratch, and to crush (anything), or to make (his joints) crack, without a (sufficient) reason.

52. Let him not step over a rope (to which) a calf (is tied).

53. Let him not be a stay-at-home.

54. Let him not go to (perform) a sacrifice without being chosen (to officiate as priest).

55. But at his pleasure (he may go) to see it.

56. Let him not eat food (that he has placed) in his lap,

57. Nor what has been brought at night by a servant.

58. He shall not eat (substances) from which the fat has been extracted, such as milk from which the cream has separated, butter, oil-cake, buttermilk, and the like.

48. Manu IV, 53.

50. Âpastamba II, 2, 5, 19; Manu IV, 175, 177.

51. Âpastamba I, 11, 32, 28; II, 8, 20, 16.

52. Âpastamba I, 11, 31, 13. Haradatta remarks that the word 'calf' is used to designate any animal of the bovine species.

56. Manu IV, 63.

57. Âpastamba I, 5, 16, 32.

58. Âpastamba II, 8, 18, 1; II, 8, 20, 10. Haradatta adds that this rule has been inserted here instead of in the chapter on forbidden food in order to indicate that its breach must be expiated by the penance prescribed for a breach of the Snâtaka's vow, not by that prescribed for eating forbidden food.

59. But he shall take his meals in the morning and in the evening, blessing his food, not grumbling at it.

60. He shall never sleep naked at night ;

61. Nor shall he bathe (naked) ;

62. And he shall perform whatever (else) aged (Brāhmaṇas), of subdued senses, who have been properly obedient (to their teachers), who are free from deceit, covetousness, and error, and who know the Vedas, declare (to be right).

63. In order to acquire wealth and for the sake of security he may go to a ruling (king),

64. (But) to no other (being) except the gods, his Gurus, and righteous (Brāhmaṇas).

65. He shall seek to dwell in a place where fire-wood, water, fodder, Kusa grass, (materials for making) garlands and roads exist in abundance, which is chiefly inhabited by Āryans, which is rich in industrious (men), and which is governed by a righteous (ruler).

66. He shall pass excellent (beings and things),

59. Āpastamba II, 1, 1, 2 ; II, 2, 3, 11.

60. Manu IV, 75.

61. Manu IV, 61.

62. Āpastamba I, 11, 32, 29 ; I, 7, 20, 8. Haradatta adds that the plural is used in the above Sūtra in order to indicate that many Brāhmaṇas must be unanimous regarding the practices to be followed.

63. Manu IV, 33 ; X, 113. 'For the sake of these objects he may go to a ruler, i.e. a king, without cringing, because the preposition adhi is used (in the text, and) adhi denotes mastership (Pāṇini I, 4, 97). The meaning that he shall go (as becomes) an independent man.'—Haradatta.

65. Āpastamba I, 5, 15, 22 ; I, 11, 32, 18. Āryans, i.e. Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas.

66. Manu IV, 39. 'A cow, a Brāhmaṇa, a well-known tree,

auspicious (objects), temples of the gods, cross-roads, and the like with his right turned towards them.

67. The rule for times of distress (is, that) he shall mentally perform all (that is required by the rule of) conduct.

68. He shall always speak the truth.

69. He shall conduct himself (as becomes) an Āryan.

70. He shall instruct virtuous (men only).

71. He shall follow the rules of purification taught (in the Sâstras).

72. He shall take pleasure in the (study of the) Veda.

73. He shall never hurt (any being), he shall be gentle, (yet) firm, ever restrain his senses, and be liberal.

74. A Snâtaka who conducts himself in this manner will liberate his parents, his ancestors, and descendants from evil, and never fall from Brahman's heaven.

and the like are called excellent (beings or things). An auspicious (object), i.e. a filled jar and the like.'—Haradatta.

67. Haradatta observes that this rule refers to cases where, being in a hurry, one cannot show one's reverence in the manner described in the preceding Sûtra.

68. Manu IV, 138, 175, 236.

70. Manu IV, 80-81.

71. Purification is here again mentioned in order (to indicate that Snâtaka must pay) particular attention to it.

72. Manu IV, 147-149.

73. Manu IV, 2, 238, 246.

74. Manu II, 260.

CHAPTER X.

1. (The lawful occupations common) to (all) twice-born men are studying the (Veda), offering sacrifices (for their own sake), and giving (alms).

2. Teaching, performing sacrifices for others, and receiving alms (are) the additional (occupations) of a Brâhmaṇa.

3. But the former (three) are obligatory (on him).

4. Instruction in the Veda (may be given) without the above-mentioned (vows and ceremonies) in case a teacher, blood relations, friends or Gurus (receive it), and in case (the Veda) is exchanged for money or learning.

X. 1. Twice-born men, i. e. Brâhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas. Haradatta says that some believe the term 'twice-born' to have been used in order to indicate that the three occupations may be lawfully followed after the second birth, i. e. the initiation only. But he declares that alms may be given even by an uninitiated Âryan, while studying the Veda and sacrificing are specially forbidden to him.

2. Âpastamba II, 5, 10, 4.

3. Manu X, 76. 'The former, i. e. the three beginning with studying (Sûtra 1), must necessarily be followed. If he neglects them, he commits sin; if he follows them, he will be exalted. But the other occupations, teaching, &c., shall be followed if there is occasion for them. No sin is committed by neglecting them, nor any greatness gained by following them. They are merely means of livelihood.'—Haradatta.

4. Âpastamba I, 4, 13, 15-18. The expression 'above-mentioned' refers to the whole of the rules regarding a pupil's conduct given above, I, 52—II, 51. It is difficult to understand what is intended by 'the exchange of the Veda for wealth or money,' if it is not the *bhṛitakâdhyâpana* or teaching for money which Manu III, 156 blames so severely. It seems to me unlikely that Gautama means simply to sanction this practice. It is more probable that his rule refers to the case of Brâhmaṇas in distress, who avail themselves of the permission given above, VII, 4.

5. Agriculture and trade (are) also (lawful for a Brâhmana) provided he does not do the work himself,
6. Likewise lending money at interest.
7. To protect all created beings is the additional (occupation) of a king,
8. And to inflict lawful punishments.
9. He shall support (those) Srotriyas, (who are) Brâhmanas,
10. And people unable to work, (even if they are) not Brâhmanas,
11. And those who are free from taxes,
12. And (needy) temporary students.
13. And (to take) measures for ensuring victory (is another duty of a king),
14. Especially when danger (from foes threatens the kingdom);

5-6. These rules which allow Brâhmanas to be gentlemen farmers and sleeping partners in mercantile or banking firms, managed by Vaisyas, do not occur in other Smṛitis. But they agree with the practice followed at present in many parts of India, and the praise bestowed in Vedic works on those who present land to Brâhmanas as well as the numerous ancient land grants show that from early times many Brâhmanas were holders of land, which, as a rule, was cultivated by Sûdras.

- 7-8. Âpastamba II, 5, 10, 6; Manu VII, 27.
9. Âpastamba II, 10, 25, 11; Manu VII, 135.
11. Haradatta takes this Sûtra differently. He says: 'The immunity from taxes which has been granted to Brâhmanas and others by former kings he shall maintain in the same manner as formerly.' But I think that 'akara' must be taken as a Bahuvrîhi compound, and is used to designate widows, orphans, ascetics, &c.; see Âpastamba II, 10, 26, 10-17.
12. Haradatta observes that others explain upakurvâna, 'temporary students,' opposed to naish/ika, 'permanent students,' to mean 'men who benefit the people,' i.e. physicians and the like.
13. Manu VII, 103-110, 160-200; X, 119.

15. And (to learn) the management of chariots and the use of the bow (is a further duty of the king),

16. As well as to stand firm in battle and not to turn back.

17. No sin (is committed) by injuring or slaying (foes) in battle,

18. Excepting those who have lost their horses, charioteers, or arms, those who join their hands (in supplication), those who flee with flying hair, those who sit down with averted faces, those who have climbed (in flight) on eminences or trees, messengers, and those who declare themselves to be cows or Brâhmaṇas.

19. If another Kshatriya is supported by (the king), he shall follow the same occupations as his (master).

20. The victor shall receive the booty gained in battle.

21. But chariots and animals used for riding (belong) to the king,

22. And a preferential share, except when the booty has been gained in single combat.

23. But the king shall equitably divide (all) other (spoils).

24. Cultivators (must) pay to the king a tax

16. *Manu* VII, 87-89; X, 119; *Yâgñavalkya* I, 233.

17-18. *Âpastamba* II, 5, 10, 11. Persons who declare themselves to be cows or Brâhmaṇas become inviolable on account of the sacred character of the beings they personate. Historical instances are narrated where conquered kings were forced to appear before their victors, holding grass in their mouths or dancing like peacocks in order to save their lives.

20. *Manu* VII, 96.

22-23. *Manu* VII, 97.

24. *Manu* VII, 130. The amount depends on the nature of the soil and the manner of cultivation.

(amounting to) one-tenth, one-eighth, or one-sixth (of the produce).

25. Some declare, that (there is a tax) also on cattle and gold, (viz.) one-fiftieth (of the stock).

26. In the case of merchandise one-twentieth (must be paid by the seller) as duty,

27. (And) of roots, fruits, flowers, medicinal herbs, honey, meat, grass, and firewood one-sixtieth.

28. For it is the duty (of the king) to protect the (tax-payers).

29. But to (the collection of) these (taxes) he shall always pay particular attention.

30. He shall live on the surplus.

31. Each artisan shall monthly do one (day's) work (for the king).

32. Hereby (the taxes payable by) those who

25. Manu VII, 130. The above translation follows Haradatta's explanation, while Sir W. Jones' rendering of Manu gives a different meaning to the identical words.

26. Manu VII, 127.

27. Manu X, 120.

28. Manu VII, 128.

29. Manu VII, 128, 139.

30. Haradatta takes this Sûtra differently. He says, 'Adhika, "additional," means the money which is paid on account of (the additional occupations) which have been explained above (Sûtra 7 seq.). "To protect all created beings," &c. Thereon shall he live, he himself, his servants, his elephants, horses, and his other (animals).' If this explanation is adopted, the Sûtra ought to be translated thus, 'He shall live on (the taxes paid for his) additional (occupations).' It seems, however, more probable that Gautama means to say that the king shall live on the surplus which remains after providing for the external and internal security of the kingdom, and that his object is to forbid the application of the whole revenue to the personal expenses of the ruler.

31. Manu VII, 131.

32. Haradatta says that wood-carriers, dancers, and the like are intended.

support themselves by personal labour have been explained,

33. And (those payable by) owners of ships and carts.

34. He must feed these (persons while they work for him).

35. The merchants shall (each) give (every month one) article of merchandise for less than the market value.

36. Those who find lost (property) the owner of which is not (known), shall announce it to the king.

37. The king shall cause it to be proclaimed (by the public crier), and (if the owner does not appear) hold it in his custody for a year.

38. Afterwards one-fourth (of the value goes) to the finder (and) the remainder to the king.

39. A (man becomes) owner by inheritance, purchase, partition, seizure, or finding.

40. Acceptance is for a Brāhmaṇa an additional (mode of acquisition);

41. Conquest for a Kshatriya;

42. Gain (by labour) for a Vaisya or Sūdra.

43. Treasure-trove is the property of the king,

36-38. Manu VIII, 30-36; Yâgñavalkya II, 33, 173; Macnaghten, Mitāksharâ V, 1, 6.

39. Manu X, 115; Mayūkha IV, 1, 2; Colebrooke, Mitāksharâ I, 1, 8; III, Digest IV, 22. 'Partition, i.e. the division (of the estate) between brothers and other (coparceners); seizure, i.e. the appropriation before (others) of forest trees and other things which have no owner; finding, i.e. the appropriation of lost property the owner of which is unknown, such as treasure-trove.'—Haradatta.

43. Manu VIII, 38; Yâgñavalkya II, 34; Macnaghten, Mitāksharâ V, 1, 10.

44. Excepting (such as is found) by a Brâhmaṇa who lives according to (the law).

45. Some declare, that a finder of a non-Brâhmanical caste even, who announces (his find to the king), shall obtain one-sixth (of the value).

46. Having recovered property stolen by thieves, he shall return it to the owner ;

47. Or (if the stolen property is not recovered) he shall pay (its value) out of his treasury.

48. The property of infants must be protected until they attain their majority or complete their studentship.

49. The additional (occupations) of a Vaisya are, agriculture, trade, tending cattle, and lending money at interest.

50. The Sûdra (belongs to) the fourth caste, which has one birth (only).

44. Manu VIII, 37 ; Yâgñavalkya II, 34 ; Macnaghten loc. cit.

46. Manu VIII, 40 ; Yâgñavalkya II, 36 ; Macnaghten, Mitâksharâ V, 1, 14.

47. Âpastamba II, 10, 26, 8 ; Macnaghten loc. cit.

48. Manu VIII, 27.

49. Âpastamba II, 5, 10, 7.

50. Âpastamba I, 1, 1, 6 ; Manu X, 4. Between this Sûtra and the next, my MSS. insert an additional one, not found in Professor Stenzler's edition, Sûdrasyâpi nishekapumsavanasîmantonnayanagâtakarmanâmakaraṇopanishkramanânnaprâsanaḥaulânyamantrakâṇi yathâkâlam upadishânîti, 'for the Sûdra also the Nisheka (or impregnation), the Pumsavana (or rite for securing male offspring), the Sîmantonnayana (or arranging the parting of a pregnant wife), the Gâtakarman (or ceremony on the birth of the child), the name-giving, the first walk in the open air, the first feeding, and the Kaula (or tonsure of the child's head) are prescribed to be performed at the proper periods, but without the recitation of sacred texts.' But I am inclined to consider it spurious : first, because there is no proper commentary ; secondly, because the enumeration of the Saṃskâras given here does not agree with

51. For him also (are prescribed) truthfulness, meekness, and purity.

52. Some (declare), that instead of sipping water, he shall wash his hands and feet.

53. (He shall also offer) the funeral oblations,

54. Maintain those depending upon him,

55. Live with his wife (only),

56. And serve the higher (castes).

57. From them he shall seek to obtain his livelihood.

58. (He shall use their) cast-off shoes, umbrellas, garments, and mats (for sitting on),

59. (And) eat the remnants of their food ;

60. And (he may) live by (practising) mechanical arts ;

61. And the Ārya under whose protection he places himself, must support him even if he (becomes) unable to work.

62. And a man of higher caste (who is his master and has fallen into distress must be maintained) by him.

63. His hoard shall serve this purpose.

64. If permission has been given to him, he

that given above, VIII, 14 ; and thirdly, because, according to the practice of Gautama, this Sūtra should begin with 'tasyâpi' instead of with 'Sūdrasyâpi,' and the 'tasyâpi' in the next would become superfluous. The rule agrees however with Manu X, 63, 127.

51. Manu IX, 335.

53. Manu X, 127-128.

55. 'Another commentator explains the Sūtra to mean that he shall live with his wife only, and never enter another order (i.e. never become a student, hermit, or ascetic).—Haradatta.

56. Āpastamba, I, 1, 1, 7-8 ; Manu X, 121-123.

57. Manu X, 124.

58-59. Manu X, 125.

60. Manu X, 99.

may use the exclamation *namaḥ* (adoration) as his Mantra.

65. Some (declare), that he himself may offer the *Pākayagñas*.

66. And all men must serve those who belong to higher castes.

67. If Āryans and non-Āryans interchange their occupations and conduct (the one taking that of the other, there is) equality (between them).

CHAPTER XI.

1. The king is master of all, with the exception of Brāhmanas.

2. (He shall be) holy in acts and speech,

3. Fully instructed in the threefold (sacred science) and in logic,

4. Pure, of subdued senses, surrounded by com-

65. *Manu* X, 127. Regarding the *Pākayagñas*, see above, VIII, 18.

67. 'There is equality between them, i.e. the one need not serve the other. A *Sūdra* need not serve even a Brāhmaṇa, (much less) any other (twice-born man) who lives the life of a non-Āryan (*Sūdra*). A *Sūdra*, even, who conducts himself like an Āryan must not be despised by men of other castes, who follow the occupations of non-Āryans, on account of his inferior birth.'—Haradatta.

XI. 1. Macnaghten, *Mitāksharā* I, 1, 27; *Manu* IX, 313-322; Weber, *Ind. Stud.* X, 29, 60.

2. *Manu* VII, 26. 'Holy in acts,' i.e. constantly acting in conformity with the *Śāstras*; 'holy in speech,' i.e. when administering justice he shall not speak partially.

3. *Manu* VII, 43; *Yāgñavalkya* I, 310. Haradatta thinks that the term 'the threefold sacred science includes the fourth Veda also, because it consists chiefly of *Rik*s and *Yagus* formulas.'

4. *Manu* VII, 30-31; *Yāgñavalkya* I, 354; *Āpastamba* II, 11, 27, 18. 'Of subdued senses, i.e. free from the (seven) vices

panions possessing excellent qualities and by the means (for upholding his rule).

5. He shall be impartial towards his subjects ;

6. And he shall do (what is) good for them.

7. All, excepting Brāhmaṇas, shall worship him who is seated on a higher seat, (while they themselves sit on a) lower (one).

8. The (Brāhmaṇas), also, shall honour him.

9. He shall protect the castes and orders in accordance with justice ;

10. And those who leave (the path of) duty, he shall lead back (to it).

11. For it is declared (in the Veda) that he obtains a share of the spiritual merit (gained by his subjects).

12. And he shall select as his domestic priest (purohita) a Brāhmaṇa who is learned (in the Vedas), of noble family, eloquent, handsome, of (a suitable) age, and of a virtuous disposition, who lives righteously and who is austere.

(common among kings), i. e. sensuality, gambling, hunting, drinking, &c.—Haradatta. The means (upāya) are those mentioned by Yâgñavalkya I, 345-346.

5. Manu VII, 80; Yâgñavalkya I, 333.

6. 'And he shall do what is good, i. e. dig tanks, build embankments and bridges &c. for them, i. e. his subjects.'—Haradatta.

7. '(On a) lower (one), i. e. on the ground only.'—Haradatta. This is still the custom in native courts, where, however, Brāhmaṇas, as a rule, must also sit on the floor.

8. 'Honour him,' i. e. worship him by invoking blessings on him and the like.

9. Manu VII, 35.

10. Yâgñavalkya I, 360.

11. Manu VIII, 304; Yâgñavalkya I, 334.

12. Manu VII, 78; Yâgñavalkya I, 312. Haradatta explains vâksampanna, 'eloquent,' by 'one who knows Sanskrit.' According to the same, 'the (suitable) age' is the prime of life, when men

13. With his assistance he shall fulfil his religious duties.

14. For it is declared (in the Veda): 'Kshatriyas, who are assisted by Brâhmanas, prosper and do not fall into distress.'

15. He shall, also, take heed of that which astrologers and interpreters of omens tell (him).

16. For some (declare), that the acquisition of wealth and security depend also upon that.

17. He shall perform in the fire of the hall the rites ensuring prosperity which are connected with expiations (sânti), festivals, a prosperous march, long life, and auspiciousness; as well as those that are intended to cause enmity, to subdue (enemies), to destroy (them) by incantations, and to cause their misfortune.

18. Officiating priests (shall perform) the other (sacrifices) according to the precepts (of the Veda).

are neither too young nor too old. 'Austere' is interpreted to mean 'not given to sensual enjoyments.'

13. Manu VII, 78. 14. Satapatha-brâhmaṇa IV, 1, 4, 4-6.

17. Âpastamba II, 10, 25, 4, 7. Sântis, 'expiations,' are rites intended to avert an impending misfortune which is announced by an evil omen. 'Festivals' are, according to Haradatta, wedding-days and the like; 'rites connected with auspiciousness' are, according to the same, rites on entering a new dwelling and the like. Haradatta further remarks that, though, according to the text, the king must perform these rites, he is, in reality, only to give the necessary orders, and to furnish the means for their performance, while the Purohita is to officiate as priest. He adds, that another commentator asserts that 'the Purohita,' not 'the king,' must be taken as the subject of the sentence.

18. Manu VII, 78-79; Yâgñavalkya I, 313. Haradatta says that by the 'other' sacrifices, both Gr̥hya and Srauta rites are meant. I think that the latter are chiefly intended, as the Samskâras are included under the rites of festive days, mentioned in the preceding Sûtra.

19. His administration of justice (shall be regulated by) the Veda, the Institutes of the Sacred Law, the *Āṅgas*, and the *Purāṇa*.

20. The laws of countries, castes, and families, which are not opposed to the (sacred) records, (have) also authority.

21. Cultivators, traders, herdsmen, money-lenders, and artisans (have authority to lay down rules) for their respective classes.

22. Having learned the (state of) affairs from those who (in each class) have authority (to speak he shall give) the legal decision.

23. Reasoning is a means for arriving at the truth.

24. Coming to a conclusion through that, he shall decide properly.

25. If (the evidence) is conflicting, he shall learn (the truth) from (*Brāhmaṇas*) who are well versed in

19. The *Āṅgas*, i.e. the six auxiliary branches of learning mentioned above, VIII, 5. My best copy inserts 'the *Upavedas*' after the *Āṅgas*. But the words *upavedāḥ* and *dharmaśāstrāṇi*, 'the institutes of law,' are probably interpolations. For the latter are already included by the term *Āṅga*, as part of the *Kalpa*.

20. *Āpastamba* II, 6, 15, 1; *Manu* VII, 203; VIII, 41, 46; *Yāgyavalkya* I, 342. 'The (sacred) records, i.e. the *Vedas* and the rest.'—*Haradatta*.

22. 'Having learned, i.e. having heard and considered, from them, i.e. from men of those classes, according to their authority, i.e. from those who in each class are authorised to give decisions, the (state of) affairs, i.e. the peculiar customs, the legal decision must be given in accordance with that which they declare to be the rule in their community.'—*Haradatta*.

23. *Manu* VIII, 44; XII, 105-106; *Macnaghten*, *Mitāksharā* II, 8, 8. *Haradatta* remarks, that this *Sūtra* refers to the case where the spokesmen of a guild may be suspected of partiality.

25. *Manu* XII, 108-113. According to *Haradatta* this *Sūtra* refers to particularly difficult cases.

the threefold sacred lore, and give his decision (accordingly).

26. For, (if he acts) thus, blessings will attend him (in this world and the next).

27. It has been declared in the Veda: 'Brâhmanas, united with Kshatriyas, uphold gods, manes, and men.'

28. They declare, that (the word) *danda* (rule or punishment) is derived from (the verb) *damayati* (he restrains); therefore he shall restrain those who do not restrain themselves.

29. (Men of) the (several) castes and orders who always live according to their duty enjoy after death the rewards of their works, and by virtue of a remnant of their (merit) they are born again in excellent countries, castes, and families, (endowed) with beauty, long life, learning in the Vedas, (virtuous) conduct, wealth, happiness, and wisdom.

30. Those who act in a contrary manner perish, being born again in various (evil conditions).

31. The advice of the spiritual teacher and the punishment (inflicted by the king) guard them.

32. Therefore a king and a spiritual teacher must not be reviled.

CHAPTER XII.

1. A Sûdra who intentionally reviles twice-born men by criminal abuse, or criminally assaults them with blows, shall be deprived of the limb with which he offends.

26. Âpastamba II, 5, 11, 4. 29. Âpastamba II, 5, 11, 10.

30. Âpastamba II, 5, 11, 11. 'Perish, i.e. fall from one misfortune into the other.'—Haradatta.

31. Âpastamba II, 5, 10, 12-16. 32. Manu VII, 8.

XII. 1. Âpastamba II, 10, 27, 14; Manu VIII, 270, 279-283;

2. If he has criminal intercourse with an Âryan woman, his organ shall be cut off, and all his property be confiscated.

3. If (the woman had) a protector, he shall be executed after (having undergone the punishments prescribed above).

4. Now if he listens intentionally to (a recitation of) the Veda, his ears shall be filled with (molten) tin or lac.

5. If he recites (Vedic texts), his tongue shall be cut out.

6. If he remembers them, his body shall be split in twain.

7. If he assumes a position equal (to that of twice-born men) in sitting, in lying down, in conversation or on the road, he shall undergo (corporal) punishment.

8. A Kshatriya (shall be fined) one hundred (Kârshâpanas) if he abuses a Brâhmana,

9. In case of an assault, twice as much.

Yâgñavalkya II, 215. Haradatta adds that an abusive word or a blow given in jest must not be punished in the manner prescribed above, as the word 'pârushya' presupposes criminal intent.

2. Âpastamba II, 10, 26, 20; Mayûkha XIX, 7, where, however, ârya has been altered to âkârya. Haradatta adds that the two punishments are cumulative in the case of a Brâhmanî only. If the offence is committed with a Kshatriyâ, the offender is liable to the first only; if he sins with a Vaisyâ, to the second.

3. Âpastamba II, 10, 27, 9; Manu VIII, 359; Yâgñavalkya II, 286.

7. Âpastamba II, 10, 27, 15; Manu VIII, 281.—The translation follows Haradatta, who is guided by the parallel passages. But for the latter, one would translate 'he shall be fined.'

8. Manu VIII, 267; Yâgñavalkya III, 204–207. Manu VIII, 136 states one Kârshâpana or copper Pana contains 80 Raktikâs, which would correspond to 97.60 grammes of the metrical system.

10. A Vaisya (who abuses a Brâhmana, shall pay) one and a half (times as much as a Kshatriya).

11. But a Brâhmana (who abuses) a Kshatriya (shall pay) fifty (Kârshâpanas),

12. One half of that (amount if he abuses) a Vaisya,

13. (And if he abuses) a Sûdra, nothing.

14. A Kshatriya and a Vaisya (who abuse one another shall pay the same fines) as a Brâhmana and a Kshatriya.

15. (The value of) property which a Sûdra unrighteously acquires by theft, must be repaid eight-fold.

16. For each of the other castes (the fines must be) doubled.

17. If a learned man offends, the punishment shall be very much increased.

18. If fruits, green corn, and vegetables are appropriated in small amounts, (the fine is) five *Krishnalas* (of copper).

10. Manu VIII, 267.

11. Manu VIII, 268.

12. Manu VIII, 268.

13. Manu VIII, 268. Haradatta adds that, as a Brâhmana is declared to pay nothing for abusing a Sûdra, a Kshatriya and a Vaisya are liable to be fined for that offence, and that according to Uśanas a Kshatriya shall pay twenty-four *Panas*, and a Vaisya thirty-six.

14. I.e. a Vaisya shall pay one hundred *Panas* for abusing a Kshatriya, and a Kshatriya fifty for abusing a Vaisya.

15. Manu VIII, 337.

16. Manu VIII, 337-338. I.e. a Vaisya is to pay sixteen times the value of the stolen property, a Kshatriya thirty-two times, and a Brâhmana sixty-four times.

17. Manu VIII, 338.

18. Manu VIII, 330. *Krishnala* is another name for *Raktikâ*,

19. If damage is done by cattle, the responsibility falls on the owner.

20. But if (the cattle) were attended by a herdsman, (it falls) on the latter.

21. (If the damage was done) in an unenclosed field near the road, (the responsibility falls) on the herdsman and on the owner of the field.

22. Five Māshas (are the fine to be paid) for (damage done by) a cow,

23. Six for a camel or a donkey,

24. Ten for a horse or a buffalo,

25. Two for each goat or sheep.

26. If all is destroyed, (the value of) the whole crop (must be paid and a fine in addition).

27. If (a man) always neglects the prescribed (duties) and does that which is forbidden, his property beyond (the amount required for) raiment and food shall be taken from him (until he amends).

28. He may take, as his own, grass for a cow, and fuel for his fire, as well as the flowers of creepers and trees and their fruit, if they be unenclosed.

29. The legal interest for money lent (is at the rate of) five Māshas a month for twenty (Kārshāpanas).

used also by Yāgñavalkya I, 362. It equals 0.122 grammes of the metrical system, Prinsep, Useful Tables, p. 97.

20-21. Manu VIII, 240; Yāgñavalkya II, 162.

22-26. Manu VIII, 241; Yāgñavalkya II, 159-161; Colebrooke III, Digest IV, 40. Haradatta, relying on Usanas everywhere, reckons twenty Māshas to the Kārshāpana.

27. Âpastamba II, 11, 27, 18.

28. Âpastamba I, 10, 28, 3; Colebrooke III, Digest IV, 22.

29. Manu VIII, 140; Yāgñavalkya II, 37; Colebrooke I, Digest 25. Haradatta states that a Kārshāpana contains twenty

30. Some (declare, that this rate should not be paid) longer than a year.

31. If (the loan) remains outstanding for a long time, the principal may be doubled (after which interest ceases).

32. A loan secured by a pledge that is used (by the creditor) bears no interest;

33. Nor money tendered, nor (a debt due by a debtor) who is forcibly prevented (from paying).

34. (Special forms of interest are) compound interest, periodical interest,

35. Stipulated interest, corporal, interest, daily interest, and the use of a pledge.

Māshas. Thus the monthly interest for 400 Māshas being five Māshas, the rate is $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent for the month, or 15 per cent per annum.

30. Colebrooke I, Digest 40; Manu VIII, 153.

31. Manu VIII, 151; Colebrooke I, Digest 59.

32. Manu VIII, 143; Colebrooke I, Digest 79.

33. Colebrooke I, Digest 79. 'Likewise the debt of a debtor who, being desirous to pay, is imprisoned by the king or others in a prison or the like, and who is thus unable to pay, does not increase from that day.'—Haradatta.

34. For this and the next Sūtra, see also Colebrooke I, Digest 35-45, in the notes on which latter text the various explanations of these terms, found here, have been fully discussed. 'If a large or a small interest is taken on condition that the loan is to be repaid on a certain date, and that, in case of non-payment, it is to be trebled or quadrupled, that is called periodical interest.'—Haradatta.

35. 'Where the lender and the borrower, having regard to the country, the time, the object, and the condition (of the borrower), agree between themselves (on a certain rate), e.g. of ten per cent per mensem, that is called stipulated interest. Corporal interest is that which is payable by bodily labour. Thus Bṛihaspati says, "Corporal interest is that connected with work." But Vyāsa explains it thus, "Corporal interest is that which arises from the work (or use) of a (pledged female quadruped) to be

36. The interest on products of animals, on wool, on the produce of a field, and on beasts of burden (shall) not (increase) more than the fivefold (value of the object lent).

37. The property of (a person who is) neither an idiot nor a minor, having been used by strangers before his eyes for ten years, (belongs) to him who uses it,

38. (But) not (if it is used) by Srotriyas, ascetics, or royal officials.

39. Animals, land, and females are not lost (to the owner) by (another's) possession.

milked, or of (a male) to carry burdens." Kâtâyāna explains the daily interest (lit. the interest resembling the growth of the lock on the head), "That which is taken daily is called daily interest." . . . E.g. for a Prastha of grain lent a handful of grain is taken daily.'—Haradatta.

36. Colebrooke I, Digest 62. Haradatta mentions also another explanation of the Sûtra: 'Another (commentator) says, "If products of animals and the rest have been bought, and the price is not paid at once, that may increase fivefold by the addition of interest, but not to a greater sum."'

37. Manu VIII, 147-148; Yâgñavalkya II, 24.

38. Haradatta adds that in the case of a Srotriya and of an ascetic, the owner may allow the use of his property for a long time, desiring to acquire merit by doing so, and that fear may prevent him from opposing the king's servants. Hence prolonged possession by such persons does not necessitate the conclusion that the owner had given up his rights. As ascetics cannot possess any property, the Sûtra must refer to their occupying an empty house which has an owner.

39. Manu VIII, 149; Yâgñavalkya II, 25. The translation given above agrees with an explanation of the Sûtra which Haradatta mentions, but rejects. He himself prefers the following: 'Animals, i.e. quadrupeds; land, i.e. a field, a garden, and the like; females, i.e. female slaves and the like. No long possession of animals and the rest is necessary in order to acquire the rights of ownership over them. Even after a short period they become the

40. The heirs shall pay the debts (of a deceased person).

41. Money due by a surety, a commercial debt, a fee (due to the parents of the bride), debts contracted for spirituous liquor or in gambling, and a fine shall not involve the sons (of the debtor).

42. An (open) deposit, a sealed deposit, an object lent for use, an object bought (but not paid), and a pledge, being lost without the fault of the holder, (shall not involve) any blameless person.

43. A man who has stolen (gold) shall approach the king, with flying hair, holding a club in his hand, and proclaim his deed.

property of the possessor. For how (would it be possible that) a person, who himself wants buttermilk and the like, should allow a cow which he himself has bought, and which gives daily a *Drona* of milk, to be milked in the house of another person? &c. &c.

40. *Manu* VIII, 162; *Yâgñavalkya* II, 51.

41. *Mañu* VIII, 159-160; *Yâgñavalkya* II, 47, 54; *Colebrooke* I, Digest 202. Taking into account the parallel passages of *Manu* and *Yâgñavalkya*, *Haradatta* very properly restricts this rule to a bail for the personal appearance of an offender. In explanation of the expression 'a commercial debt' he gives the following instance: 'If a person has borrowed money from somebody on the condition that he is to repay the principal together with the gain thereon, and if he dies in a foreign country, while travelling in order to trade, then that money shall not be repaid by the son.' The instance explaining the term 'fee' (*sulka*) is as follows: 'If a person has promised a fee (to the parents of a woman) and dies after the wedding, then that fee does not involve his son, i.e. need not be paid by him.' The word *sulka* is, however, ambiguous, and may also mean 'a tax or toll.'

42. *Manu* VIII, 189; *Yâgñavalkya* II, 59, 66; *Colebrooke* II, Digest I, 29. *Haradatta* declares the meaning to be, that in case the bailee was guilty of no negligence and took the same care of the deposits &c. as of his own property, neither he nor his heirs need make good the value of those which were lost or destroyed.

43. *Âpastamba* I, 9, 25, 4.

44. Whether he be slain or be pardoned, he is purified (of his guilt).

45. If the king does not strike, the guilt falls on him.

46. Corporal punishment (must) not (be resorted to in the case) of a Brâhmana.

47. Preventing (a repetition of) the deed, publicly proclaiming his crime, banishment, and branding (are the punishments to which a Brâhmana may be subjected).

48. That (king) who does not do his duty (by inflicting punishment) becomes liable to perform a penance.

49. (A man who) knowingly (becomes) the servant (of a thief shall be treated) like a thief,

50. Likewise he who (knowingly) receives (goods) from (a thief or) an unrighteous man.

51. The award of the punishment (must be regulated) by a consideration (of the status) of the criminal, of his (bodily) strength, of (the nature of) the crime, and whether the offence has been repeated.

52. Or a pardon (may be given) in accordance with the opinion of an assemblage of persons learned in the Vedâs.

45. Âpastamba I, 9, 25, 5.

46. Manu VIII, 124; Macnaghten, Mitâksharâ III, 4, 9.

47. Manu IX, 239, 241; Âpastamba II, 10, 27, 8, 17-19; Macnaghten loc. cit. Karmaviyoga, 'preventing (a repetition of) the deed,' may also mean 'suspension from (his priestly) functions.'

48. Âpastamba II, 11, 28, 13.

49-50. Manu IX, 278; Yâgñavalkya II, 276.

51. Manu VII, 16; VIII, 126; Yâgñavalkya I, 367.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. In disputed cases the truth shall be established by means of witnesses.

2. The (latter) shall be many, faultless as regards the performance of their duties, worthy to be trusted by the king, and free from affection for, or hatred against either (party).

3. (They may be) *Sûdras* even.

4. But a *Brâhmana* must not be forced (to give evidence) at the word of a non-*Brâhmana*, except if he is mentioned (in the plaint).

5. (Witnesses) shall not speak singly or without being asked,

6. And if, (being asked,) they do not answer, they are guilty of a crime.

7. Heaven is their reward, if they speak the

XIII. 1. Manu VIII, 45; *Yâgñavalkya* II, 22.

2. *Âpastamba* II, 11, 29, 7. 'Many means at least three.'—Haradatta.

3. Manu VIII, 63. I.e. *Sûdras* endowed with the qualities mentioned above.

4. Manu VIII, 65. 'A *Brâhmana* means here a *Srotriya*. If a man other than a *Brâhmana* says: "This *Brâhmana* is a witness of this fact," then the (*Srotriya*) shall not be forced to become, i.e. not be taken as a witness, provided he has not been mentioned, i.e. he has not been entered in the written plaint (as one of the witnesses). But if he has been entered in the plaint, he certainly becomes a witness.'—Haradatta.

5. Manu VIII, 79; Macnaghten, *Mitâksharâ* VI, 1, 21. In the *Mitâksharâ* the *Sûtra* is read *nâsamavetâh prishâh prabrûyuh*, 'witnesses need not answer if they are examined singly.' *Mitramisra* in the *Vîramitrodaya* says that Haradatta's reading of the text is the same, and that his explanation does not agree with it.

6. Manu VIII, 107; *Yâgñavalkya* II, 76-77.

7. *Âpastamba* II, 11, 29, 9-10.

truth; in the contrary case hell (will be their portion).

8. (Persons) not mentioned (in the plaint), must also give evidence.

9. No objection (can be raised against witnesses) in a case of (criminal) hurt,

10. Nor if they have spoken inadvertently.

11. If the sacred law or the rules (referring to worldly matters) are violated, the guilt (falls) on the witnesses, the assessors, the king, and on the offender.

12. Some (declare, that the witnesses) shall be charged on oath to speak the truth.

13. In the case of others than Brāhmaṇas that (oath shall be sworn) in the presence of the gods, of the king, and of Brāhmaṇas.

14. By false evidence concerning small cattle a witness kills ten,

15. (By false evidence) regarding cows, horses, men, or land, in each succeeding case ten times as many (as in the one mentioned before),

9. Manu VIII, 72; Yâgyavalkya II, 72.

10. 'Negligence, i.e. inadvertence. If anything has been spoken at random by a witness in a conversation referring to something else (than the case), no blame must be thrown on him for that reason.'—Haradatta.

11. Manu VIII, 18. The translation follows Haradatta. Perhaps it would, however, be as well to take dharmatantra, 'the sacred law and the rules referring to worldly matters,' as a Tatpurusha, and to translate, 'If there is a miscarriage of justice, the guilt,' &c.

12-13. Âpastamba II, 11, 29, 7.

14-22. Manu VIII, 98-100. 'By speaking an untruth regarding them, the witness kills ten. Ten what? Even ten (of that kind) regarding which he has lied. His guilt is as great as if he actually killed ten of them, and the punishment (is the same). Equal penances must also be prescribed for both cases.'—Haradatta.

16. Or (by false evidence) regarding land the whole (human race).

17. Hell (is the punishment) for a theft of land.

18. (By false evidence) concerning water (he incurs) the same (guilt) as (for an untruth) about land,

19. Likewise (by false evidence) regarding (criminal) intercourse.

20. (By false evidence) regarding honey or clarified butter (he incurs) the same (guilt) as (by an untruth) about small cattle,

21. (By false evidence) about clothes, gold, grain, and the Veda, the same as (by an untruth) about kine,

22. (And by false evidence) regarding a carriage (or a beast of burden) the same as (by an untruth) about horses.

23. A witness must be reprimanded and punished for speaking an untruth.

24. No guilt is incurred by giving false evidence, in case the life (of a man) depends thereon.

25. But (this rule does) not (hold good) if the life of a very wicked (man depends on the evidence of a witness).

26. The king, or the judge, or a Brâhmana learned in the Sâstras (shall examine the witnesses).

27. (The litigant) shall humbly go to seek the judge.

23. Manu VIII, 119-123; Yâgñavalkya II, 81. 'Yâpyaḥ' (literally "must be turned out") means "must be reprimanded" in the presence of the whole audience, lest anybody have intercourse with him.—Haradatta.

24-25. Manu VIII, 104-105; Yâgñavalkya II, 83.

26. Manu VIII, 8-9, 79; Yâgñavalkya II, 1, 3, 73.

27. Manu VIII, 43. The meaning of the Sûtra is that the

28. If (the defendant) is unable to answer (the plaintiff) at once, (the judge) may wait for a year.

29. But (in an action) concerning kine, draught-oxen, women, or the procreation (of offspring), the defendant (shall answer) immediately,

30. Likewise in a case that will suffer by delay.

31. To speak the truth before the judge is more important than all (other) duties.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. The *Sapindas* become impure by the death (of a relative) during ten (days and) nights, except those who officiate as priests, who have performed the *Dikshaniyeshṭi* (or initiatory ceremony of a *Srauta* sacrifice), and those who are students.

2. (The impurity) of a *Kshatriya* lasts for eleven (days and) nights,

3. (That) of a *Vaisya* twelve (days and) nights,

4. (Or), according to some, half a month,

5. (And that) of a *Sūdra* a whole month.

6. If during (a period of impurity) another (death) happens, the (relatives) shall be pure after (the lapse of) the remainder of that (first period).

judge shall not promote litigation, and incite people to institute suits. If litigants do not humbly appear before him, he is not to send for them.

28. See also *Nārada* I, 38, 41.

29. *Yāgñavalkya* II, 12. *Haradatta* explains *praganana*, 'the procreation (of offspring),' to mean 'marriage.'

XIV. 1. *Manu* V, 59, 83, 93; *Yāgñavalkya* III, 18, 28; see also *Āpastamba* I, 5, 16, 18. Regarding the meaning of the term *Sapinda*, see below, *Sūtra* 13. This *Sūtra* refers, of course, to *Brāhmanas* only.

2-3. *Manu* V, 83; *Yāgñavalkya* III, 22.

5. *Manu* and *Yāgñavalkya* l. l. cit.

6. *Manu* V, 79.

7. (But) if one night (only of the period of impurity) remains (and another death happens, they shall become pure) after (the lapse of) two (days and nights).

8. (If the second death happens) on the morning (after the completion of the period of impurity, they shall be purified) after three (days and nights).

9. (The relatives) of those who are slain for the sake of cows and Brâhmanas (become pure) immediately after the burial,

10. And (those of men destroyed) by the anger of the king,

11. (Further, those of men killed) in battle,

12. Likewise (those) of men who voluntarily (die) by starving themselves to death, by weapons, fire, poison, or water, by hanging themselves, or by jumping (from a precipice).

13. Sapinda-relationship ceases with the fifth or the seventh (ancestor).

14. (The rules regarding impurity caused by the

9. Yâgñavalkya III, 27. The Sûtra may, however, also be translated 'the relatives of those who have been killed by a cow, or by a Brâhmana, &c.,' as the latter case, too, is mentioned by Yâgñavalkya III, 21. The word anvaksham, translated by 'immediately after burial,' is explained by Haradatta as follows: 'The corpse is seen, i.e. is visible, so long; the meaning is that they will be pure after having bathed at the end of the burial.'

10. Yâgñavalkya III, 21.

12. Manu V, 89; Yâgñavalkya III, 21.

13. Âpastamba II, 6, 15, 2. Haradatta states that the Sapinda-relationship extends to four degrees in the case of the son of an appointed daughter (see below, XXVIII, 18), while it includes the relatives within six degrees in the case of a legitimate son of the body. In either case the term refers to Sagotra-sapindas, or Sapindas who bear the same family name only. The case of the Bhinnagotra-sapindas will be discussed below, Sûtra 20.

14-16. Manu V, 62; Yâgñavalkya III, 18-19.

death of a relative apply) to the birth (of a child) also.

15. (In) that (case the impurity falls) on the parents,

16. Or on the mother (alone).

17. (The impurity) for a miscarriage (lasts for a number of days and) nights equal to (the number of) months from conception,

18. Or three days.

19. And if he hears (of the death of a *Sapinda*) after (the lapse of) ten (days and nights, the impurity lasts for) one night together with the preceding and following days,

20. Likewise when a relative who is not a *Sapinda*, a relative by marriage, or a fellow-student (has died).

21. For a man who studies the same recension of the Veda (the impurity lasts) one day,

17. Manu V, 66; Yâgñavalkya III, 20. 19. Manu V, 75-77.

20. Manu V, 81. Haradatta explains *asapinda*, 'a kinsman who is not a *Sapinda*,' by *Samânodaka*, i.e. 'a kinsman bearing the same family name, but more than six degrees removed,' and *yonisambandha*, 'a relative by marriage,' by 'the maternal grandfather, a maternal aunt's sons, and their sons, &c., the fathers of wives and the rest.' The latter term, for which 'a person related through a female' would be a more exact rendering than the one given above, includes, therefore, those persons who, according to the terminology of Manu and Yâgñavalkya, are called *Bhinnagotra-sapindas*, *Bândhavas*, or *Bandhus* (see Colebrooke, *Mitâksharâ* II, 53; II, 6). Gautama's terminology agrees in this respect with that of Âpastamba, see note on II, 5, 11, 16.

21. Haradatta explains *sabrahmakârin* by *suhrit*, 'a friend.' But the term which elsewhere means 'a fellow-student' cannot have that sense in our Sûtra, as the fellow-student (*sahâdhyâyin*) has been mentioned already. The translation given above is supported by the manner in which it is used in the ancient land-grants, where expressions like *bahvriksabrahmakârin* are of common occurrence.

22. Likewise for a Srotriya who dwells in the same house.

23. On touching (i.e. on carrying out) a corpse from an interested motive, the impurity lasts for ten days.

24. (The duration of the impurity) of a Vaisya and of a Sûdra (in the same case) has been declared (by Sûtras 3-5).

25. Or (it shall last for these two) as many nights as there are seasons (in the year);

26. And (the same rule may be made applicable) to the two higher (castes).

27. Or (the impurity lasts) three days.

28. And if the teacher, his son or wife, a person for whom (a Brâhmaṇa) sacrifices or a pupil (has been carried out, the duration of the impurity is) the same.

22. Manu V, 81.

23. 'The word upasparśana (literally touching) does not denote here simple touching. For below, Sûtra 30, bathing with the clothes on, will be prescribed for that. What does upasparśana then mean? It means carrying out a corpse. For that an impurity lasting ten days falls on the performer, provided that the carrying out be done for an object, i.e. with the intention of gaining a fee or the like, not for the sake of doing one's duty. The word impurity is here repeated in order to indicate that the impurity, here intended, differs from that described above. Hence the rules given below, Sûtra 37, which prescribe sleeping and sitting on the ground and so forth, do not apply. (The word impurity) indicates (here) merely that (the performer of the act) must not be touched, and has no right (to perform sacred ceremonies).—Haradatta.

25. Haradatta states that Gautama does not simply say 'six days,' because five seasons only are to be reckoned in the case of a Vaisya, and six in the case of a Sûdra.

28. Haradatta asserts that *mṛtishu*, 'have died,' must be understood. But as both the preceding and the following Sûtras refer to

29. And if a man of lower caste carries out (the corpse of) one of higher caste, or a man of higher caste (carries out the body of) one of lower caste, (the duration of) the impurity in these (cases) is determined by (the caste of) the dead man.

30. On touching an outcast, a *Kandâla*, a woman impure on account of her confinement, a woman in her courses, or a corpse, and on touching persons who have touched them, he shall purify himself by bathing dressed in his clothes.

31. Likewise if he has followed a corpse (that was being carried out),

32. And (if he has come into contact) with a dog.

33. Some (declare), that (the limb) which (a dog) may touch (must be washed).

34. The *Sapindas* shall offer (libations of) water for (a deceased relative) whose *Kaula-karman* (or tonsure) has been performed,

35. As well as for the wives and daughters of such (a person).

36. Some (declare, that it must be done in the case) of married female relatives (also).

the carrying out of corpses, it is impossible to agree with him. It seems to me that Gautama's rule means, that, if a man has carried out the corpse of a teacher, &c., he becomes impure for ten, eleven, or twelve days, or for three days only. See also Manu V, 91, 103; *Yâgñavalkya* III, 15.

30. *Âpastamba* II, 2, 2, 8-9; Manu V, 85; *Yâgñavalkya* III, 30.

31. Manu V, 103; *Yâgñavalkya* III, 26.

32-33. *Âpastamba* I, 5, 15, 16-17.

34. *Âpastamba* II, 6, 15, 9; Manu V, 70. Haradatta observes that most *Grîhya-sûtras* prescribe the performance of the *Kaula-karman* in the third year.

36. *Yâgñavalkya* III, 4.

37. (During the period of impurity) all (the mourners) shall sleep and sit on the ground and remain chaste.

38. They shall not clean (themselves);

39. Nor shall they eat meat until (the funeral oblation) has been offered.

40. On the first, third, fifth, seventh, and ninth (days after the death) water (mixed with sesamum) must be offered.

41. And the garments (worn during that ceremony) must be changed,

42. But on the last (day they must be given) to men of the lowest castes.

43. The parents (shall offer water for a son who dies) after he has teethed.

44. If infants, (relatives) who live in a distant country, those who have renounced domestic life, and those who are not *Sapindas*, (die), the purification is instantaneous.

45. Kings (remain always pure), lest their business be impeded,

46. And a *Brâhmana*, lest his daily study of the *Veda* be interrupted.

37. *Manu* V, 73; *Yâgñavalkya* III, 16.

39. *Manu* V, 73.

43. *Manu* V, 70.

44. *Yâgñavalkya* III, 23. Haradatta remarks that the rule refers to those *Sapindas* residing in foreign countries only, of whose death one may hear a year after their decease, and to remoter relations of whose death one hears after the lapse of ten days; see *Manu* V, 75-76.

45. *Manu* V, 93-94; *Yâgñavalkya* III, 27. Haradatta adds that the plural 'kings' is used in order to include all rulers and governors, and such persons as the king wishes to be pure.

46. *Yâgñavalkya* III, 28.

CHAPTER XV.

1. Now (follow the rules regarding) funeral oblations (Śrāddha).

2. He shall offer (them) to the Manes on the day of the new moon,

3. Or in the dark half (of the month) after the fourth (lunar day),

4. Or on any day (of the dark half) according to (the results he may) desire ;

5. Or if (particularly appropriate) materials or (particularly holy) Brāhmaṇas are at hand, or (the sacrificer is) near a (particularly sacred) place, no restriction as to time (need be observed) :

6. Let him select as good food as he can afford, and have it prepared as well as possible.

7. He shall feed an uneven number (of Brāhmaṇas), at least nine,

8. Or as many as he is able (to entertain).

9. (Let him feed such as are) Srotriyas and

XV. 1. 'The word "now" indicates that a new topic begins.'—Haradatta. The rules now following refer in the first instance to the Pârvana or monthly Śrāddha, but most of them serve also as general rules for all the numerous varieties of funeral sacrifices.

2. Manu III, 122 ; Yâgñavalkya I, 217.

3. Âpastamba II, 7, 16, 6. 4. Âpastamba II, 7, 16, 6-22.

5. Some of the most famous among the places where the performance of a Śrāddha is particularly efficacious and meritorious are Gayâ in Bihâr, Pushkara or Pokhar near Agmîr, the Kurukshetra near Dehli, Nâsika on the Godâvarî. Pilgrims or persons passing through such places may and must perform a Śrāddha on any day of the month.

7. Yâgñavalkya I, 227.

8. See also below, Sûtra 21.

9. Âpastamba II, 7, 17, 4. Haradatta explains vâk, 'eloquence,' by 'ability to speak Sanskrit,' rūpa, 'beauty,' by 'the proper number of limbs,' and vayaḥsampaṇna, 'of (suitable) age,' by 'not too young.'

endowed with eloquence and beauty, of a (suitable) age, and of a virtuous disposition.

10. It is preferable to give (food at a *Srâddha*) to young (men in the prime of life).

11. Some (declare, that the age of the guests shall be) proportionate to (that of) the Manes.

12. And he shall not try to contract a friendship by an (invitation to a *Srâddha*).

13. On failure of sons (the deceased person's) *Sapindâs*, the *Sapindâs* of his mother, or his pupils shall offer (the funeral oblations),

14. On failure of these an officiating priest or the teacher.

15. The Manes are satisfied for a month by gifts of sesamum, *Mâsha*-beans, rice, barley, and water,

For (three) years by fish and the flesh of common deer, spotted deer, hares, turtles, boars, and sheep,

For twelve years by cow's milk and messes made of milk,

For a very long time by the flesh of (the crane called) *Vârdhrîza*, by *Ocymum sanctum* (sacred Basil), and by the flesh of goats, (especially) of a red (he-goat), and of a rhinoceros, (if these dishes are) mixed with honey.

16. Let him not feed a thief, a eunuch, an out-cast, an atheist, a person who lives like an atheist,

11. I.e. in honour of the father a young man is to be invited, in honour of the grandfather an old man, and in honour of the great-grandfather a very old man.

12. *Âpastamba* II, 7, 17, 4, 8; *Manu* III, 140.

15. *Âpastamba* II, 7, 16, 23—II, 7, 17, 3; II, 8, 18, 13.

16. *Âpastamba* II, 7, 17, 21. 'A destroyer of the sacred fire (*vîrahan*), i.e. one who extinguishes intentionally the (domestic) fire

the destroyer of the sacred fire, (the husband of) a younger sister married before the elder, the husband of an elder sister whose youngest sister was married first, a person who sacrifices for women or for a multitude of men, a man who tends goats, who has given up the fire-worship, who drinks spirituous liquor, whose conduct is blamable, who is a false witness, who lives as a door-keeper ;

17. Who lives with another man's wife, and the (husband) who allows that (must not be invited) ;

18. (Nor shall he feed) a man who eats the food of a person born from adulterous intercourse, a seller of Soma, an incendiary, a poisoner, a man who during studentship has broken the vow of chastity, who is the servant of a guild, who has intercourse with females who must not be touched, who delights in doing hurt, a younger brother married before the elder brother, an elder brother married after his younger brother, an elder brother whose

out of hatred against his wife, and for the like reasons.'—Haradatta. He also remarks that some read *agredidhishu* instead of *agredidhishû*, and he proposes to explain the former, on the authority of *Vyâghra* and of the *Naighantukas*, as 'a *Brâhmana* whose wife has been wedded before to another man.'

17. My MSS. make two *Sûtras* out of Professor Stenzler's one, and read *upatîh t. yasya ka sah*. The sense remains the same, but the latter version of the text is, I think, the correct one.

18. Haradatta says that *kundâsin* may also mean 'he who eats out of a vessel called *kundâ*,' as the people have in some countries the habit of preparing their food and afterwards eating out of the *kundâ*. Haradatta explains *tyaktâtman*, 'one who despairs of himself,' by 'one who has made an attempt on his own life, and has tried to hang himself, and the like.' He remarks that some explain *durvâla*, 'a bald man,' by *nirveshâtasepha*. He who neglects the recitation of the sacred texts, i.e. of those texts which, like the *Gâyatrî*, ought to be recited.

junior has kindled the sacred fire first, a younger brother who has done that, a person who despairs of himself, a bald man, a man who has deformed nails, or black teeth, who suffers from white leprosy, the son of a twice-married woman, a gambler, a man who neglects the recitation (of the sacred texts), a servant of the king, any one who uses false weights and measures, whose only wife is a Sûdra female, who neglects the daily study, who suffers from spotted leprosy, a usurer, a person who lives by trade or handicrafts, by the use of the bow, by playing musical instruments, or, by beating time, by dancing, and by singing;

19. Nor, (sons) who have enforced a division of the family estate against the wish of their father.

20. Some (allow) pupils and kinsmen (to be invited).

21. Let him feed upwards of three (or) one (guest) endowed with (particularly) excellent qualities.

22. If he enters the bed of a Sûdra female immediately after partaking of a funeral repast, his ancestors will lie for a month in her ordure.

23. Therefore he shall remain chaste on that day.

19. Below, XXVIII, 2, it will be prescribed that the division of the family estate may take place during the lifetime of the father with his consent. From this Sûtra it would appear that sons could enforce a division of the ancestral estate against his will, as Yâgñavalkya also allows (see Colebrooke, *Mitâksharâ* I, 6, 5-11), and that this practice, though legal, was held to be *contra bonos mores*.

20. Âpastamba II, 7, 17, 5-6.

21. According to Haradatta, this Sûtra is intended as a modification of Sûtra 8.

22. Manu III, 250.

23. Manu III, 188.

24. If (a funeral offering) is looked at by dogs, *Kandâlas*, or outcasts, it is blemished.

25. Therefore he shall offer it in an enclosed (place),

26. Or he shall scatter grains of sesamum over it,

27. Or a man who sanctifies the company shall remove the blemish.

28. Persons who sanctify the company are, any one who knows the six *Ângas*, who sings the *Gyeshtha-sâmans*, who knows the three texts regarding the *Nâkiketa*-fire, who knows the text which contains thrice the word *Madhu*, who knows the text which thrice contains the word *Suparna*, who keeps five fires, a *Snâtaka*, any one who knows the *Mantras* and *Brâhmanas*, who knows the sacred law, and in whose family the study and teaching of the *Veda* are hereditary.

29. (The same rule applies) to sacrifices offered to gods and men.

30. Some (forbid the invitation of) bald men and the rest to a funeral repast only.

CHAPTER XVI.

1. The annual (term for studying the *Veda*) begins on the full moon of the month *Srâvana* (July-August); or let him perform the *Upâkarman* on

24. Âpastamba II, 7, 17, 20.

28. Âpastamba II, 7, 17, 22.

29-30. Manu III, 132-137, 148-149.

XVI. 1. Âpastamba I, 3, 9, 1. The *Upâkarman* is the ceremony which is annually performed at the beginning of the course of study, and it is obligatory on householders also; see Âpastamba II, 2, 5, 1. *Khandâmsi*, 'the Vedic texts,' i.e. the *Mantras* and *Brâhmanas*. The *Ângas* may be studied out of term; see Âpastamba I, 3, 9, 3 note.

(the full moon of) Bhâdrapada (August–September) and study the Vedic texts,

2. During four months and a half, or during five months, or as long as the sun moves towards the south.

3. Let him remain chaste, let him not shave, nor eat flesh (during that period);

4. Or (this) restrictive rule may (be observed) during two months.

5. He shall not recite the Veda, if the wind whirls up the dust in the day-time,

6. Nor if it is audible at night,

7. Nor if the sound of a Vâna, of a large or a small drum, the noise of a chariot, and the wail of a person in pain (are heard),

8. Nor if the barking of many dogs and jackals, or the braying of many donkeys (is heard),

9. Nor if (the sky appears flaming) red, a rainbow (is seen), or hoar-frost (lies on the ground),

10. Nor if clouds rise out of season.

11. (Let him not study) when he feels the necessity to void urine or excrements,

12. Nor at midnight, in the twilight, and (while standing) in the water,

13. Nor while rain falls.

2. Âpastamba I, 3, 9, 2-3.

3. This Sûtra and the following one refer to a teacher or to a householder who again goes through the Veda; see Âpastamba II, 2, 5, 15, 16.

5-6. Âpastamba I, 3, 11, 8.

7-8. Âpastamba I, 3, 10, 19. A Vâna is stated to be a kind of lute, or harp, with a hundred strings.

9. Âpastamba I, 3, 11, 25, 31.

10. Âpastamba I, 3, 11, 31.

11. Manu IV, 109.

12. Âpastamba I, 3, 11, 15, 17; Manu IV, 109.

13. Manu IV, 103.

14. Some-(declare, that the recitation of the Veda must be interrupted only) when (the rain) is dripping from the edge of the roof.

15. (Nor shall he study) when the teachers (of the gods and Âsuras, i.e. the planets Jupiter and Venus) are surrounded by a halo,

16. Nor (when this happens) to the two (great) lights (the sun and the moon),

17. (Nor) while he is in fear, riding in a carriage or on beasts of burden, or lying down, nor while his feet are raised,

18. (Nor) in a burial-ground, at the extremity of a village, on a high-road, nor during impurity,

19. Nor while a foul smell (is perceptible), while a corpse or a *Kandâla* (is) in (the village), nor in the neighbourhood of a *Sûdra*,

20. Nor while (he suffers from) sour eructations.

21. The *Rig*-veda and the *Yagur*-veda (shall not be studied) while the sound of the *Sâmans* (is heard).

22. The fall of a thunderbolt, an earthquake, an eclipse, and (the fall of) meteors (are reasons for discontinuing the reading of the Veda) until the same time (next day),

23. Likewise when it thunders and rains and

15. 'Another (commentator says): "*Pariveshana*, being surrounded by a halo, means bringing food." . . . (The *Sûtra* means, therefore), He shall not study while his teacher eats.'—Haradatta.

16. Âpastamba I, 3, 11, 31.

17. Âpastamba I, 3, 9, 27; I, 3, 11, 12; *Manu* IV, 112; *Yâgñavalkya* I, 150.

18. Âpastamba I, 3, 9, 4, 6; I, 3, 10, 2, 4; I, 3, 11, 9.

19. Âpastamba I, 3, 10, 24; I, 3, 9, 6, 14-15.

20. Âpastamba I, 3, 10, 25.

21. Âpastamba I, 3, 10, 19.

22. Âpastamba I, 3, 11, 30.

23. Âpastamba I, 3, 11, 29; *Manu* IV, 29.

when lightning (flashes out of season) after the fires have become visible (in the twilight).

24. (If these phenomena appear) during the (rainy) season, (the reading must be interrupted) for a day (or a night),

25. And if lightning (is observed) during the night, (the recitation of the Veda shall be interrupted) until the third watch.

26. If (lightning) flashes during the third part of the day or later, (the Veda must not be read) during the entire (following night).

27. (According to the opinion) of some, a fiery meteor (has the same effect) as lightning,

28. Likewise thunder (which is heard) during the last part of the day,

29. (Or) also in the twilight.

24. Âpastamba I, 3, 9, 22. The above translation follows the reading of my MSS., which differ very much from Professor Stenzler's edition. According to them the commentary on the latter part of Sûtra 23 and on Sûtra 24 runs as follows: . . . pratyekam âkâlikâ anadhyâyahetavaḥ | apartâv idam | rîtvâ âha ||

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Varshartâv ete yadi bhaveyuḥ sandhyâyâm tadaharmâtram anâdhyâyâḥ | prâtaskêḥ | sâyam tu râtrâv anadhyâyâ ityarthasiddhatvâd anuktaṃ || . . . 'are each reasons for discontinuing the recitation until the same time next day. This (rule) refers to other times than the rainy season. He now declares (the rule) for the rainy season:

24. "During the (rainy) season for a day."

'If these (phenomena) happen in the twilight during the rainy season, the interruption of the study lasts for that day only, provided (they happen) in the morning. But if they happen in the evening, study is forbidden during the night. As this is clear from the context, it has not been declared specially.'—Haradatta. I suspect that Professor Stenzler's reading apartau is a correction, made by an ingenious Pandit, of an old varia lectio 'ahartau' for aha rîtau, which is found in one of my MSS. (C) also.

25. Âpastamba I, 3, 9, 21.

30. (If thunder is heard) before midnight, (the study of the Veda must be interrupted) during the whole night.

31. (If it is heard) during the (early part of the) day, (the interruption must continue) as long as the sun shines,

32. Likewise if the king of the country has died.

33. If one (pupil) has gone on a journey (and) another (stays) with (the teacher, the study of the Veda shall be interrupted until the absentee returns).

34. When an attack (is made on the village), or a fire (breaks out), when one Veda has been completed, after (an attack of) vomiting, when he has partaken of a funeral repast or of a dinner on the occasion of a sacrifice offered to men, (the study of the Veda shall be interrupted) for a day and a night,

35. Likewise on the day of the new moon.

36. (On the latter occasion it may also be interrupted) for two days.

37. (The Veda shall not be studied for a day and a night) on the full moon days of the months Kârttika, Phâlguna, and Âshâdha.

30. Âpastamba I, 3, 9, 23.

33. Âpastamba I, 3, 11, 11. Haradatta adds that others enjoin a stoppage of the Veda-study from the hour of the departure until the same hour on the following day, while another commentator gives the following explanation: 'All, indeed, the teacher and the rest, shall, on that day, not even recite the Veda in order to remember it.'

34. Âpastamba I, 3, 9, 25; I, 3, 10, 22, 28-30; I, 3, 11, 6, 30; Manu IV, 118. Haradatta is in doubt whether 'a sacrifice offered in honour of men' means a Samskâra, or a sacrifice to gods, like Kumâra, who formerly were men; see Âpastamba I, 3, 11, 3.

36. Âpastamba I, 3, 9, 28.

37. Âpastamba I, 3, 10, 1.

38. On the three Ashvakâs (the Veda shall not be studied) for three (days and) nights.

39. Some (declare, that the rule applies) to the last Ashvakâ (only).

40. (On the occasion of) the annual (Upâkarman and Utsarga the reading shall be interrupted) on the day (of the ceremony) and those preceding and following it.

41. All (teachers declare, that the reading shall be interrupted for three days) when rain, thunder, and lightning (are observed) simultaneously,

42. When the rain is very heavy, (the reading shall be interrupted as long as it lasts).

43. On a festive day (the reading shall be stopped) after the (morning) meal,

44. And he who has begun to study (after the Upâkarman shall not read) at night for four Muhûrtas.

45. Some (declare, that the recitation of the Veda is) always (forbidden) in a town.

46. While he is impure (he shall) not even (recite the Veda) mentally.

38. Âpastamba I, 3, 10, 2. Regarding the meaning of the word Ashvakâ, see above, VIII, 18 note.

40. Âpastamba I, 3, 10, 2.

41. Âpastamba I, 3, 11, 27.

42. Âpastamba I, 3, 11, 28.

43. Haradatta explains 'a festive day' to mean the day of the initiation and the like, but see Âpastamba I, 3, 11, 20.

44. Haradatta explains this Sûtra as equivalent to Âpastamba I, 3, 9, 1. He adds that another commentator reads prâdhîtasya ka as a separate Sûtra, interpreting it to mean, 'And a person who has performed the Upâkarman (shall not study after dinner),' and refers the words 'at night for four Muhûrtas' to the prohibition to read on the evening of the thirteenth day of the dark half of the month.

45. Manu IV, 116.

46. Âpastamba I, 3, 11, 25.

47. (The study) of those who offer a funeral sacrifice (must be interrupted) until the same time next day,

48. Even if uncooked grain is offered at the funeral sacrifice.

49. And (those rules regarding the stoppage of the reading must be observed), which they teach in the several schools.

CHAPTER XVII.

1. A Brāhmaṇa may eat the food given by twice-born men, who are praised for (the faithful performance of their) duties,

2. And he may accept (other gifts from them).

3. Fire-wood, water, grass, roots, fruits, honey, (a promise of) safety, food brought unsolicited, a couch, a seat, shelter, a carriage, milk, sour milk, (roasted) grain, small fish, millet, a garland, venison, and vegetables, (spontaneously offered by a man) of any (caste) must not be refused,

4. Nor anything else that may be required for providing for (the worship of the) Manes and gods, for Gurus and dependents.

5. If the means for sustaining life cannot (be procured) otherwise, (they may be accepted) from a Sūdra.

6. A herdsman, a husbandman, an acquaintance

47. Âpastamba ibidem.

49. Âpastamba I, 3, 11, 38.

XVII. 1. Âpastamba I, 6, 18, 13.

3. Âpastamba I, 6, 18, 1; I, 6, 19, 13; Manu IV, 247-250.

4. Manu IV, 251. Gurus, i.e. parents and other venerable persons.

5. Âpastamba I, 6, 18, 14.

6. Manu IV, 253; Yāgyavalkya I, 166.

of the family, a barber, and a servant are persons whose food may be eaten,

7. And a trader, who is not (at the same time) an artisan.

8. (A householder) shall not eat every day (the food of strangers).

9. Food into which a hair or an insect has fallen (must not be eaten),

10. (Nor) what has been touched by a woman during her courses, by a black bird, or with the foot,

11. (Nor) what has been looked at by the murderer of a learned Brâhmaṇa,

12. (Nor) what has been smelt at by a cow,

13. (Nor) what is naturally bad,

14. Nor (food) that (has turned) sour by itself, excepting sour milk,

15. (Nor) what has been cooked twice,

16. (Nor) what (has become) stale (by being

7. E.g. a man who sells pots, but does not make them.

8. Manu III, 104; Yâgñavalkya I, 112.

9. Âpastamba I, 5, 16, 23, 26.

10. Âpastamba I, 5, 16, 27, 30. Haradatta explains 'a black bird' by 'a crow,' and no doubt the crow, as the *Kândâla* among birds, is intended in the first instance.

11. Manu IV, 208; Yâgñavalkya I, 167.

12. Manu IV, 209; Yâgñavalkya I, 168.

13. 'What has been given in a contemptuous manner by the host, or what is not pleasing to the eater, that is called bhâva-dusha, "naturally bad."'—Haradatta. The second seems to be the right explanation, as food falling under the first is mentioned below, Sûtra 21.

14. Âpastamba I, 5, 17, 18, 20.

15. Haradatta states that this rule does not refer to dishes the preparation of which requires a double cooking, but to those which ordinarily are cooked once only.

16. Âpastamba I, 5, 17, 17. Haradatta says that food prepared

kept), except vegetables, food that requires mastication, fatty and oily substances, meat and honey.

17. (Food given) by a person who has been cast off (by his parents), by a woman of bad character, an Abhisasta, a hermaphrodite, a police-officer, a carpenter, a miser, a jailer, a surgeon, one who hunts without using the bow, a man who eats the leavings (of others), by a multitude (of men), and by an enemy (must not be eaten),

18. Nor what is given by such men who defile the company at a funeral dinner, as have been enumerated before bald men;

19. (A dinner) which is prepared for no (holy) purpose or where (the guests) sip water or rise against the rule,

20. Or where (one's) equals are honoured in a different manner, and persons who are not (one's)

for the morning meal and kept until supper is also called paryushita, 'stale.'

17. For this and the following Sûtras, see Âpastamba I, 6, 18, 16—I, 6, 19, 1; Manu IV, 205-217; Yâgñavalkya I, 161-165. An Abhisasta is a person who is wrongly or falsely accused of a heinous crime, see Âpastamba I, 9, 24, 6-9. Haradatta adduces the explanation 'hermaphrodite' for anapadesya as the opinion of others. He himself thinks that it means 'a person not worthy to be described or named.' 'One who hunts without using the bow' is a poacher who snares animals. Snaring animals is a favourite occupation of the non-Aryan tribes, such as Vâghrîs, Bhîls, and Kolis.

18. See above, XV, 15-18, where 'bald men' occupy the fourteenth place in Sûtra 18.

19. Âpastamba I, 5, 17, 3; Manu IV, 212. That is called 'food (prepared) for no (sacred) purpose' which a man cooks only for himself, not for guests and the rest, see Âpastamba II, 4, 8, 4; Manu V, 7.

20. Âpastamba I, 5, 17, 2.

equals are honoured in the same manner (as oneself, must not be eaten),

21. Nor (food that is given) in a disrespectful manner.

22. And the milk which a cow gives during the first ten days after calving (must not be drunk),

23. Nor (that) of goats and buffalo-cows (under the same conditions).

24. (The milk) of sheep, camels, and of one-hoofed animals must not be drunk under any circumstances,

25. Nor (that) of animals from whose udders the milk flows spontaneously, of those that bring forth twins, and of those giving milk while big with young,

26. Nor the milk of a cow whose calf is dead or separated from her.

27. And five-toed animals (must) not (be eaten) excepting the hedgehog, the hare, the porcupine, the iguana, the rhinoceros, and the tortoise,

28. Nor animals which have a double row of teeth, those which are covered with an excessive quantity of hair, those which have no hair, one-hoofed animals, sparrows, the (heron called) Plava, Brahmanî ducks, and swans,

21. Âpastamba I, 5, 17, 4.

22-23. Âpastamba I, 5, 17, 24.

24. Âpastamba I, 5, 17, 23.

25. Âpastamba I, 5, 17, 23.

26. Manu V, 8; Yâgñavalkya I, 170.

27. Âpastamba I, 5, 17, 37.

28. Âpastamba I, 5, 17, 29, 33, 35. Haradatta gives as an example of 'animals covered with an excessive quantity of hair' the Yak or Bos grunniens, and of 'those that have no hair' snakes and the like.

29. (Nor) crows, herons, vultures, and falcons, (birds) born in the water, (birds) with red feet and beaks, tame cocks and pigs,

30. (Nor) milch-cows and draught-oxen,

31. Nor the flesh of animals whose milk-teeth have not fallen out, which are diseased, nor the meat of those (which have been killed) for no (sacred) purpose,

32. Nor young sprouts, mushrooms, garlic, and substances exuding (from trees),

33. Nor red (juices) which issue from incisions.

34. Woodpeckers, egrets, ibis, parrots, cormorants, peewits, and flying foxes, (as well as birds) flying at night, (ought not to be eaten).

35. Birds that feed striking with their beaks, or scratching with their feet, and are not web-footed may be eaten,

36. And fishes that are not misshapen,

29. Âpastamba I, 5, 17, 29, 32, 34, 35; Yâgñavalkya I, 173.

30. Âpastamba I, 5, 17, 29-30.

31. Aitareya-brâhmana VII, 14. For the explanation of *vrithâ-mâmsa*, 'the flesh (of animals killed) for no (sacred) purpose,' Haradatta refers back to Sûtra 19, but see also the Petersburg Dict. s. v. *vrithâ*.

32. Âpastamba I, 5, 17, 26, 28; Manu V, 5, 6, 19.

34. Manu V, 12; Yâgñavalkya I, 173. Haradatta explains *mândhâla* by *vâgvada*, which seems to be the same as the bird *vâgguda* (Manu XII, 64). *Mândhâla* is not found in our dictionaries, but it apparently is a vicarious form for *mânthâla*, which occurs in the *Vâgasaneyi-samhitâ*, and is said to be the name of a kind of mouse or rat. It seems to me that the large herbivorous bat, usually called the flying fox (in Gugarâtî *vâgud* or *vâgul*) is really meant, which, by an inaccurate observer, might be described both as a bird and as a kind of rat. See also Vasishtha XIV, 48.

35. Âpastamba I, 5, 17, 32-33.

36. Âpastamba I, 5, 17, 38-39.

37. And (animals) that must be slain for (the fulfilment of) the sacred law.

38. Let him eat (the flesh of animals) killed by beasts of prey, after having washed it, if no blemish is visible, and if it is declared to be fit for use by the word (of a Brâhmaṇa).

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. A wife is not independent with respect to (the fulfilment of) the sacred law.

2. Let her not violate her duty towards her husband.

3. Let her restrain her tongue, eyes, and (organs of) action.

4. A woman whose husband is dead and who desires offspring (may bear a son) to her brother-in-law.

37. I.e. animals offered at Srâddhas and Srauta-sacrifices, though under other circumstances forbidden, may be eaten both by the priests and other Brâhmaṇas.

38. Haradatta takes vyâla, 'beasts of prey,' to mean sporting dogs, which no doubt are also intended.

XVIII. 1. Manu V, 155. This Sûtra refers in the first instance to the inability of wives to offer on their own account Srauta or Grihya-sacrifices, or to perform vows and religious ceremonies prescribed in the Purâṇas, without the permission of their husbands. As the word strî means both wife and woman, its ulterior meaning is, that women in general are never independent; see Manu V, 148; IX, 3; Yâgñavalkya I, 85.

2. Âpastamba II, 10, 27, 6; Manu IX, 102.

3. Manu V, 166; Yâgñavalkya I, 87.

4. Âpastamba II, 10, 27, 2-3; Manu IX, 59-60; Yâgñavalkya I, 68. Apati, 'she whose husband is dead,' means literally, 'she who has no husband.' But as the case of a woman whose husband has gone abroad, is discussed below, it follows that the former translation alone is admissible. It must, of course, be understood that the widow has no children.

5. Let her obtain the permission of her Gurus, and let her have intercourse during the proper season only.

6. (On failure of a brother-in-law she may obtain offspring) by (cohabiting with) a *Sapinda*, a *Sagotra*, a *Samānapravara*, or one who belongs to the same caste.

7. Some (declare, that she shall cohabit) with nobody but a brother-in-law.

8. (She shall) not (bear) more than two (sons).

9. The child belongs to him who begat it,

10. Except if an agreement (to the contrary has been made).

11. (And the child begotten at) a living husband's (request) on his wife (belongs to the husband).

12. (But if it was begotten) by a stranger (it belongs) to the latter,

13. Or to both (the natural father and the husband of the mother).

14. But being reared by the husband, (it belongs to him.)

5. The Gurus are here the husband's relatives, under whose protection the widow lives.

6. Regarding the term *Sapinda*, see above, XIV, 13; a *Sagotra* is a relative bearing the same family name (*laukika gotra*) removed seven to thirteen degrees, or still further. A *Samānapravara* is one who is descended from the same *Rishi* (*vaidika gotra*).

8. Colebrooke V, Digest 265. Haradatta explains *atidvitiya*, 'not more than two (sons)', to mean 'not more than one son' (*prathamam apatyam atitya dvitīyam na ganayed iti*). But see Manu IX, 61.

9. *Āpastamba* II, 6, 13, 6-7.

10. Manu IX, 52.

11. Manu IX, 145. Such a son is called *Kshetrāga*, see below, XXVIII, 32.

12. Manu IX, 144.

13. *Yâgñavalkya* II, 127. Such a son is called *dvipitri* or *dvyāmushyâyāṇa*.

15. (A wife must) wait for six years, if her husband has disappeared. If he is heard of, she shall go to him.

16. But if (the husband) has renounced domestic life, (his wife must refrain) from intercourse (with other men).

17. (The wife) of a Brâhmana (who has gone to a foreign country) for the purpose of studying (must wait) twelve years.

18. And in like manner if an elder brother (has gone to a foreign country) his younger brother (must wait twelve years) before he takes a wife or kindles the domestic fire.

19. Some (declare, that he shall wait) six years.

20. A (marriageable) maiden (who is not given in marriage) shall allow three monthly periods to pass, and afterwards unite herself, of her own will, to a blameless man, giving up the ornaments received from her father (or her family).

21. A girl should be given in marriage before (she attains the age of) puberty.

22. He who neglects it, commits sin.

15. Manu IX, 76. 'When the husband has disappeared, i.e. has gone to a foreign country, his wife, though childless, shall wait for six years. After (the lapse of) that (period) she may, if she desires it, produce a child (by cohabiting with a *Sapinda*), after having been authorised thereto by her Gurus. If the husband is heard of, i.e. that he dwells in such and such a country, she shall go to him.'—Haradatta. *Kshapana*, 'waiting,' is ambiguous, and may also mean being continent or emaciating herself.

17. I.e. before she goes to live with a *Sapinda*, or tries to follow her husband, in case his residence is known.

20. Manu IX, 90-92; *Yâgñavalkya* I, 64.

21. Manu IX, 88.

22. Manu IX, 4; *Yâgñavalkya* I, 64. 'He who,' i.e. the father or guardian.

23. Some (declare, that a girl shall be given in marriage) before she wears clothes.

24. In order to defray the expenses of a wedding, and when engaged in a rite (enjoined by) the sacred law, he may take money (by fraud or force) from a Sûdra.

25. Or from a man rich in small cattle, who neglects his religious duties, though he does not belong to the Sûdra caste,

26. Or from the owner of a hundred cows, who does not kindle the sacred fire,

27. Or from the owner of a thousand cows, who does not drink Soma.

28. And when he has not eaten (at the time of six meals he may take) at the time of the seventh meal (as much as will sustain life), not (such a quantity as will serve) to make a hoard,

29. Even from men who do not neglect their duties.

30. If he is examined by the king (regarding his deed), he shall confess (it and his condition).

31. For if he possesses sacred learning and a good character, he must be maintained by the (king).

24. Manu XI, 11, 13. Haradatta explains dharmatantra, 'a rite prescribed by the sacred law,' here, as well as Sûtra 32, by 'the means,' i.e. a sacrificial animal and the like required by one who is engaged in performing a sacred duty, i.e. a Parubandha-sacrifice and the like.

25. Manu XI, 12.

26-27. Manu XI, 14.

28. Manu XI, 16; Yâgñavalkya III, 43.

30. Manu XI, 17; Yâgñavalkya III, 43-44.

31. Manu XI, 21-22. Haradatta adds that a Brâhmana who acts thus, must, of course, not be punished.

32. If the sacred law is violated and the (king) does not do (his duty), he commits sin.

CHAPTER XIX.

1. The law of castes and of orders has been declared.

2. Now, indeed, man (in) this (world) is polluted by a vile action, such as sacrificing for men unworthy to offer a sacrifice, eating forbidden food, speaking what ought not to be spoken, neglecting what is prescribed, practising what is forbidden.

3. They are in doubt if he shall perform a penance for such (a deed) or if he shall not do it.

4. (Some) declare, that he shall not do it,

32. Haradatta refers this Sûtra to the case where a sacrificial animal or other requisites for a sacrifice are stolen from a Brâhmaṇa. It seems, however, more probable that it refers to the duty of the king to prevent, by all means in his power, a violation of the sacred duty to perform Srauta-sacrifices, and that it is intended to prescribe that he is to assist a man who is engaged in them and too poor to finish them.

XIX. 1. Haradatta thinks that the object of this Sûtra is to assert that in the following chapter the laws given above for castes and orders must be kept in mind. Thus penances like offering a Punastoma are not intended for Sûdras, who have no business with Vedic rites, but other penances are. He also states that another commentator believes that the Sûtra is meant to indicate that the following rules refer not merely to those men who belong to castes and orders, but to the Pratilomas also, who have been declared to stand outside the pale of the sacred law. Haradatta's opinion appears to be preferable.

2. 'Ayam puruṣaḥ, "man (in) this (world)," indicates the universal soul which is dwelling in the body. Yâpya, "vile," i. e. despicable (kutsita).—Haradatta.

3. 'They, i. e. the theologians (brahmavâdinâḥ).—Haradatta.

5. Because the deed does not perish.
6. The most excellent (opinion is), that he shall perform (a penance).
7. For it is declared in the Veda, that he who has offered a Punastoma (may) again come to (partake of) the libations of Soma,
8. Likewise he who has offered a Vrâtyastoma.
9. (The Veda says) further: 'He who offers a horse-sacrifice, conquers all sin, he destroys the guilt of the murder of a Brâhmaṇa;
10. Moreover: 'He shall make an Abhisasta perform an Agnishṭut sacrifice.'
11. Reciting the Veda, austerity, a sacrifice, fasting, giving gifts are the means for expiating such a (blamable act).
12. The purificatory (texts are), the Upanishads, the Vedântas, the Samhitâ-text of all the Vedas, the (Anuvâkas called) Madhu, the (hymn of)

5. I.e. the guilt (adharma) contracted by the deed is not effaced before it has produced its result in the shape of punishment in hell and in other births, see also Manu XI, 45.

6. 'Apara, "most excellent," means that which nothing surpasses, i.e. the settled doctrine.'—Haradatta.

7. The Punastoma is one of the Srauta-sacrifices belonging to the class called Ekâha. Regarding its efficacy, see also Lâtyâyana Srauta-sûtra IX, 4, 5.

8. The Vrâtyastoma is another Ekâha-sacrifice. Regarding its efficacy, see Yâgñavalkya I, 38; Lâtyâyana Srauta-sûtra VIII, 6, 29.

9. Satapatha-brâhmaṇa XIII, 3, 1, 1.

10. The Agnishṭut is an Ekâha-sacrifice. Regarding its efficacy, see Manu XI, 75.

11. Manu XI, 46, 228; Âpastamba I, 9, 26, 12—I, 9, 27, 11.

12. 'Those parts of the Âranyakas which are not (Upanishads) are called Vedântas. In all the Vedas (*khandas*), i.e. in all Sâkhâs (pravaçana), the Samhitâ-text, not the Pada-text, nor the Krama-text. Another commentator says, "One Samhitâ is to be made

Aghamarshana, the Atharvasiras, the (Anuvâkas called the) Rudras, the Purusha-hymn, the two Sâmans (called) Râgana and Rauhinēya, the Brihat (Sâman) and the Rathantara, the Purushagati (Sâman), the Mahânâmnîs, the Mahâvairâga (Sâman), the Mahâdivâkirtya (Sâman), any of the Gyeshtha Sâmans, the Bahishpavamâna (Sâman), the Kûshmândas, the Pâvamânîs, and the Sâvitri.

13. To live on milk alone, to eat vegetables only, to eat fruits only, (to live on) barley-gruel prepared of a handful of grain, to eat gold, to eat clarified butter, and to drink Soma (are modes of living) which purify.

14. All mountains, all rivers, holy lakes, places of pilgrimage, the dwellings of Rîshis, cow-pens, and temples of the gods (are) places (which destroy sin).

with all the metres, i.e. the Gâyatrî and the rest, and to be recited according to the manner of the Prâtaranuvâka.”—Haradatta. According to the same authority, the Madhus are found Taittirîya Âranyaka X, 38, the hymn of Aghamarshana Rig-veda X, 190, the Rudras Taittirîya-saṃhitâ IV, 5, 1-11, and in the corresponding eleven chapters of all other Yagus-sâkhâs, the Purushasûkta Rig-veda X, 90, the Kûshmândas Taittirîya Âranyaka X, 3-5, the Pâvamânîs Rig-veda IX, while by Atharvasiras the Upanishad, known by that name, is meant. As regards the Sâmans mentioned in the Sûtra it suffices to refer to Professor Benfey's Index, Ind. Stud. III, 199, and to Dr. Burnell's Index of the Ârshēya-brâhmaṇa.

13. According to Haradatta the word *iti*, which appears in the text at the end of the enumeration, is intended to include other similar kinds of food, as ‘the five products of the cow.’ Eating gold means eating small particles of gold which have been thrown into clarified butter and the like.

14. The word *iti* used in the text is, according to Haradatta, again to be taken in the sense of ‘and so forth.’ The translation of *parishkanda*, ‘a temple,’ not *parishkandha*, as Professor Stenzler

15. Continencc, speaking the truth, bathing morning, noon, and evening, standing in wet clothes, sleeping on the ground, and fasting (are the various kinds of) austeritv.

16. Gold, a cow, a dress, a horse, land, sesamum, clarified butter, and food are the gifts (which destroy sin).

17. A year, six months, four (months), three (months), two (months), one (month), twenty-four days, twelve days, six days, three days, a day and a night are the periods (for penances).

18. These (acts) may be optionally performed when no (particular penance) has been prescribed,

19. (Viz.) for great sins difficult (penances), and for trivial faults easy ones.

20. The *Krikkhṛa* and the *Atikrikkhṛa*, (as well as) the *Kāndrāyana*, are penances for all (offences).

CHAPTER XX.

1. Let him cast off a father who assassinates a king, who sacrifices for *Sūdras*, who sacrifices for

reads, is based on Haradatta's explanation. Etymologically it seems to mean 'a place for circumambulation,' and to denote the platform on which the temples usually stand, and which is used for the *Pradakṣiṇa* ceremony.

15. The word *iti* in the text is explained as in the preceding *Sūtras*.

18. These (acts), i.e. the recitation of the *Veda* and so forth, which have been enumerated above, *Sūtras* 11-16.

20. Regarding these penances, see chapters XXVI and XXVII. Haradatta again takes the word *iti*, which occurs in the text, to include other difficult penances.

XX. 1. Haradatta remarks that the father is mentioned here, in order to indicate that other less venerable relatives must certainly

his own sake (accepting) money from Sûdras, who divulges the Veda (to persons not authorised to study it), who kills a learned Brâhmana, who dwells with men of the lowest castes, or (cohabits) with a female of one of the lowest castes.

2. Having assembled the (sinner's) spiritual Gurus and the relatives by marriage, (the sons and other kinsmen) shall perform (for him) all the funeral rites, the first of which is the libation of water,

3. And (afterwards) they shall overturn his water-vessel (in the following manner):

4. A slave or a hired servant shall fetch an impure vessel from a dust-heap, fill it (with water taken) from the pot of a female slave and, his face turned towards the south, upset it with his foot, pronouncing (the sinner's) name (and saying): 'I deprive N. N. of water.'

5. All (the kinsmen) shall touch him (the slave) passing their sacrificial cords over the right shoulder and under the left arm, and untying the locks on their heads.

6. The spiritual Gurus and the relatives by marriage shall look on.

7. Having bathed, they (all shall) enter the village.

8. He who afterwards unintentionally speaks to

also be abandoned. He also states that *bhrûnahan*, 'he who slays a learned Brâhmana,' includes sinners who have committed other mortal sins (*mahâpâtaka*), see XXI, 1.

2. Manu XI, 183-185; Yâgñavalkya III, 295. The spiritual Gurus, i.e. the teacher who initiated him (*âkârya*) and those who instructed him in the Veda (*upâdhyâya*).

8. Manu XI, 185.

the (outcast sinner) shall stand, during one night, reciting the Sāvitrī.

9. If he intentionally (converses with the outcast, he must perform the same penance) for three nights.

10. But if an (outcast sinner) is purified by (performing) a penance, (his kinsmen) shall, after he has become pure, fill a golden vessel (with water) from a very holy lake or a river, and make him bathe in water (taken) from that (vessel).

11. Then they shall give him that vessel and he, after taking it, shall mutter (the following Mantras): 'Cleansed is the sky, cleansed is the earth, cleansed and auspicious is the middle sphere; I here take that which is brilliant.'

12. Let him offer clarified butter, (reciting) these Yagus formulas, the Pāvamānīs, the Taratsamandīs, and the Kūshmāndas.

13. Let him present gold or a cow to a Brāhmaṇa,

14. And to his teacher.

15. But he, whose penance lasts for his (whole) lifetime, will be purified after death.

16. Let (his kinsmen) perform for him all the funeral rites, the first of which is the libation of water.

17. This same (ceremony of bathing in) water

10. Manu XI, 187-188; Yâgñavalkya III, 296.

11. As appears from Gobhila *Grihya-sūtra* III, 4, 16, the noun to be understood is apām *aṅgalih*, 'a handful of water.'

12. Haradatta refers the term Pāvamānīs here to Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa I, 4, 8. The Taratsamandīs are found Rig-veda IX, 58.

17. "Water (consecrated) for the sake of purification" means

consecrated for the sake of purification (must be performed) in the case of all minor offences (upapātakas).

CHAPTER XXI.

1. The murderer of a Brāhmaṇa, he who drinks spirituous liquor, the violator of a Guru's bed, he who has connection with the female relatives of his mother and of his father (within six degrees) or with sisters and their female offspring, he who steals (the gold of a Brāhmaṇa), an atheist, he who constantly repeats blamable acts, he who does not cast off persons guilty of a crime causing loss of caste, and he who forsakes blameless (relatives), become outcasts,

2. Likewise those who instigate others to acts causing loss of caste,

3. And he who for a (whole) year associates with outcasts.

4. To be an outcast means to be deprived of the right to follow the lawful occupations of twice-born men,

5. And to be deprived after death of the rewards of meritorious deeds.

water consecrated by the formulas, "Cleansed is the earth," &c.'—Haradatta.

XXI. 1. Āpastamba I, 7, 21, 7-9, 11; I, 9, 24, 6-9; Manu XI, 35; Yâgñavalkya III, 227. Guru, i.e. a father or spiritual teacher. The term yonisambandha, 'sisters and their female offspring,' seems to be used here in a sense different from that which it has III, 3; XIV, 20; and XIX, 20. It may possibly include also daughters-in-law.

2. Āpastamba II, 11, 29, 1.

3. Manu IX, 181; Yâgñavalkya III, 261.

6. Some call (this condition) hell.

7. Manu (declares, that) the first three (crimes, named above) cannot be expiated.

8. Some (declare, that a man) does not become an outcast (by having connection) with female (relatives), except (when he violates) a Guru's bed.

9. A woman becomes an outcast by procuring abortion, by connection with a (man of) lower (caste) and (the like heinous crimes).

10. Giving false evidence, calumnies which will reach (the ears of) the king, an untrue accusation brought against a Guru (are acts) equal to mortal sins (mahâpâtaka).

11: (The guilt of a) minor offence (upapâtaka) rests on those who (have been declared to) defile the company (at a funeral dinner and have been named above) before the bald man, on killers of kine, those who forget the Veda, those who pronounce Vedic texts for the (last-mentioned sinners), students

7. Âpastamba I, 9, 24, 24-25; I, 9, 25, 1-3; Manu XI, 90-92, 104-105. The 'penances' prescribed are equal to a sentence of death.

8. Âpastamba I, 7, 21, 10.

9. Yâgñavalkya III, 298. 'On account of the word "and," by slaying a Brâhmana and similar crimes also. Another (commentator) says, "A woman who serves the slayer of a learned Brâhmana or a man of lower caste, i.e. becomes his wife, loses her caste. On account of the word 'and' the same happens in case she kills a Brâhmana or commits a similarly heinous crime. The slayer of a Brâhmana is mentioned in order to include (all) outcasts.'"—Haradatta.

10. Manu XI, 56-57; Yâgñavalkya III, 228-229.

11. Manu XI, 60-67; Yâgñavalkya III, 234-242; Âpastamba I, 7, 21, 12-17, 19. The persons who defile the company are enumerated above, XV, 16-18.

who break the vow of chastity, and those who allow the time for the initiation to pass.

12. An officiating priest must be forsaken, if he is ignorant (of the rules of the sacrifice), a teacher, if he does not impart instruction, and (both) if they commit crimes causing loss of caste.

13. He who forsakes (them) under any other circumstances, becomes an outcast.

14. Some declare, that he, also, who receives (a person who has unjustly forsaken his priest or teacher, becomes an outcast).

15. The mother and the father must not be treated improperly under any circumstances.

16. But (the sons) shall not take their property.

17. By accusing a Brâhmana of a crime (the accuser commits) a sin equal (to that of the accused).

18. If (the accused is) innocent, (the accuser's guilt is) twice (as great as that of the crime which he imputed to the other).

19. And he who, though able to rescue a weak man from injury, (does) not (do it, incurs as much guilt as he who injures the other).

20. He who in anger raises (his hand or a weapon)

12. Âpastamba I, 2, 4, 26; I, 2, 7, 26; I, 2, 8, 27. Haradatta asserts that, as the desertion of sinners has been prescribed above, XX, 1, the expression *patanîyasevâyâm* must here mean 'if they associate with outcasts.' The former rule refers, however, to blood relations only, and our Sûtra may be intended to extend it to spiritual relations.

15. Âpastamba I, 10, 28, 9-10. The meaning is that parents, though they have become outcasts, must be provided with the necessities of life.

16. Haradatta adds that their property goes to the king.

17. Âpastamba I, 7, 21, 20.

18. Yâgñavalkya III, 285.

20-21. Manu XI, 207; Yâgñavalkya III, 293. According to

against a Brâhmaṇa, will be banished from heaven for a hundred years.

21. If he strikes, (he will lose heaven) for a thousand (years).

22. If blood flows, (he will lose heaven) for a number of years equal to (that of the particles of) dust which the spilt (blood) binds together.

CHAPTER XXII.

1. (Now follows the description of the) penances.

2. He who has (intentionally) slain a Brâhmaṇa shall emaciate himself, and thrice throw himself into a fire,

3. Or he may become in battle a target for armed men,

4. Or, remaining chaste, he may, during twelve years, enter the village (only) for the purpose of begging, carrying the foot of a bedstead and a skull in his hand and proclaiming his deed.

5. If he meets an Ārya, he shall step out of the road.

Haradatta the word *asvargyam*, 'will be banished from or lose heaven,' may either mean that a hundred years' residence in heaven will be deducted from the rewards for his meritorious deeds, or that he will reside in hell for the period specified.

22. *Manu* XI, 208; *Yâgñavalkya* III, 293.

XXII. 1. The text of the *Sûtra* consists of the single word 'penance' in the singular, which, being the *adhikâra* or heading, must be taken with each of the following *Sûtras* down to the end of chapter XXIII.

2. *Manu* XI, 74.

3. *Āpastamba* I, 9, 25, 11.

4. *Āpastamba* I, 9, 24, 11-20. Haradatta says, 'the foot of a bedstead' (*khaṭvâṅga*) is known in the case of the *Pâsupatas*, and indicates thereby that he interprets the term to mean 'a club shaped like the foot of a bedstead,' which the *Pâsupatas* wear.

5. *Āpastamba* I, 9, 24, 13.

6. Standing by day, sitting at night, and bathing in the morning, at noon, and in the evening, he may be purified (after twelve years),

7. Or by saving the life of a Brâhmana,

8. Or if he is, at least, thrice vanquished in (trying to recover) the property (of a Brâhmana) stolen (by robbers),

9. Or by bathing (with the priests) at (the end of) a horse-sacrifice,

10. Or at (the end of) any other (Vedic) sacrifice, provided that an Agnish/ut (sacrifice) forms part of it.

11. (The same penances must be performed) even if he has attempted the life of a Brâhmana, but failed to kill him,

12. Likewise if he has killed a female (of the Brâhmana caste) who had bathed after temporary uncleanness,

13. Also for (destroying) the embryo of a Brâhmana, though (its sex) may be not distinguishable.

14. For (intentionally) killing a Kshatriya the normal vow of continence (must be kept) for six

6. Âpastamba I, 9, 25, 10.

7. Manu XI, 80; Yâgñavalkya III, 244-245.

8. Âpastamba I, 9, 25, 21.

9. Âpastamba I, 9, 25, 22.

10. Haradatta names the Pañkarâtra sacrifice as an instance of a Srauta yagña, of which an Agnish/ut forms part. He adds that another commentator explains the Sûtra to mean, 'or at any other sacrifice, provided that an Agnish/ut sacrifice be its final ceremony.' Regarding the Agnish/ut sacrifice, see also above, XIX, 10.

11. Yâgñavalkya III, 252.

12. Âpastamba I, 9, 24, 9; Manu XI, 88; Yâgñavalkya III, 251.

13. Âpastamba I, 9, 24, 8; Manu, Yâgñavalkya, loc. cit.

14. Âpastamba I, 9, 24, 1, 4. 'Prâkrîta (normal) means natural

years; and he shall give one thousand cows and one bull.

15. For (killing) a Vaisya (the same penance must be performed) during three years; and he shall give one hundred cows and one bull.

16. For (killing) a Sûdra (the same penance must be performed) during one year; and he shall give ten cows and one bull.

17. And the same (rule applies) if a female (has been killed) who was not in the condition (described in Sûtra 12).

18. (The penance for killing) a cow is the same as for (the murder of) a Vaisya,

19. And for injuring a frog, an ichneumon, a crow, a chameleon, a musk-rat, a mouse, and a dog,

20. And for killing one thousand (small animals) that have bones,

21. Also for (killing) an ox-load of (animals) that have no bones;

(svâbhâvika), i.e. not accompanied by the carrying of the foot of a bedstead and the rest.'—Haradatta.

15. Âpastamba I, 9, 24, 2, 4.

16. Âpastamba I, 9, 24, 3, 4.

17. Âpastamba I, 9, 24, 5; Yâgñavalkya III, 269. Haradatta says that this rule refers to the expiation of the murder of a virtuous Brâhmanî.

18. Âpastamba I, 9, 26, 1; Manu XI, 109-116; Yâgñavalkya III, 263. Haradatta thinks that the Sûtra refers to the cow of a virtuous Srottriya or of a poor Brâhmana who has many children.

19. Âpastamba I, 9, 25, 13. Haradatta explains dahara to mean a small mouse, but gives the meaning assigned to it in the translation as the opinion of others. He states that all the animals named must have been intentionally injured and together.

20. Manu XI, 142; Yâgñavalkya III, 275.

21. Âpastamba I, 9, 26, 2.

22. Or he may also give something for (the destruction of) each animal that has bones.

23. For (killing) a eunuch (he shall give) a load of straw and a māsha of lead ;

24. For (killing) a boar, a pot of clarified butter ;

25. For (killing) a snake, a bar of iron ;

26. For (killing) an unchaste woman, who is merely in name a Brāhmaṇī, a leather bag ;

27. (For killing a woman who subsists) by harlotry, nothing at all.

28. For preventing that (a Brāhmaṇa) obtains a wife, food, or money, (he must) in each case (remain chaste) during a year,

29. For adultery two years,

30. (For adultery with the wife) of a Srotriya three years.

31. And if he has received a present (from the woman), he shall throw it away,

32. Or restore it to the giver.

33. If he has employed Vedic texts for people (with whom such intercourse is) forbidden, (he shall remain chaste for a year), provided (the portion of the Veda thus employed) contained one thousand words.

22. Haradatta quotes a verse showing that 'something' means eight handfuls (mushā) of grain.

23. Manu XI, 134 ; Yāgñavalkya III, 273.

24. Manu XI, 135.

25. Manu XI, 34 ; Yāgñavalkya III, 273. Possibly *danda*, a bar, denotes here a particular measure, as a *danda* is said to be equal to four hastas or ninety-six aṅgulis.

26. Manu XI, 139.

29-30. Āpastamba II, 10, 27, 11.

33. Haradatta says that by the employment of Vedic texts, teaching or sacrificing is meant, but that others refer the Sūtra

34. And the same (penance must be performed) by him who extinguishes the (sacred) fires, who neglects the daily recitation of the Veda, or (who is guilty) of a minor offence (upapâtaka),

35. Also by a wife who violates her duty (to her husband): but, being guarded, she shall receive food.

36. For committing a bestial crime, excepting (the case of) a cow, (he shall offer) an oblation of clarified butter, (reciting) the Kûshmânda texts.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1. They shall pour hot spirituous liquor into the mouth of a Brâhmana who has drunk such liquor; he will be purified after death.

2. If he has drunk it unintentionally, (he shall drink) for three days hot milk, clarified butter, and water, and (inhale hot) air. That (penance is called the Tapta-)krikkhra. Afterwards he shall be again initiated.

3. And (the same penance must be performed) for swallowing urine, excrements, or semen,

to the performance of these acts in the company of, not for unworthy people.

35. Manu XI, 189; Yâgñavalkya III, 297.

36. Manu XI, 174. Regarding the Kûshmândas, see XIX, 12.

XXIII. 1. Âpastamba I, 9, 25, 3. Haradatta remarks that other twice-born men also must perform the same penance in case they drink liquor forbidden to them, see above, II, 20 note. He also states that the offence must have been committed intentionally and repeatedly in order to justify so severe an expiation. Regarding the effect of the purification after death, see above, XX, 16.

2-3. Manu XI, 151; Yâgñavalkya III, 255; see also Âpastamba I, 9, 25, 10.

4. And (for eating) any part of a carnivorous beast, of a camel or of an ass,

5. And of tame cocks or tame pigs.

6. If he smells the fume (exhaled) by a man who has drunk spirituous liquor, (he shall) thrice restrain his breath and eat clarified butter,

7. Also, if he has been bitten by (one of the animals mentioned) above (Sûtras 4-5).

8. He who has defiled the bed of his Guru shall extend himself on a heated iron bed,

9. Or he shall embrace the red-hot iron image of a woman.

10. Or he shall tear out his organ and testicles and, holding them in his hands, walk straight towards the south-west, until he falls down dead.

11. He will be purified after death.

12. (The guilt of him who has intercourse) with the wife of a friend, a sister, a female belonging to the same family, the wife of a pupil, a daughter-in-law, or with a cow, is as great as that of (him who violates his Guru's) bed.

13. Some (declare, that the guilt of such a sinner is equal to) that of a student who breaks the vow of chastity.

14. A woman who commits adultery with a man

4-5. Manu XI, 157.

6. Manu XI, 150.

7. Manu XI, 200; Yâgñavalkya III, 277.

8-10. Âpastamba I, 9, 25, 1-2. Haradatta asserts that Guru denotes here the father alone.

12. Manu XI, 171-172; Yâgñavalkya III, 232-233.

13. 'The penance also consists in the performance of the rites obligatory on an unchaste student (see Sûtras 17-19), and that for the violation of a Guru's bed need not be performed.'—Haradatta.

14. Manu VIII, 371.

of lower caste the king shall cause to be devoured by dogs in a public place.

15. He shall cause the adulterer to be killed (also).

16. (Or he shall punish him in the manner) which has been declared (above).

17. A student who has broken the vow of chastity shall offer an ass to Nirṛiti on a cross-road.

18. Putting on the skin of that (ass), with the hair turned outside, and holding a red (earthen) vessel in his hands, he shall beg in seven houses, proclaiming his deed.

19. He will be purified after a year.

20. For an involuntary discharge caused by fear or sickness, or happening during sleep, and if for seven days the fire-oblations and begging have been neglected, (a student) shall make an offering of clari-

15. Manu VIII, 372; Yāgñavalkya II, 286; Âpastamba II, 10, 27, 9. My best MSS. read *ghâtayet*, 'shall cause to be killed,' instead of Professor Stenzler's *khâdayet*, 'shall cause to be devoured.' C. has *khâdayet*, but its commentary, as well as that given in the other MSS., shows that *ghâtayet* is the correct reading. The text of the commentary runs as follows: *Anantaro ktavishaye gataḥ pumān rāgṇā ghâtayitvyo [khâdayitavyo C.] vadhaprakāras tñantaram eva vasishṭhā darsitaḥ*. The passages of Vasishṭha XXI, 1-3, which Haradatta has quoted in explanation of Sūtra 14, prescribe that the adulterer is to be burnt. Another objection to the reading *khâdayet* is that the word would be superfluous. If Gautama had intended to prescribe the same punishment for the adulterer as for the woman, he would simply have said *pumāmsam*.

16. Above, i. e. XII, 2, where the mutilation of the offender has been prescribed. See also Âpastamba II, 10, 26, 20.

17-19. Âpastamba I, 9, 26, 8-9.

20. Manu II, 181, 187; Yāgñavalkya III, 278, 281. The Retasyās are found Taittiriya Âraṇyaka I, 30.

fied butter or (place) two pieces of fuel (in the fire) reciting the two (verses called) Retasya.

21. Let him who was asleep when the sun rose remain standing during the day, continent and fasting, and him who was asleep when the sun set (remain in the same position) during the night, reciting the Gâyatrî.

22. He who has looked at an impure (person), shall look at the sun and restrain his breath (once).

23. Let him who has eaten forbidden food [or swallowed impure substances], (fast until) his entrails are empty.

24. (In order to attain that), he must entirely abstain from food at least for three (days and) nights.

25. Or (he becomes pure) after eating during seven (days and) nights fruits that have become detached spontaneously, avoiding (all other food).

26. (If he has eaten forbidden food mentioned above) before five-toed animals, he must throw it up and eat clarified butter.

27. For abuse, speaking an untruth, and doing injury, (he shall practise) austerities for no longer period than three (days and) nights.

21. Âpastamba II, 5, 12, 22; Manu II, 220.

22. Manu V, 86. 'An impure person, i. e. a *Kândâla* and the like. This rule refers to a student (who sees such a person) while he recites the Veda.'—Haradatta.

23-24. Âpastamba I, 9, 27, 3-4. My copies omit *amedhya-prâsane vâ*, or has swallowed impure substances, and the words are not required, as another penance has been prescribed for the case above, Sûtra 3. But see also *Sâmaavidhâna* I, 5, 13.

26. Manu XI, 161. The Sûtras referred to are XVII, 9-26.

27. Âpastamba I, 9, 26, 3. My copies read *trirâtraparamam* instead of *trirâtram paramam*. This reading, which seems pre-

28. If (the abuse) was merited, (he shall offer) burnt-oblations, reciting (the Mantras) addressed to Varuṇa and (the hymns) revealed by Manu.

29. Some (declare, that) an untruth (spoken) at the time of marriage, during dalliance, in jest or while (one suffers severe) pain is venial.

30. But (that is) certainly not (the case) when (the untruth) concerns a Guru.

31. For if he lies in his heart only to a Guru regarding small matters even, he destroys (himself), seven descendants, and seven ancestors.

32. For intercourse with a female (of one) of the lowest castes, he shall perform a *Krikkhra* penance during one year.

33. (For committing the same sin) undesignedly, (he shall perform the same penance) during twelve (days and) nights.

34. For connection with a woman during her courses, (he shall perform the same penance) for three (days and) nights.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1. A secret penance (must be performed) by him whose sin is not publicly known.

ferable, is also confirmed by the-commentary, where the words are explained, *trirâtraparatayâ pareṇa trirâtram*.

28. According to Haradatta the texts addressed to Varuṇa are *yatkim kēdam*, *Taitt. Samh.* III, 4, 11, 6; *imam me varuṇa, tattvâ yâmi*, *Taitt. Samh.* II, 1, 11, 6; and *ava te heḷo*, *Taitt. Samh.* I, 5, 11, 3. The hymns seen by Manu are *Rig-veda* VIII, 27-31.

29. Manu VII, 112.

32. *Āpastamba* I, 10, 28, 10-11. Regarding the *Krikkhra* penance, see below, chapter XXVI.

34. Manu XI, 174; *Yâgñavalkya* III, 288.

XXIV. 1. Manu XI, 248; *Yâgñavalkya* III, 301.

2. He who desires to accept or has accepted (a gift) which ought not to be accepted, shall recite the four *R̥k*-verses (IX, 58, 1-4), (beginning) *Tarat sa mandī*, (standing) in water.

3. He who desires to eat forbidden food, shall scatter earth (on it).

4. Some (declare, that) he who has connection with a woman during her courses becomes pure by bathing.

5. Some (declare, that this rule holds good) in the case of (one's own) wives (only).

6. The (secret) penance for killing a learned *Brāhmaṇa* (is as follows): Living during ten days on milk (alone) or (on food fit for offerings), during a second (period of ten days) on clarified butter, and during a third (period of ten days) on water, par-

2. *Manu* XI, 254. 'He who has accepted or desires to accept, i.e. because no other course is possible, (a present) offered by a man that is blamable on account of the caste of the giver or on account of his deeds, or (a present) that in itself is blamable, e.g. the skin of a black-buck and the like . . . in water, i.e. according to some, standing in water that reaches to his navel; according to others, entirely immersed in water.'—*Haradatta*.

3. *Manu* loc. cit. 'Forbidden food has been described above, XVII, 8, 9. If, being unable to act otherwise, he desires to eat that, he shall throw earth, i.e. a piece of earth, (into it) and then eat it.'—*Haradatta*.

4. *Haradatta* adds that he shall bathe, dressed in his garments.

5. *Haradatta* adds that another commentator reads *ekestrīshu*, i.e. eke *astrīshu*, and explains the *Sūtra* to mean, 'Some (declare the above rule to refer also) to a bestial crime.'

6. *Yāgyavalkya* III, 303. According to *Haradatta* the complete Mantras are as follows: *Lomānyātmano mukhe mṛīyorāsyeguhome svāhā, nakhānyā. m. m. ā. guhomi svāhā, &c.* This secret penance is apparently a milder form of that prescribed *Āpastamba* I, 9, 25, 12.

taking of (such food) once only each day, in the morning, and keeping his garments constantly wet, he shall (daily) offer (eight) oblations, (representing) the hair, the nails, the skin, the flesh, the blood, the sinews, the bones, (and) the marrow. The end of each (Mantra) shall be, 'I offer in the mouth of the Âtman (the Self), in the jaws of Death.'

7. Now another (penance for the murder of a Brâhmana will be described):

8. The rule (as to eating and so forth), which has been declared (above, Sûtra 6, must be observed),

9. (And) he shall offer clarified butter, reciting (the sacred text Rig-veda I, 189, 2), 'O fire, do thou ferry over,' the Mahâvyâhr̥itis, and the Kûshmândas;

10. Or, for the murder of a Brâhmana, for drinking spirituous liquor, for stealing (gold), and for the violation of a Guru's bed, he may perform that (same vow), tire himself by repeatedly stopping his breath, and recite (the hymn seen by) Aghamarshana. That is equal (in efficacy) to the final bath at a horse-sacrifice;

11. Or, repeating the Gâyatrî a thousand times, he, forsooth, purifies himself;

12. Or, thrice repeating (the hymn of) Aghamarshana while immersed in water, he is freed from all sins.

9. The Mahâvyâhr̥itis are, bhûh, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ. Regarding the Kûshmândas, see above, XIX, 12.

10. Manu XI, 260-261; Yâgñavalkya III, 302. The vow intended is that prescribed above, Sûtras 6, 8.

11. Âpastamba I, 9, 26, 14-I, 9, 27, 1. Haradatta remarks that the performer of the penance shall live on milk and stop his breath, repeatedly stopping his breath.

CHAPTER XXV.

1. Now they say : 'How many (gods) does a student enter who violates the vow of chastity?'

2. (And they answer) : 'His vital spirits (go to) the Maruts (winds), his strength to Indra, his eminence in sacred learning to *Bṛihaspati*, all the remaining parts to *Agni*.'

3. He kindles the fire in the night of the new moon, and offers, by way of penance, two oblations of clarified butter,

4. (Reciting these two sacred texts), 'Defiled by lust am I, defiled am I, oh Lust; to Lust *svâhâ*;' 'Injured by lust am I, injured am I, oh Lust; to Lust *svâhâ*.' (Next) he (silently) places one piece of sacred fuel (on the fire), sprinkles water round the fire, offers the *Yagñavâstu* (oblation), and approaching (the fire) worships it, thrice (reciting the text), 'May the waters sprinkle me.'

5. These worlds are three; in order to conquer

XXV. 1. For this and the following five *Sûtras*, see *Taittirîya Âranyaka* II, 18, 1 seq.

2. 'All the remaining parts, i.e. his sight and the other organs of sense, go to *Agni*. Thus a student who has broken the vow of chastity becomes short-lived, weak, destitute of eminence in sacred learning, and destitute of sight, and so forth. Therefore a penance must be performed.'—*Haradatta*. It must, of course, be understood that the penance prescribed here, is a 'secret penance.'

3. 'He, i.e. the unchaste student, shall kindle the fire in the night of the new moon, i.e. at midnight, in the manner declared in the *Grîhya-sûtra*.'—*Haradatta*.

4. *Haradatta* says that while sprinkling water the performer shall recite the texts 'Aditi, thou hast permitted,' see *Âpastamba* II, 2, 3, 17 note. The *Yagñavâstu* oblation, which follows after the *Svishṭakṛit* offering, is described *Gobhila Grîhya-sûtra* I, 8, 26-29.

these worlds, in order to gain mastership over these worlds, (this rite must be performed.)

6. According to some, the above (described) rite is a penance (for all hidden offences) in general, (and they say) regarding it, 'He who may be impure, as it were, shall offer burnt-oblations in this manner, and shall recite sacred texts in this manner; the fee (of the officiating priest shall be) whatever he may choose.'

7. He who has been guilty of cheating, of calumniating, of acting contrary to the rule of conduct, of eating or drinking things forbidden, of connection with a woman of the Śūdra caste, of an unnatural crime, and even of performing magic rites with intent (to harm his enemies), shall bathe and sprinkle himself with water, reciting the texts addressed to the Waters, or those addressed to Varuṇa, or other purificatory texts.

8. For offences committed by speaking or thinking of forbidden things, the five Vyâhr̥tis (must be recited).

9. Or for all (offences) he may sip water, (reciting) in the morning (the text), 'May the day and the sun purify me;' and in the evening, 'The night and Varuṇa.'

10. Or he may offer eight pieces of sacred fuel,

7. Âpastamba I, 9, 26, 7. The verses addressed to the Waters are, Rv. X, 9, 1-3 = Taitt. Samh. IV, 1, 5, 1, and Taitt. Samh. V, 6, 1. Regarding those addressed to Varuṇa, see above, XXIII, 28. As an instance of 'other purificatory texts' Haradatta quotes Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa I, 4, 8, 1.

8. Regarding the five Vyâhr̥tis, see above, I, 51.

10. Haradatta gives the following four Mantras: Devakṛita-syainasovayaganam asi svâhâ, 'thou art the expiation for sin com-

(reciting the texts beginning) 'Devakritasya.' By merely offering them he becomes free from all sin.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1. Now, therefore, we will describe three *Krik-khras* (or difficult penances).

2. (During three days) he shall eat at the morning-meal food fit for offerings, and fast in the evening.

3. Next, he shall eat (food fit for offerings), during another period of three days, in the evening (only).

4. Next, during another period of three days, he shall not ask anybody (for food).

5. Next, he shall fast during another period of three days.

6. He who desires (to be purified) quickly, shall stand during the day, and sit during the night.

mitted by the gods,' svâhâ *pitrikritasyainaso* . . . svâhâ, *manushyakritasyainaso* . . . svâhâ, *asmatkritasyainaso* . . . svâhâ. But see *Vâgasaneyi-samhitâ* VIII, 13, where eight Mantras are given, and below, XXVII, 7.

XXVI. 1. *Sâmaavidhâna* I, 2, 1; *Âpastamba* I, 9, 27, 7. Haradatta states that *atah*, 'therefore,' means 'because the *Krik-khras* cannot be performed if they have not been described,' while *Sâyana*, on the *Sâmaavidhâna*, asserts that it means 'because unpurified persons who are unable to offer sacrifices cannot gain heavenly bliss without performing austerities such as *Krik-khras*.' It is a remarkable fact that Haradatta does not seem to have been aware that the twenty-sixth chapter of Gautama is taken bodily from the *Sâmaavidhâna*.

2. *Sâmaavidhâna* I, 2, 2. 'Food fit for offerings, i.e. such as is not mixed with salt or pungent condiments.'

3-5. *Sâmaavidhâna* I, 2, 3.

6. *Sâmaavidhâna* I, 2, 4.

7. He shall speak the truth.

8. He shall not converse with anybody but Âryans.

9. He shall daily sing the two (Sâmans called) Raurava and Yaudhâgaya.

10. He shall bathe in the morning, at noon, and in the evening, reciting the three (verses which begin) 'For ye waters are,' and he shall dry himself reciting the eight purificatory (verses which begin) 'The golden-coloured.'

11. Next (he shall offer) libations of water.

12. Adoration to him who creates self-consciousness, who creates matter, who gives gifts, who destroys (sin), who performs penance, to Punarvasu, adoration.

Adoration to him who is worthy of (offerings)

7-11. Sâmavidhâna I, 2, 5. Âryans, i.e. Brâhmanas, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas. Regarding the Sâmans and Mantras, see notes to Burnell's edition of the Sâmavidhâna, and above, XXV, 7. Haradatta remarks that in the Taitt. Samh. (V, 6, 1) the Mantras beginning 'The golden-coloured' are ten in number, and adds that 'if in some other Sâkhâ eight are found, those must be taken.'

12. Sâmavidhâna I, 2, 5, where, however, only four Mantras are given instead of our thirteen. The epithets given to the deity in the Sâmavidhâna can all be referred to the Sun, provided he is identified with the universal soul, while in the above Sûtra, Rudra and Indra have been introduced. It cannot be doubtful that the Sâmavidhâna gives an older and more authentic form of the prayer. My translation of the epithets, which are found in the Sâmavidhâna also, follows Sâyana's gloss. Haradatta does not explain them. About Sobhya in the twelfth Mantra, which possibly might mean, 'he who dwells in a mirage, i.e. the Saṃsâra,' I feel doubtful. My MSS. read *somya*, and the Sâmavidhâna has *saumya* in the second Mantra. But I am unwilling to alter the word, as Professor Stenzler's reading may have been derived from a South-Indian MS., where *bhya* and *mya* do not resemble each other so much as in the Devanâgarî characters.

consisting of Muñga grass, who is worthy of (offerings of) water, who conquers wealth, to him who conquers the universe, adoration.

Adoration to him who gives success, who gives full success, who gives great success, to him who carries (all undertakings) to a successful issue, adoration.

Adoration to Rudra, the lord of cattle, the great god, the triocular, solitary, supreme lord Hari, to dread Sarva, to Îsâna who carries the thunderbolt, to the fierce wearer of matted locks, adoration.

Adoration to the Sun, to Aditi's offspring, adoration.

Adoration to him whose neck is blue, to him whose throat is dark-blue, adoration.

Adoration to the black one, to the brown one, adoration.

Adoration to Indra, the first-born, the best, the ancient, to chaste Harikesa, adoration.

Adoration to the truthful purifier, to fire-coloured Kâma, who changes his form at pleasure, adoration.

Adoration to the brilliant one, to him whose form is brilliant, adoration.

Adoration to the fierce one, to him whose form is fierce, adoration.

Adoration to Sobhya, the beautiful, the great male, the middle male, the highest male, to the student of the Veda, adoration.

Adoration to him who wears the moon on his forehead, to him whose garment is a skin, adoration.

13. The worship of Âditya (the sun) must be performed with the same (texts).

14. Offerings of clarified butter (must be made with the help of) the same (texts).

15. At the end of the period of twelve days he shall boil rice and make offerings to the following deities,

16. (Viz.) to Agni svâhâ, to Soma svâhâ, to Agni and Soma (conjointly), to Indra and Agni (conjointly), to Indra, to all the gods, to Brahman, to Pragâpati, (and) to Agni Svishtakrîṭ.

17. Afterwards (he must feed) Brâhmanas.

18. By the above (rules) the Atikrikkhṛa (or exceedingly difficult) penance has been explained.

19. (But when he performs that), he shall eat (only) as much as he can take at one (mouthful).

20. The third (Krikkhṛa) is that where water is the (only) food, and it is called Krikkhṛâtikrikkhṛa (or the most difficult penance).

21. He who has performed the first of these (three) becomes pure, sanctified, and worthy (to follow) the occupations (of his caste).

22. He who has performed the second is freed from all sins which he commits, excepting mortal sins (mahâpâtaka).

23. He who has performed the third, removes all guilt.

24. Now he who performs these three Krikkhṛas becomes perfect in all the Vedas, and known to all the gods;

25. Likewise he who knows this.

18. Sâmaavidhâna I, 2, 6.

19. Sâmaavidhâna I, 2, 7; Manu XI, 214; Yâgñavalkya III, 320.

20. Sâmaavidhâna I, 2, 8; Yâgñavalkya III, 321.

21-23. Sâmaavidhâna I, 2, 9.

24-25. Sâmaavidhâna I, 2, 10. Sarveshu vedeshu snâtaḥ, 'perfect

CHAPTER XXVII.

1. Now, therefore, the *Kândrâyana* (or lunar penance will be described).

2. The (general) rules prescribed for a *Krikkhra* (are applicable) to that.

3. (The hair must be) shaved, in case it (is performed as) a penance.

4. He shall fast on the day preceding the full moon.

5. And (he shall offer) libations (of water), oblations of clarified butter, consecrate the sacrificial viands, and worship the moon, reciting these (*rikas*), 'Increase' (Rig-veda I, 91, 17), 'May milk be joined with thee' (Rig-veda I, 91, 18, and) 'Ever new' (Rig-veda X, 85, 19).

6. He shall offer (clarified butter), reciting the four (*rikas* beginning) 'Yad devâ devahedaṇam,'

7. And at the end (of the offering of clarified

in all the Vedas,' means, literally, equal to a student who has bathed after completing the study of all the four Vedas.

XXVII. 2. The rules meant particularly are those given XXVI, 6-11.

3. 'He calls penance vrata.'—Haradatta.

5. 'The four religious acts, the first of which is the offering of libations, are to be performed with the help of the three sacred texts, the first of which begins "Increase." As the number (of the acts and of the verses) does not agree, the fire-oblations and the libations of water must be performed severally, each with one text, and the consecration (of the offerings) and the worship (of the moon must be performed with all of them) together.'—Haradatta.

6. 'He shall offer—as nothing is specified—clarified butter, with the first four *rikas* of the Anuvâka 'Yad devâ devahedaṇam.' Counting the three mentioned above (Sûtra 5), altogether seven oblations of clarified butter must be made.'—Haradatta.

7. 'On completion of the oblations of clarified butter, he

butter he shall offer) pieces of sacred fuel, reciting (the texts beginning) 'Devakṛitasya.'

8. Each mouthful of food must be consecrated by the mental recitations (of one) of the following (words): Om, bhûh, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ, austerity, truth, fame, prosperity, vigour, refreshment, strength, lustre, soul, law, Śiva.

9. Or (he may consecrate) all (of them at once, saying), Adoration svâhâ.

10. The size of a mouthful (shall be such) as not to cause a distortion of the mouth (in swallowing it).

11. The sacrificial viands are, boiled rice, food obtained by begging, ground barley, grain separated from the husk, barley-gruel, vegetables, milk, sour

shall offer pieces of sacred fuel, reciting the eight sacred texts, which begin "Devakṛitasya," and have been mentioned above (XXV, 10). The word "completion" (anta) is merely a confirmation of something established, because (the place of the offering) is already fixed by the place of the rule. But others explain the word "ante" to mean "at the end of the Kāndrâyana." The word "and" does not agree with their (opinion).—Haradatta.

8. Haradatta observes that on the days when the performer eats less than fifteen mouthfuls, the later mentioned texts must be left out, and that, while eating, the performer must employ the Prânâhuti Mantras (Āpastamba II, 1, 1, 2 note). He concludes by giving the following prayoga for the performance of the ceremony: 'He places all the food in his dish, and consecrates it by the texts "Increase," &c. Next he divides it into mouthfuls, and consecrates each successively with the word Om and the rest, and eats them, reciting the texts for the Prânâhutis.'

9. Haradatta states that either of the two words may be used in consecrating all the mouthfuls, but that others think, both should be used.

10. Yâgñavalkya III, 324.

11. The term 'sacrificial viands' denotes here, according to Haradatta, the food eaten by the performer, which, like that eaten by the performer of a *Kṛikkhṛa*, must be havishya, 'fit for an offering,'

milk, clarified butter, roots, fruits, and water ; (among these) each succeeding one is preferable (to those enumerated earlier).

12. He shall eat on the day of the full moon fifteen mouthfuls, and during the dark half (of the month) daily diminish his portion by one (mouthful).

13. He shall fast on the day of the new moon, and during the bright half (of the month) daily increase (his portion) by one (mouthful).

14. According to some (the order shall be) inverted.

15. That (is called) a month, occupied by the *Kândrâyana* penance.

16. He who has completed that, becomes free from sin and free from crime, and destroys all guilt.

17. He who has completed a second (month, living according to that rule), sanctifies himself, ten ancestors, and ten descendants, as well as (any) company (to which he may be invited) ;

18. And he who has lived for a year (according to that rule), dwells (after death) in the world of the moon.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1. After the father's death let the sons divide his estate,

see above, XXVI, 2. Haradatta adds that, as a *Gr̥hastha* must not beg, the food obtained by begging must have been collected by his pupils, and that liquid food must be used for the expiation of the more serious offences.

12. *Manu* XI, 217-218 ; *Yâgñavalkya* III, 324-325.

14. I.e. the performer may begin with the fast on the day of the new moon.

18. *Manu* XI, 221 ; *Yâgñavalkya* III, 327.

XXVIII. 1. Colebrooke, *Dâyabhâga* II, 4 ; *Mitâksharâ* I, 2, 7 ;

2. Or, during his lifetime, when the mother is past child-bearing, if he desires it,
3. Or the whole (estate may go) to the first-born ; (and) he shall support (the rest) as a father.
4. But in partition there is an increase of spiritual merit.
5. (The additional share) of the eldest (son consists of) a twentieth part (of the estate), a male and a female (of animals with one row of front teeth, such as cows), a carriage yoked with animals that have two rows of front teeth, (and) a bull.
6. (The additional share) of the middlemost (consists of) the one-eyed, old, hornless, and tailless animals, if there are several.

V, Digest 20; Mayūkha IV, 4, 3. Haradatta remarks that, according to Gautama, the sons alone shall divide the estate, and that the mother is not to receive a share, as other teachers, e.g. Yāgñavalkya II, 123, prescribe. Âpastamba II, 6, 13, 2; Manu IX, 104; Yāgñavalkya II, 117.

2. Colebrooke and Mayūkha loc. cit. 'Or the sons may divide the estate even during the lifetime of the father; when he desires it, i.e. by his permission. The time for such a (division is) when the mother is past child-bearing.'—Haradatta. The correctness of this interpretation of our Sûtra is corroborated by the exclusion of sons who have divided the family estate against the father's will (XV, 19) from the Srâddha dinner. Âpastamba II, 6, 14, 1.

3. Colebrooke, Dâyahâga III, 1, 15; Manu IX, 105.

4. Colebrooke, Dâyahâga III, 1, 14; V, Digest 47. After division each brother has to perform the Vaisvadeva and the other domestic ceremonies separately, while in a united family they are performed by the eldest brother. Thus a division of the family estate causes an increase of spiritual merit; see also Manu XI, 111.

5. Colebrooke, Dâyahâga II, 37; V, Digest 47; Manu IX, 112.

6. Colebrooke ll. cit. 'And that (additional share is given), if of the one-eyed and the rest there are several, i.e. if the others also get (some).'

7. (The additional share) of the youngest (consists of) the sheep, grain, the iron (utensils), a house, a cart yoked (with oxen), and one of each kind of (other) animals.

8. All the remaining (property shall be divided) equally.

9. Or let the eldest have two shares,

10. And the rest one each.

11. Or let them each take one kind of property, (selecting), according to seniority, what they desire,

12. Ten head of cattle.

13. (But) no (one brother shall) take (ten) one-hoofed beasts or (ten) slaves.

14. (If a man has several wives) the additional

7. Colebrooke ll. cit. 'Aviḥ (a sheep), i.e. an animal having a fleece. The singular number (is used to denote) the species, (and the explanation is), "As many sheep as there are." For (the possession of) one would follow already from the phrase, "And one of each kind of animals." Another (commentator says), "Though the father may possess one sheep only, still it belongs to the youngest, and the phrase 'one of each kind of animals' refers to the case when there are many." . . . This (additional share is that) belonging to the youngest. (If there are more than three sons) the others obtain the share of the middlemost.'—Haradatta.

8. Colebrooke ll. cit.

9. Colebrooke, *Dâyabhâga* II, 37 ; V, Digest 51. My best copy P. leaves out this *Sûtra* and the next. The others read *dvyamsi vâ pûrivagaḥ* (not *pûrivagasya*, as Professor Stenzler reads), and explain the former word as follows, '*dvâvamsau dvyamsam tadasyâstîti dvyamsi*.' Manu IX, 117.

10. Colebrooke ll. cit.

11. Colebrooke V, Digest 68.

12. Colebrooke loc. cit. The meaning appears to be that no brother is to select more than ten head of cattle.

13. Colebrooke V, Digest 69. 'But, as has been declared above (*Sûtra* 11), one of each kind only. In the case of the v. l. *dvipa-dânâm*, the word *pada* (step) is used in the sense of the word *pâda* (foot).—Haradatta.

14. Colebrooke V, Digest 58 ; Manu IX, 123.

share of the eldest son is one bull (in case he be born of a later-married wife) ;

15. (But the eldest son) being born of the first-married wife (shall have) fifteen cows and one bull ;

16. Or (let the eldest son) who is born of a later-married wife (share the estate) equally with his younger (brethren born of the first-married wife).

17. Or let the special shares (be adjusted) in each class (of sons) according to their mothers.

18. A father who has no (male) issue may appoint his daughter (to raise up a son for him), presenting burnt offerings to Agni (fire) and to Pragâpati (the lord of creatures), and addressing (the bridegroom with these words), 'For me be (thy male) offspring.'

19. Some declare, that (a daughter becomes) an appointed daughter solely by the intention (of the father).

20. Through fear of that (a man) should not marry a girl who has no brothers.

21. Sapindas (blood relations within six degrees), Sagotras (relations bearing a common family name), (or) those connected by descent from the same *Rishi*

15. Colebrooke loc. cit.; Manu IX, 124.

16. Colebrooke loc. cit.

17. Colebrooke V, Digest 59. 'After having divided the estate into as many portions as there are wives who possess sons, and having united as many shares as there are sons (of each mother), let the eldest in each class (of uterine brothers) receive the additional share of one-twentieth and so forth.'—Haradatta.

18–19. Colebrooke V, Digest 225; Manu IX, 130–140.

20. Manu III, 11; Yâgyavalkya I, 53.

21. Colebrooke, Dâyahâga XI, 6, 25; Mitâksharâ II, 1, 18; V, Digest 440. My copies as well as *Gîmûtavâhana* and *Vigñânesvara* read in the text *strî vâ*, 'or the wife,' instead of *strî ka*,

(vaidika gotra), and the wife shall share (the estate) of a person deceased without (male) issue (or an appointed daughter).

22. Or (the widow) may seek to raise up offspring (to her deceased husband).

23. (A son) begotten on a (widow) whose husband's brother lives, by another (relative), is excluded from inheritance.

24. A woman's separate property (goes) to her unmarried daughters, and (on failure of such) to poor (married daughters).

25. The sister's fee belongs to her uterine brothers, if her mother be dead.

26. Some (declare, that it belongs to them) even while the mother lives.

27. The heritage of not reunited (brothers) de-

‘and the wife.’ Still the latter seems to be the reading recognised by Haradatta, as he says, ‘But the wife is joined together (samukṣīyate) with all the Sagotras and the rest. When the Sagotras and the rest inherit, then the wife shall inherit one share with them,’ &c. Āpastamba II, 6, 14, 2; Manu IX, 187; Yâgñavalkya II, 135-136.

22. Colebrooke, Mitāksharâ II, 1, 8, where this Sûtra has, however, been combined with the preceding. See also above, XVIII, 4-8; Manu IX, 145-146, 190.

23. Colebrooke V, Digest 341; Manu IX, 144.

24. Colebrooke, Dâyahhâga IV, 2, 13; Mitāksharâ I, 3, 11; II, 2, 4; V, Digest 490; Mayûkha IV, 8, 12. See also Manu IX, 192; Yâgñavalkya II, 145.

25. Colebrooke, Dâyahhâga IV, 3, 27; V, Digest 511; Mayûkha IV, 10, 32. ‘The fee, i.e. the money which at an Âsura, or an Ârsha wedding, the father has taken for giving the sister away. That goes after his (the father's) death to the uterine brothers of that sister; and that (happens) after the mother's death. But if the mother is alive (it goes) to her.’—Haradatta.

26. Colebrooke V, Digest 511.

27. Colebrooke V, Digest 424. ‘The word “eldest” is used

ceased (without male issue goes) to the eldest (brother).

28. If a reunited coparcener dies (without male issue) his reunited coparcener takes the heritage.

29. A son born after partition takes exclusively (the wealth) of his father.

30. What a learned (coparcener) has acquired by his own efforts, he may (at his pleasure) withhold from his unlearned (coparceners).

31. Unlearned (coparceners) shall divide (their acquisitions) equally.

32. A legitimate son, a son begotten on the wife (by a kinsman), an adopted son, a son made, a son born secretly, and a son abandoned (by his natural parents) inherit the estate (of their fathers).

33. The son of an unmarried damsel, the son of a pregnant bride, the son of a twice-married woman, the son of an appointed daughter, a son self-given, and a son bought belong to the family (of their fathers).

34. On failure of a legitimate son or (of the)

to give an example. (The property) goes to the brothers, not to the widow, nor to the parents. That is the opinion of the venerable teacher.—Haradatta. *Yâgñavalkya* II, 134.

28. *Mayûkha* IV, 9, 15; *Manu* IX, 212; *Yâgñavalkya* II, 138.

29. *Colebrooke*, *Dâyabhâga* VII, 3; *Manu* IX, 216.

30. *Colebrooke*, *Dâyabhâga* VI, 1, 17; V, *Digest* 355; *Mayûkha* IV, 7, 10; *Manu* IX, 206; *Yâgñavalkya* II, 119.

31. *Colebrooke* V, *Digest* 137; *Manu* IX, 205.

32-33. *Colebrooke* V, *Digest* 184; *Manu* IX, 166-178; *Yâgñavalkya* II, 128-132. My best copy P. inserts another *Sûtra* between this and the following one, *ete tu gotrabhâgaḥ*, 'but these (latter six) belong to the family (only, and do not inherit).'

34. *Colebrooke* V, *Digest* 184. 'The residue of the estate

other (five heirs) they receive a fourth (of the estate).

35. The son of a Brāhmaṇa by a Kshatriya wife, being the eldest and endowed with good qualities, shares equally (with a younger brother, born of a Brāhmaṇi);

36. (But he shall) not (obtain) the additional share of an eldest son.

37. If there are sons begotten (by a Brāhmaṇa) on wives of the Kshatriya and Vaisya castes (the division of the estate between them takes place according to the same rules) as (between) the (son by a Kshatriya wife) and the son by a Brāhmaṇi.

38. And (the sons by a Kshatriya wife and by

goes to the Sapindas. If it is here stated that the son of an appointed daughter receives, even on failure of a legitimate son, a fourth part of the estate only, that refers to the son of an appointed daughter of lower caste, i.e. to a son who is born, when somebody makes the daughter of a wife of lower caste his appointed daughter, and does that by intent only.'—Haradatta.

35. Colebrooke V, Digest 158; Manu IX, 149-153; Yāgñavalkya II, 125. 'If the son of a Brāhmaṇa by a Kshatriya wife is endowed with good qualities and the eldest, then he shares equally with a younger son by a Brāhmaṇi. For the one possesses seniority by age and the other by caste.'—Haradatta.

36. Colebrooke loc. cit. 'What is exclusive of the additional share of the eldest, which has been declared above, Sūtra 5, (that) other (part) he shall obtain. The verb must be understood from the context. Regarding a son by a Kshatriya wife who is the eldest, but destitute of good qualities, the Mānava Dharmaśāstra declares (IX, 152-153), "Or (if no deduction be made)," &c.'—Haradatta. The sense in which the Sūtra has been taken above, agrees with the explanation of the Ratnākara adduced in the Digest loc. cit., though the reading of the text followed there seems to be different.

37-38. Colebrooke V, Digest 159. In the Digest V, 160, an additional Sūtra regarding the partition between the sons of a

a Vaisya wife share in the same manner) if (they have been begotten) by a Kshatriya (father).

39. The son by a Sûdra wife even, if he be obedient like a pupil, receives a provision for maintenance (out of the estate) of a (Brâhmaṇa) deceased without (other) male issue.

40. According to some, the son of a woman of equal caste even does not inherit, if he be living unrighteously.

41. Srotriyas shall divide the estate of a childless Brâhmaṇa.

42. The king (shall take the property of men) of other (castes).

43. An idiot and a eunuch must be supported.

44. The (male) offspring of an idiot receives (his father's) share.

45. (Sons begotten) on women of higher castes (by men of lower castes shall be treated) like sons (begotten by a Brâhmaṇa) on a Sûdra wife.

Vaisya by Vaisya and Sûdra wives is quoted, which, however, is not recognised by Haradatta.

39. Colebrooke V, Digest 169; Mayûkha IV, 4, 30. '(The word) of a Brâhmaṇa must be understood (from Sûtra 35).—Haradatta.

40. Colebrooke V, Digest 316; Âpastamba II, 6, 14, 15.

41. Colebrooke, Mitâksharâ II, 7, 3; Mayûkha IV, 8, 25. 'The expression "of a childless (Brâhmaṇa)" includes by implication (the absence) of Sapindas and other (heirs).—Haradatta. Srotriyas, i.e. Brâhmaṇas learned in the Vedas. See also Manu IX, 188.

42. Âpastamba II, 6, 14, 5.

43. Colebrooke V, Digest 335; Manu IX, 201-202; Yâgñavalkya II, 140.

44. Colebrooke loc. cit.; Manu IX, 203; Yâgñavalkya II, 141.

45. Colebrooke V, Digest 171, 335.

46. Water, (property destined for) pious uses or sacrifices, and prepared food shall not be divided ;

47. Nor (shall a partition be made) of women connected (with members of the family).

48. In cases for which no rule has been given, (that course) must be followed of which at least ten (Brâhmanas), who are well instructed, skilled in reasoning, and free from covetousness, approve.

49. They declare, that an assembly (parishad, shall consist) at least (of) the ten following (members, viz.) four men who have completely studied the four Vedas, three men belonging to the (three) orders enumerated first, (and) three men who know (three) different (institutes of) law.

50. But on failure of them the decision of one Srotriya, who knows the Veda and is properly instructed (in the duties, shall be followed) in doubtful cases.

51. For such a man is incapable of (unjustly) injuring or (unjustly) favouring created beings.

52. He who knows the sacred law obtains heavenly bliss, more than (other) righteous men, on account of his knowledge of, and his adherence to it.

53. Thus the sacred law (has been explained).

46. Manu IX, 219. For a fuller explanation of the terms yoga and kshema, (property destined for) pious uses and sacrifices, see Colebrooke, *Mitâksharâ* I, 4, 23.

47. Colebrooke, *Mitâksharâ* I, 4, 22 ; V, Digest 367 ; *Mayûkha* IV, 7, 19.

49-51. Âpastamba II, 11, 29, 13-14 ; Manu XII, 108-113. Three men belonging to the (three) orders enumerated first, i.e. a student, a householder, and an ascetic, see above, III, 2.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zand.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.								
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis	k	..	..	क	𐬕	𐬌	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k	
2 " aspirata	kh	..	..	ख	𐬕𐬌	𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌	𐬕𐬌	𐬕𐬌	kh	
3 Media	g	..	..	ग	𐬕𐬌	𐬌	𐬕𐬌	𐬕𐬌	𐬕𐬌	...	
4 " aspirata	gh	..	..	घ	𐬕𐬌𐬌	𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌𐬌	...	
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	..	..	...	𐬕𐬌𐬌𐬌	𐬌𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌𐬌𐬌	...	
6 Nasalis	h (ng)	..	..	...	{ 3 (ng) 𐬕𐬌𐬌𐬌 }	...	...	...	...	...	
7 Spiritus asper	h	..	..	ह	𐬕𐬌𐬌𐬌	𐬌𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌𐬌𐬌	h, hs	
8 " lenis	'h	..	..	...	𐬕𐬌𐬌𐬌	𐬌𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌𐬌𐬌	...	
9 " asper faucalis	'h	..	..	...	𐬕𐬌𐬌𐬌	𐬌𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌𐬌𐬌	...	
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	..	..	...	𐬕𐬌𐬌𐬌	𐬌𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌𐬌𐬌	...	
11 " asper fricatus	'h	..	..	...	𐬕𐬌𐬌𐬌	𐬌𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌𐬌𐬌	...	
12 " lenis fricatus	'h	..	..	...	𐬕𐬌𐬌𐬌	𐬌𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌𐬌𐬌	...	
Gutturales modificatæ (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis	k	..	..	क	𐬕	𐬌	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k	
14 " aspirata	kh	..	..	ख	𐬕𐬌	𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌	𐬕𐬌	𐬕𐬌	kh	
15 Media	g	..	..	ग	𐬕𐬌	𐬌	𐬕𐬌	𐬕𐬌	𐬕𐬌	...	
16 " aspirata	gh	..	..	घ	𐬕𐬌𐬌	𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌𐬌	...	
17 " Nasalis	ñ	..	..	ङ	𐬕𐬌𐬌𐬌	𐬌𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌𐬌𐬌	...	

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y			य	𐬶 ^{init.} 𐬶𐬶𐬶	𐬶	𐬶	𐬶	י	y
19 Spiritus asper		(y)								
20 " lenis		(y)								
21 " asper assibilatus		s		श	𐬰	𐬰	𐬰	𐬰	ש	
22 " lenis assibilatus		z			𐬱	𐬱	𐬱	𐬱	ז	z
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t			त	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th			थ	𐬣	𐬣	𐬣	𐬣	ת	th
25 " assibilata			TH							
26 Media	d			द	𐬤	𐬤	𐬤	𐬤		
27 " aspirata	dh									
28 " assibilata			DH							
29 Nasalis	n			न	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l			ल	𐬦	𐬦	𐬦	𐬦	ל	l
31 " mollis 1		l								
32 " mollis 2			L							
33 Spiritus asper 1	s			स	𐬧	𐬧	𐬧	𐬧	ש	s
34 " asper 2			s (s)							
35 " lenis	z									
36 " asperimus 1			z (z)							
37 " asperimus 2			z (z)							

[illegible]

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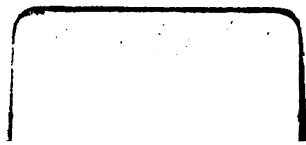
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AND EDITED BY

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Second Edition

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THE ZEND-AVESTA

PART I

THE VENDÎDÂD

TRANSLATED BY

JAMES DARMESTETER

Second Edition

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1895

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NOTE.

THE completion of this second edition of Professor Darmesteter's translation of the Avesta has been interrupted by the sudden and untimely death of the author. Fortunately, he had already revised the proof-sheets of his translation of the Vendîdâd, and completed his manuscript of the Introduction and Fragments. And, as the original manuscripts and collations, from which the text of the Fragments was derived, are mostly in my possession, the revision of the remaining proof-sheets has been chiefly in my hands, but has been carried out strictly in accordance with the author's views, as ascertained from his French translation of the Avesta. I have only to add that, though differing from my lamented friend in some of his more speculative opinions, I am convinced that it would be difficult to find a sounder scholar, a more brilliant writer, and a more estimable man, all united in the same individual.

E. W. WEST.

May, 1895.

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INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE ZEND-AVESTA.

THE Zend-Avesta is the sacred book of the Parsis, that is to say, of the few remaining followers of that religion which reigned over Persia at the time when the second successor of Mohammed overthrew the Sassanian dynasty (642 A. C.)¹, and which has been called Dualism, or Mazdeism, or Magism, or Zoroastrianism, or Fire-worship, according as its main tenet, or its supreme God², or its priests, or its supposed founder, or its apparent object of worship has been most kept in view. In less than a century after their defeat, most of the conquered people were brought over to the faith of their new rulers, either by force, or policy, or the attractive power of a simpler form of creed. But many of those who clung to the faith of their fathers, went and sought abroad for a new home, where they might freely worship their old gods, say their old prayers, and perform their old rites. That home they found at last among the tolerant Hindus, on the western coast of India and in the peninsula of Guzerat³. There they thrived and there they live still, while the ranks of their co-religionists in Persia are daily thinning and dwindling away⁴.

¹ At the battle of Nihâvand.

² Ahura Mazda.

³ They settled first at Sangân, not far from Damân; thence they spread over Surat, Nowsâri, Broach, and Kambay; and within the last two centuries they have settled at Bombay, which now contains the bulk of the Parsi people, nearly 90,000 souls (89,887 according to the census in 1891).

⁴ A century ago, it is said, they still numbered nearly 100,000 souls; but

As the Parsis are the ruins of a people, so are their sacred books the ruins of a religion. There has been no other great belief in the world that ever left such poor and meagre monuments of its past splendour. Yet great is the value which that small book, the Avesta, and the belief of that scanty people, the Parsis, have in the eyes of the historian and theologian, as they present to us the last reflex of the ideas which prevailed in Iran during the five centuries which preceded and the seven which followed the birth of Christ, a period which gave to the world the Gospels, the Talmud, and the Qur'ân. Persia, it is known, had much influence on each of the movements which produced, or proceeded from, those three books; she lent much to the first heresiarchs, much to the Rabbis, much to Mohammed. By help of the Parsi religion and the Avesta, we are enabled to go back to the very heart of that most momentous period in the history of religious thought, which saw the blending of the Aryan mind with the Semitic, and thus opened the second stage of Aryan thought.

Inquiries into the religion of ancient Persia began long ago, and it was the old enemy of Persia, the Greek, who first studied it. Aristotle¹, Hermippus², and many others³ wrote of it in books of which, unfortunately, nothing more than a few fragments or merely the titles have come down to us. We find much valuable information about it, scattered in the accounts of historians and travellers, extending over ten centuries, from Herodotos down to Agathias and Procopius (from 450 B.C. to 550 A.C.)⁴. The clearest and most faithful account of the dualist doctrine is found in the treatise *De Iside et Osiride*, ascribed to Plutarch. But

there now remain no more than 8,000 or 9,000, scattered in Yazd and the surrounding villages (Dosabbhoy Framji, History of the Parsis.—Houtum-Schindler gave 8,499 in 1879; of that number there were 6,483 in Yazd, 1,756 in Kirmân, 150 in Teherân: see Z. D. M. G., 1882, p. 55).

¹ Diogenes Laertius, Prooemium 8.

² Pliny, Hist. Nat. XXX, 1, 2. Cf. Windischmann, Zor. Stud. p. 288.

³ Dinon, Theopompus (the 8th book of his Philippica), Hermodorus, Heraclides Cumanus.

⁴ All this store of information has been collected by Brisson (see below), Kleuker (see below), and Windischmann (Zoroastrische Studien, 260 seq.)

Zoroastrianism was never more eagerly studied than in the first centuries of the Christian era, though without anything of the disinterested and almost scientific curiosity of the earlier times. Religious and philosophic sects, in search of new dogmas, eagerly received whatever came to them bearing the name of Zoroaster. As Xanthos the Lydian, who is said to have lived before Herodotos, had mentioned Zoroastrian *Λόγια*¹, there came to light, in those later times, scores of oracles, styled *Λόγια τοῦ Ζωροάστρου*, or 'Oracula Chaldaica sive Magica,' the work of Neo-Platonists who were but very remote disciples of the Median sage. As his name had become the very emblem of wisdom, they would cover with it the latest inventions of their ever-deepening theosophy. Zoroaster and Plato were treated as if they had been philosophers of the same school, and Hierocles expounded their doctrines in the same book. Proclus collected seventy Tetrads of Zoroaster and wrote commentaries on them²; but we need hardly say that Zoroaster commented on by Proclus was nothing more or less than Proclus commented on by Proclus. Prodicus the Gnostic possessed secret books of Zoroaster³; and, upon the whole, it may be said that in the first centuries of Christianity, the religion of Persia was more studied and less understood than it had ever been before. The real object aimed at, in studying the old religion, was to form a new one.

Throughout the Middle Ages nothing was known of Mazdeism but the name of its founder, who from a Magus was converted into a magician and master of the hidden sciences. It was not until the Renaissance that real inquiry was resumed. The first step was to collect all the information that could be gathered from Greek and Roman writers. That task was undertaken and successfully completed by Barnabé Brisson⁴. A nearer approach to the

¹ See Nicolaus Damascenus, Didot, *Fragm. Hist.* III, 409.

² Fabricius, *Graeca Bibliotheca*, fourth ed. p. 309 seq.

³ Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata* I. Cf. Porphyrius, *de vita Plotini*, § 16.

⁴ 'De regio Persarum principatu libri tres,' Paris, 1590. The second book is devoted to the religion and manners of the ancient Persians.

original source was made in the following century by Italian, English, and French travellers in Asia. Pietro della Valle, Henry Lord, Mandelslo, Ovington, Chardin, Gabriel du Chinon, and Tavernier found Zoroaster's last followers in Persia and India, and made known their existence, their manners, and the main features of their belief to Europe. Gabriel du Chinon saw their books and recognised that they were not all written in the same language, their original holy writ being no longer understood except by means of translations and commentaries in another tongue.

In the year 1700, a professor at Oxford, Thomas Hyde, the greatest Orientalist of his time in Europe, made the first systematic attempt to restore the history of the old Persian religion by combining the accounts of the Mohammedan writers with 'the true and genuine monuments of ancient Persia¹.' Unfortunately the so-called genuine monuments of ancient Persia were nothing more than recent Persian compilations or refacimenti². But notwithstanding this defect, which could hardly be avoided then, and a distortion of critical acumen³, the book of Thomas Hyde was the first complete and true picture of modern Parsiism, and it made inquiry into its history the order of the day. A warm appeal made by him to the zeal of travellers, to seek for and procure at any price the sacred books of the Parsis, did not remain ineffectual, and from that time scholars bethought themselves of studying Parsiism in its own home.

¹ 'Veterum Persarum et Parthorum et Medorum religionis historia,' Oxford, 1700.

² The Saddar, an excellent text-book of Parsiism, of which he gave an incorrect edition (the only one still in existence) and an incorrect translation, superseded only lately by West's translation in the Sacred Books of the East.—A Persian metrical translation of the Pahlavi *Ardâ Vîrâf's* visit to hell.—The *Farhangi Jihângirî*, a Persian dictionary compiled in 1609 and explaining many Pahlavi and Pazend terms.

³ Being struck with the many analogies between the Zoroastrian and the biblical systems, he recognised in Abraham the first lawgiver of ancient Persia, in Magism a Sabean corruption of the primeval faith, and in Zoroaster a reformer, who had learnt the forgotten truth from the exiled Jews in Babylon.

Eighteen years later, a countryman of Hyde, George Boucher, received from the Parsis in Surat a copy of the *Vendidad Sâda*, which was brought to England in 1723 by Richard Cobbe¹. But the old manuscript was a sealed book, and the most that could then be made of it was to hang it by an iron chain to the wall of the Bodleian Library², as a curiosity to be shown to foreigners. A few years later,³ a Scotchman, named Fraser, went to Surat, with the view of obtaining from the Parsis, not only their books, but also a knowledge of their contents. He was not very successful in the first undertaking, and utterly failed in the second.

In 1754 a young man, twenty years old, Anquetil Duperron, a scholar of the *École des Langues Orientales* in Paris, happened to see a facsimile of four leaves of the Oxford *Vendidad*, which had been sent from England, a few years before, to Etienne Fourmont, the Orientalist. He determined at once to give to France both the books of Zoroaster and the first European translation of them. Too impatient to set off, to wait for a mission from the government which had been promised to him, he enlisted as a private soldier in the service of the French East India Company; he embarked at Lorient on the 24th of February, 1755, and after three years of endless adventures and dangers through the whole breadth of Hindustan, at the very time when war was waging between France and England, he arrived at last in Surat, where he stayed among the Parsis for three years more. Here began another struggle, not less hard, but more decisive, against the same mistrust and ill-will which had disheartened Fraser; but he came out of it victorious, and prevailed at last on the Parsis to part both with their books and their knowledge. He came back to Paris on the 14th of March, 1764, and deposited on the following day at the *Bibliothèque Royale* the whole of the *Zend-Avesta* and copies of several tradi-

¹ It was entitled: '*Leges sacrae ritus ex liturgia Zoroastri, . . . scripsit hunc librum Tchéd Divdadi filius,*' *Vendidad* (*Gûst Dêv Dât*) being mistaken for a man's name. The manuscript was written in the year 1050 of Yazdgard (1680-1681 A.D.)

² It is numbered nowadays, *Orientalia*, 322.

tional books. He spent ten years in studying the material he had collected, and published in 1771 the first European translation of the Zend-Avesta ¹.

A violent dispute broke out at once, as half the learned world denied the authenticity of the Avesta, which it pronounced a forgery. It was the future founder of the Royal Asiatic Society, William Jones, a young Oxonian then, who opened the war. He had been wounded to the quick by the scornful tone adopted by Anquetil towards Hyde and a few other English scholars: the Zend-Avesta suffered for the fault of its introducer, Zoroaster for Anquetil. In a pamphlet written in French ², with a verve and in a style which showed him to be a good disciple of Voltaire, W. Jones pointed out, and dwelt upon, the oddities and absurdities with which the so-called sacred books of Zoroaster teemed. It is true that Anquetil had given full scope to satire by the style he had adopted: he cared very little for literary elegance, and did not mind writing Zend and Persian in French; so the new and strange ideas he had to express looked stranger still in the outlandish garb he gave them. Yet it was less the style than the ideas that shocked the contemporary of Voltaire ³. His main argument was that books, full of such silly tales, of laws and rules so absurd, of descriptions of gods and demons so grotesque, could not be the work of a sage like Zoroaster, nor the code of a religion so much celebrated for its simplicity, wisdom, and purity. His conclusion was that the Avesta was a rhapsody of some modern Guebre. In fact the only thing in which Jones succeeded was to prove in a decisive manner that the ancient Persians were not equal to the lumières of the eighteenth century, and that the authors of the Avesta had not read the Encyclopédie.

Jones's censure was echoed in England by Sir John

¹ 'Zend-Avesta, ouvrage de Zoroastre, contenant les Idées Théologiques, Physiques et Morales de ce Législateur. . . . Traduit en François sur l'Original Zend.' Par M. Anquetil Du Perron, 3 vols. in 4°, Paris, 1771.

² 'Lettre à M. A*** du P***, dans laquelle est compris l'examen de sa traduction des livres attribués à Zoroastre.'

³ Cf. Voltaire's article on Zoroaster in the Dictionnaire philosophique.

Chardin and Richardson, in Germany by Meiners. Richardson tried to give a scientific character to the attacks of Jones by founding them on philological grounds¹. That the Avesta was a fabrication of modern times was shown, he argued, by the number of Arabic words he fancied he found both in the Zend and Pahlavi dialects, as no Arabic element was introduced into the Persian idioms earlier than the seventh century; also by the harsh texture of the Zend, contrasted with the rare euphony of the Persian; and, lastly, by the radical difference between the Zend and Persian, both in words and grammar. To these objections, drawn from the form, he added another derived from the uncommon stupidity of the matter.

In Germany, Meiners, to the charges brought against the newly-found books, added another of a new and unexpected kind, namely, that they spoke of ideas unheard of before, and made known new things. 'Pray, who would dare ascribe to Zoroaster books in which are found numberless names of trees, animals, men, and demons unknown to the ancient Persians; in which are invoked an incredible number of pure animals and other things, which, as appears from the silence of ancient writers, were never known, or at least never worshipped, in Persia? What Greek ever spoke of Hôh, of Jemshîd, and of such other personages as the fabricators of that rhapsody exalt with every kind of praise, as divine heroes²?'

Anquetil and the Avesta found an eager champion in the person of Kleuker, professor in the University of Riga. As soon as the French version of the Avesta appeared, he published a German translation of it, and also of Anquetil's historical dissertations³. Then, in a series of dissertations of his own⁴, he vindicated the authenticity of the Zend

¹ 'A Dissertation on the Languages, Literature, and Manners of Eastern Nations,' Oxford, 1777.

² 'De Zoroastris vita, institutis, doctrina et libris,' in the *Novi Commentarii Societatis Regiae*, Goettingen, 1778-1779.

³ 'Zend-Avesta . . . nach dem Franzoesischen des Herrn Anquetil Du Perron,' 3 vols. in 4°, 1776.

⁴ 'Anhang zum Zend-Avesta,' 2 vols. in 4°, 1781.

books. Anquetil had already tried to show, in a memoir on Plutarch, that the data of the Avesta fully agree with the account of the Magian religion given in the treatise on 'Isis and Osiris.' Kleuker enlarged the circle of comparison to the whole of ancient literature.

In the field of philology, he showed, as Anquetil had already done, that Zend has no Arabic elements in it, and that Pahlavi itself, which is more modern than Zend, does not contain any Arabic, but only Semitic words of the Aramean dialect, which are easily accounted for by the close relations of Persia with Aramean lands in the time of the Sassanian kings. He showed, lastly, that Arabic words appear only in the very books which Parsi tradition itself considers modern.

Another staunch upholder of the Avesta was the numismatologist Tychsen, who, having begun to read the book with a prejudice against its authenticity, quitted it with a conviction to the contrary. 'There is nothing in it,' he writes, 'but what befits remote ages, and a man philosophising in the infancy of the world. Such traces of a recent period as they fancy to have found in it, are either due to misunderstandings, or belong to its later portions. On the whole there is a marvellous accordance between the Zend-Avesta and the accounts of the ancients with regard to the doctrine and institutions of Zoroaster. Plutarch agrees so well with the Zend books that I think no one will deny the close resemblance of doctrines and identity of origin. Add to all this the incontrovertible argument to be drawn from the language, the antiquity of which is established by the fact that it was necessary to translate a part of the Zend books into Pahlavi, a language which was growing obsolete as early as the time of the Sassanides. Lastly, it cannot be denied that Zoroaster left books which were, through centuries, the groundwork of the Magic religion, and which were preserved by the Magi, as shown by a series of documents from the time of Hermippus. Therefore I am unable to see why we should not trust the Magi of our days when they ascribe to Zoroaster those traditional

books of their ancestors, in which nothing is found to indicate fraud or a modern hand ¹.

Two years afterwards, in 1793, was published in Paris a book which, without directly dealing with the Avesta, was the first step taken to make its authenticity incontrovertible. It was the masterly memoir by Sylvestre de Sacy, in which the Pahlavi inscriptions of the first Sassanides were deciphered for the first time and in a decisive manner. De Sacy, in his researches, had chiefly relied on the Pahlavi lexicon published by Anquetil, whose work vindicated itself thus—better than by heaping up arguments—by promoting discoveries. The Pahlavi inscriptions gave the key, as is well known, to the Persian cuneiform inscriptions, which were in return to put beyond all doubt the genuineness of the Zend language.

Tychsen, in an appendix to his Commentaries, pointed to the importance of the new discovery: 'This,' he writes, 'is a proof that the Pahlavi was used during the reign of the Sassanides, for it was from them that these inscriptions emanated, as it was by them—nay, by the first of them, Ardeschîr Bâbagân—that the doctrine of Zoroaster was revived. One can now understand why the Zend books were translated into Pahlavi. Here, too, everything agrees, and speaks loudly for their antiquity and genuineness.'

About the same time Sir William Jones, then president of the Royal Asiatic Society, which he had just founded, resumed in a discourse delivered before that Society the same question he had solved in such an off-hand manner twenty years before. He was no longer the man to say, '*Sied-il à un homme né dans ce siècle de s'infatuer de fables indiennes?*' and although he had still a spite against Anquetil, he spoke of him with more reserve than in 1771. However, his judgment on the Avesta itself was not altered on the whole, although, as he himself declared, he had not thought it necessary to study the text. But a glance at the Zend glossary published by Anquetil suggested to him a remark

¹ '*Commentatio prior observationes historico-criticas de Zoroastre ejusque scriptis et placitis exhibens.*' Goettingen, in the *Novi Comment. Soc. Reg.* 1791.

which makes Sir William Jones, in spite of himself, the creator of the comparative grammar of Sanskrit and Zend. 'When I perused the Zend glossary,' he writes, 'I was inexpressibly surprised to find that six or seven words in ten are pure Sanscrit, and even some of their inflexions formed by the rules of the Vyácaran¹, as yushmácam, the genitive plural of yushmad. Now M. Anquetil most certainly, and the Persian compiler most probably, had no knowledge of Sanscrit, and could not, therefore, have invented a list of Sanscrit words; it is, therefore, an authentic list of Zend words, which has been preserved in books or by tradition; it follows that the language of the Zend was at least a dialect of the Sanscrit, approaching perhaps as nearly to it as the Prácrit, or other popular idioms, which we know to have been spoken in India two thousand years ago².' This conclusion, that Zend is a Sanskrit dialect, was incorrect, the connection assumed being too close; but it was a great thing that the near relationship of the two languages should have been brought to light.

In 1798 Father Paulo de St. Barthélemy further developed Jones's remark in an essay on the antiquity of the Zend language³. He showed its affinity with the Sanskrit by a list of such Zend and Sanskrit words as were least likely to have been borrowed, viz. those that designate the degrees of relationship, the limbs of the body, and the most general and essential ideas. Another list, intended to show, on a special topic, how closely connected the two languages are, contains eighteen words taken from the liturgic language used in India and Persia. This list was not very happily drawn up, as out of the eighteen instances there is not a single one that stands inquiry; yet it was a happy idea, and one which has not even yet yielded all that it promised. His conclusions were that in a far remote antiquity Sanskrit was spoken in Persia and Media, that it gave birth to the Zend language, and that the Zend-Avesta is authentic: 'Were it but a recent compilation,' he writes, 'as Jones

¹ The Sanskrit Grammar.

² Asiatic Researches, II, § 3.

³ 'De antiquitate et affinitate linguae samscredamicæ et germanicæ,' Rome, 1798.

asserts, how is it that the oldest rites of the Parsis, that the old inscriptions of the Persians, the accounts of the Zoroastrian religion in the classical writers, the liturgic prayers of the Parsis, and, lastly, even their books do not reveal the pure Sanskrit, as written in the land wherein the Parsis live, but a mixed language, which is as different from the other dialects of India as French is from Italian? This amounted, in fact, to saying that the Zend is not derived from the Sanskrit, but that both are derived from another and older language. The Carmelite had a dim notion of that truth, but, as he failed to express it distinctly, it was lost for years, and had to be re-discovered.

The first twenty-five years of this century were void of results, but the old and sterile discussions as to the authenticity of the texts continued in England. In 1808 John Leyden regarded Zend as a Prakrit dialect, parallel to Pali; Pali being identical with the Magadhi dialect and Zend with the Sauraseni¹. In the eyes of Erskine Zend was a Sanskrit dialect, imported from India by the founders of Mazdeism, but never spoken in Persia². His main argument was that Zend is not mentioned among the seven dialects which were current in ancient Persia according to the Farhang-i Jehangiri³, and that Pahlavi and Persian exhibit no close relationship with Zend.

In Germany, Meiners had found no followers. The theologians appealed to the Avesta in their polemics⁴, and Rhode sketched the religious history of Persia after the translations of Anquetil⁵.

Erskine's essay provoked a decisive answer⁶ from Emmanuel Rask, one of the most gifted minds in the new school of philology, who had the honour of being a pre-

¹ Asiatic Researches, X.

² Ibid. X.

³ A large Persian dictionary compiled in India in the reign of Jehangir.

⁴ 'Erläuterungen zum Neuen Testament aus einer neueröffneten Morgenländischen Quelle, Ἰσὸν μάγου ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν,' Riga, 1775.

⁵ 'Die Heilige Sage . . . des Zend-Volks,' Francfort, 1820.

⁶ 'Ueber das Alter und die Echtheit der Zend-Sprache und des Zend Avesta' (übersetzt von F. H. von der Hagen), Berlin, 1826. Remarks on the Zend Language and the Zend-Avesta (Transactions of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, III, 524).

cursor of both Grimm and Burnouf. He showed that the list of the Jehangiri referred to an epoch later than that to which Zend must have belonged, and to parts of Persia different from those where it must have been spoken; he showed further that modern Persian is not derived from Zend, but from a dialect closely connected with it; and, lastly, he showed what was still more important, that Zend was not derived from Sanskrit. As to the system of its sounds, Zend approaches Persian rather than Sanskrit; and as to its grammatical forms, if they often remind one of Sanskrit, they also often remind one of Greek and Latin, and frequently have a special character of their own. Rask also gave the paradigm of three Zend nouns, belonging to different declensions, as well as the right pronunciation of the Zend letters, several of which had been incorrectly given by Anquetil. This was the first essay on Zend grammar, and it was a masterly one.

The essay published in 1831 by Peter von Bohlen on the origin of the Zend language threw the matter forty years back. According to him, Zend is a Prakrit dialect, as it had been pronounced by Jones, Leyden, and Erskine. His mistake consisted in taking Anquetil's transcriptions of the words, which are often so incorrect as to make them look like corrupted forms when compared with Sanskrit. And, what was worse, he took the proper names in their modern Parsi forms, which often led him to comparisons that would have appalled Ménage. Thus Ahriman became a Sanskrit word *ariman*, which would have meant 'the fiend;' yet Bohlen might have seen in Anquetil's work itself that Ahriman is nothing but the modern form of *Angra Mainyu*, words which hardly remind one of the Sanskrit *ariman*. Again, the angel *Vohu-manô*, or 'good thought,' was reduced, by means of the Parsi form *Bahman*, to the Sanskrit *bâhumân*, 'a long-armed god.'

At length came Burnouf. From the time when Anquetil had published his translation, that is to say, during seventy years, no real progress had been made in knowledge of the Avesta texts. The notion that Zend and Sanskrit are two kindred languages was the only new idea that had been

acquired, but no practical advantage for the interpretation of the texts had resulted from it. Anquetil's translation was still the only guide, and as the doubts about the authenticity of the texts grew fainter, the authority of the translation became greater, the trust reposed in the Avesta being reflected on to the work of its interpreter. The Parsis had been the teachers of Anquetil; and who could ever understand the holy writ of the Parsis better than the Parsis themselves? There was no one who even tried to read the texts by the light of Anquetil's translation, to obtain a direct understanding of them.

About 1825 Eugène Burnouf was engaged in a course of researches on the geographical extent of the Aryan languages in India. After he had defined the limits which divide the races speaking Aryan languages from the native non-brahmanical tribes in the south, he wanted to know if a similar boundary had ever existed in the north-west; and if it is outside of India that the origin of the Indian languages and civilisation is to be sought for. He was thus led to study the languages of Persia, and, first of all, the oldest of them, the Zend. But as he tried to read the texts by help of Anquetil's translation, he was surprised to find that this was not the clue he had expected. He saw that two causes had misled Anquetil: on the one hand, his teachers, the Parsi dasturs, either knew little themselves or taught him imperfectly, not only the Zend, but even the Pahlavi intended to explain the meaning of the Zend; so that the tradition on which his work rested, being incorrect in itself, corrupted it from the very beginning; on the other hand, as Sanskrit was unknown to him and comparative grammar did not as yet exist, he could not supply the defects of tradition by their aid. Burnouf, laying aside tradition as found in Anquetil's translation, consulted it as found in a much older and purer form, in a Sanskrit translation of the Yasna made in the fifteenth century by the Parsi Neriosengh in accordance with the old Pahlavi version. The information given by Neriosengh he tested, and either confirmed or corrected, by a comparison of parallel passages and by the help of comparative grammar, which had just

been founded by Bopp, and applied by him successfully to the explanation of Zend forms. Thus he succeeded in tracing the general outlines of the Zend lexicon and in fixing its grammatical forms, and founded the only correct method of interpreting the Avesta. He also gave the first notions of a comparative mythology of the Avesta and the Veda, by showing the identity of the Vedic Yama with the Avesta Yima, and of Traitāna with Thraētaona and Ferīdōn. Thus he made his 'Commentaire sur le Yasna' a marvellous and unparalleled model of critical insight and steady good sense, equally opposed to the narrowness of mind which clings to matters of fact without rising to their cause and connecting them with the series of associated phenomena, and to the wild and uncontrolled spirit of comparison, which, by comparing everything, confounds everything. Never sacrificing either tradition to comparison or comparison to tradition, he knew how to pass from the one to the other, and was so enabled both to discover facts and to explain them.

At the same time the ancient Persian inscriptions at Persepolis and Behistun were deciphered by Burnouf in Paris, by Lassen in Bonn, and by Sir Henry Rawlinson in Persia. Thus was revealed the existence, at the time of the first Achaemenian kings, of a language closely connected with that of the Avesta, and the last doubts as to the authenticity of the Zend books were at length removed. It would have required more than an ordinary amount of scepticism to look still upon the Zend as an artificial language, of foreign importation, without root in the land where it was written, and in the conscience of the people for whom it was written, at the moment when a twin language, bearing a striking likeness to it in nearly every feature, was suddenly making itself heard from the mouth of Darius, and speaking from the very tomb of the first Achaemenian king. That unexpected voice silenced all controversies, and the last echoes of the loud discussion which had been opened in 1771 died away unheeded¹.

¹ The attacks of John Romer ('Zend: Is it an Original Language?' London,

CHAPTER II.

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE ZEND-AVESTA.

The peace did not last long, and a year after the death of Burnouf a new controversy broke out, which still continues, the battle of the methods, that is, the dispute between those who, to interpret the Avesta, rely chiefly or exclusively on tradition, and those who rely only on comparison with the Vedas. The cause of the rupture was the rapid progress made in the knowledge of the Vedic language and literature: the deeper one penetrated into that oldest form of Indian words and thoughts, the more striking appeared its close affinity with the Avesta words and thoughts. Many a mysterious line in the Avesta received an unlooked-for light from the poems of the Indian *Rishis*, and the long-forgotten past and the origin of many gods and heroes, whom the Parsi worships and extols without knowing who they were and whence they came, were suddenly revealed by the Vedas. Emboldened by its bright discoveries, the comparative method took pity on its slower and less brilliant rival, which was then making its first attempts to unravel the Pahlavi traditional books. Is it worth while, said the Vedic scholars¹, to try slowly and painfully to extract the secret of the old book from that uncouth literature? Nay, is there any hope that its secret is there? Translating the Avesta in accordance with the Pahlavi is not translating the Avesta, but only translating the Pahlavi version, which, wherever it has been deciphered, is found to wander strangely from the true meaning of the original text. Tradition, as a rule, is wont to enforce the ideas of its own ages into the books of past ages. From the time when the Avesta was written to the time when it was translated, many ideas had undergone great changes: such ideas, tradition must needs either

1855) called forth a refutation only in Bombay (Dhanjibai Framji, 'On the Origin and the Authenticity of the Aryan Family of Languages, the Zend-Avesta and the Huzvarash,' 1861).

¹ Roth, Benfey, Haug. Cf. *Revue Critique*, 1877, II, 81.

misunderstand or not understand at all, and tradition is always either new sense or nonsense. The key to the Avesta is not the Pahlavi, but the Veda. The Avesta and the Veda are two echoes of one and the same voice, the reflex of one and the same thought : the Vedas, therefore, are both the best lexicon and the best commentary to the Avesta.

The traditional school¹ replied that translating Zend by means of Sanskrit and the Avesta by means of the Vedas, because Zend and the Avesta are closely related to Sanskrit and the Vedas, is forgetting that relationship is not identity, and that what interests the Zend scholar is not to know how far Zend agrees with Sanskrit, but what it is in itself: what he seeks for in the Avesta, is the Avesta, not the Veda. Both the Vedic language and the Vedas are quite unable to teach us what became in Persia of those elements, which are common to the two systems, a thing which tradition alone can teach us. By the comparative method, the Zend *meregha*, which means 'a bird,' would assume the meaning of 'gazelle' to accord with the Sanskrit *mṛiga*; *ratu*, 'a part of the day,' would be extended to 'a season' out of regard for *ritu*; *mainyu*, 'a spirit,' and *dahyu*, 'a province,' would be degraded to 'anger' and to 'a set of thieves,' and 'the demons,' the *Daêvas*, would ascend from their dwelling in hell up to heaven, to meet their philological brothers, the Indian *Devas*. The traditional method, as it starts from matters of fact, moves always in the field of reality; the comparative method starts from an hypothesis, moves in a vacuum, and builds up a fanciful religion and a fanciful language.

Such being the methods of the two schools, it often happened that a passage, translated by two scholars, one of each school, took so different an aspect that a layman would have been quite unable to suspect that it was one and the same passage he had read twice. Yet the divergence between the two methods is more apparent than real, and proceeds from an imperfect notion of the field in

¹ Spiegel, Justi.

which each of them ought to work. They ought not to oppose, but assist one another, as they are not intended to instruct us about the same kind of facts, but about two kinds of facts quite different and independent. No language, no religion, that has lived long and changed much, can be understood at any moment of its development, unless we know what it was before and what it became afterwards. The language and religion of the Avesta record but a moment in the long life of the Iranian language and thought, so that we are unable to understand them, unless we know whence they came and what they became. What they became we learn directly from tradition, since the tradition arose from the very ideas which the Avesta expresses; whence they came we learn indirectly from the Vedas, because the Vedas come from the same source as the Avesta. Therefore it cannot happen that the tradition and the Veda will really contradict one another, if we take care to ask from each only what it knows, from one the present, and from the other the past. Each method is equally right and equally efficacious at its proper time and in its right place. The first place belongs to tradition, as it comes straight from the Avesta. The second inquiry, to be successful, requires infinite prudence and care: the Veda is not the past of the Avesta, as the Avesta is the past of tradition; the Avesta and Veda are not derived from one another, but from one and the same original, diversely altered in each, and, therefore, there are two stages of variation between them, whereas from the Avesta to tradition there is only one. The Veda, if first interrogated, gives no valuable evidence, as the words and gods, common to the two systems, may not have retained in both the same meaning they had in the Indo-Iranian period: they may have preserved it in one and lost it in the other, or they may have both altered it, but each in a different way. The Veda, generally speaking, cannot help us in discovering matters of fact in the Avesta, but only in explaining them when discovered by tradition. If we review the discoveries made by the masters of the comparative school, it will be seen that they have in reality started, without noticing it,

from facts formerly established by tradition. In fact tradition gives the materials, and comparison puts them in order. It is not possible, either to know the Avesta without the former, or to understand it without the latter.

The traditional school, and especially its indefatigable and well-deserving leader, Spiegel, made us acquainted with the nature of the old Iranian religion by gathering together all its materials; the comparative school tried to explain its growth. The traditional school published the text and the traditional translations, and produced the first Parsi grammar, the first Pahlavi grammar, and the first translation of the Avesta which had been made since Anquetil. The danger with it is that it shows itself too apt to stop at tradition, instead of going from it to comparison. When it undertakes to expound the history of the religion, it cannot but be misled by tradition. Any living people, although its existing state of mind is but the result of various and changing states through many successive ages, yet, at any particular moment of its life, keeps the remains of its former stages of thought in order, under the control of the principle that is then predominant. Thus it happens that its ideas are connected together in a way which seldom agrees with their historical sequence: chronological order is lost to sight and replaced by logical order, and the past is read into the present. Comparison alone can enable us to put things in their proper place, to trace their birth, their growth, their changes, their former relations, and lead us from the logical order, which is a shadow, to the historical order, which is the substance.

The comparative school developed Indo-Iranian mythology. Roth showed after Burnouf how the epical history of Iran was derived from the same source as the myths of Vedic India, and pointed out the primitive identity of Ahura Mazda, the supreme god of Iran, with Varuṇa, the supreme god of the Vedic age. In the same direction Windischmann, in his 'Zoroastrian Essays' and in his studies on Mithra and Anāhita, displayed singular sagacity. But the dangers of the method came to light in the works of Haug, who, giving a definite form to a system still

fluctuating, converted Mazdeism into a religious revolution against Vedic polytheism, found historical allusions to that schism both in the Avesta and in the Veda, pointed out curses against Zoroaster in the Vedas, and, in short, transformed, as it were, the two books into historical pamphlets¹.

In the contest about the authenticity of the Avesta, one party must necessarily have been right and the other wrong; but in the present struggle the issue is not so clear, as both parties are partly right and partly wrong. Both of them, by following their principles, have rendered such services to science as seem to give each a right to cling to its own method more firmly than ever. Yet it is to be hoped that they will see at last that they must be allies, not enemies, and that their common work must be begun by the one and completed by the other.

CHAPTER III.

THE FORMATION OF THE ZEND-AVESTA.

§ 1. The collection of Zend fragments, known as the Zend-Avesta², is divided, in its usual form, into two parts.

The first part, or the Avesta properly so called, contains the Vendîdâd, the Vispêrad, and the Yasna. The Vendîdâd is a compilation of religious laws and of mythical tales; the Vispêrad is a collection of litanies for the sacrifice; and the Yasna is composed of litanies of the same

¹ It would be unjust, when speaking of Haug, not to recall the invaluable services he rendered in the second part of his career, as a Pahlavi scholar. He was the first who thought of illustrating the Pahlavi of the books by the Pahlavi of the inscriptions, and thus determined the reading of the principal elements in the manuscript Pahlavi.

² A very improper designation, as Zend means 'a commentary or explanation,' and was applied only to explanatory texts, to the translations of the Avesta. Avesta (from the old Persian â bastâ, 'the law'; see Oppert, *Journal Asiatique*, 1872, Mars) is the proper name of the original texts. What it is customary to call 'the Zend language' ought to be named 'the Avesta language;' the Zend being no language at all; and, if the word be used as the designation of one, it can be rightly applied only to the Pahlavi. The expression 'Avesta and Zend' is often used in the Pahlavi commentary to designate 'the law with its traditional and revealed explanation.'

kind and of five hymns or Gâthas written in a special dialect, older than the general language of the Avesta.

These three books are found in manuscripts in two different forms: either each by itself, in which case they are generally accompanied by a Pahlavi translation; or the three mingled together according to the requirements of the liturgy, as they are not each recited separately in their entirety, but the chapters of the different books are intermingled; and in this case the collection is called the Vendîdâd Sâda or 'Vendîdâd pure,' as it exhibits the original text alone, without a translation.

The second part, generally known as the Khorda Avesta or 'Small Avesta,' is composed of short prayers which are recited not only by the priests, but by all the faithful, at certain moments of the day, month, or year, and in presence of the different elements; these prayers are the five Gâh, the thirty formulas of the Sîrôzah, the three Âfrigân, and the six Nyâyis. But it is also usual to include in the Khorda Avesta, though they are no real part of it, the Yasts or hymns of praise and glorification to the several Izads, and a number of fragments, the most important of which is the Hadhôkht Nask.

§ 2. That the extent of the sacred literature of Mazdeism was formerly much greater than it is now, appears not only from internal evidence, that is, from the fragmentary character of the book, but is also proved by historical evidence. In the first place, the Arab conquest proved fatal to the religious literature of the Sassanian ages, a great part of which was either destroyed by the fanaticism of the conquerors and the new converts, or lost during the long exodus of the Parsis. Thus the Pahlavi translation of the Vendîdâd, which was not finished before the latter end of the Sassanian dynasty, contains not a few Zend quotations from books which are no longer in existence: whole chapters also, or large quotations, of lost books are preserved in Pahlavi and Parsi tracts, like the Nirangistân and the Aogemaidê; and numerous quotations, from texts unknown before, have recently come to light in a Pahlavi Ravâet discovered in Bombay. It is a tradition with the Parsis,

that the Yasts were originally thirty in number, there having been one for each of the thirty Izads who preside over the thirty days of the month; yet there are only eighteen now extant. The Bundahis contains much matter which is not spoken of in the existing Avesta, but which appears to have been taken from Zend books that were still in the hands of its compiler.

What helped to preserve the Avesta is obvious; taken as a whole, it does not profess to be a religious encyclopedia, but only a liturgical collection, and it bears more likeness to a Prayer Book than to the Bible. It can be readily conceived that the Vendîdâd Sâda, which had to be recited every day, would be more carefully preserved than the Yasts, which are generally recited once a month; and these again more carefully than other books, which, however sacred they might be, were not used in the performance of worship. Many texts, no doubt, were lost in consequence of the Arab conquest, but mostly such as would have more importance in the eyes of the theologian than in those of the priest. But we are no longer in the dark as to the character and the contents of that larger literature of which our Avesta is a remnant: that literature is known to us, in its general outlines, through a Pahlavi analysis which was made in the ninth century, two centuries after the Arab conquest and at a time when the sacred literature of the Sassanian times was still in existence. West's translation of that synopsis¹ is the greatest service rendered in the last twenty years in the field of Avesta scholarship, and has for the first time rendered a history of Avesta literature possible.

§ 3. During the Sassanian period, while Zoroastrianism was the state religion, the collection of sacred writings was composed of twenty-one books or Nasks, distributed into three classes, each of seven Nasks; being called respectively the Gâtha group (gâsân), the group of the law (dât), and the group of the Hadha-mâthra; or the theological group, the legal group, and the mixed group.

¹ Pahlavi Texts, IV (forming vol. xxxvii of the Sacred Books of the East).

The seven Gâtha Nasks, thus named because they are mostly a development of the Gâthas, are:—

The Stôt Yast (Dk. VIII, 46);

The Sûtkar (Dk. VIII, 2; IX, 2);

The Varst-mânsar (Dk. VIII, 3; IX, 24);

The Bak (Dk. VIII, 4; IX, 47);

The Vastag (Dk. VIII, 12);

The Hâdhôkht (Dk. VIII, 45);

The Spand (Dk. VIII, 14).

We possess the Stôt Yast (in Zend Staota yēsnya) in its entirety: it is the core of the aggregate known as the Yasna, and the most holy part of the Avesta. It contains thirty-three chapters, of which twenty-two are metrical and written in an archaic style, these being the Gâthas, properly so called, and the three chief prayers (Ahuna Vairya, Ashem Vohû, and Yênhê hâtâm); eleven chapters are written in prose and in the common dialect¹.

The Sûtkar, the Varst-mânsar, and the Bak contain each twenty-two chapters, answering to the twenty-two Gâthas, of which they are mere commentaries or paraphrases. We possess small fragments of the Sûtkar² and one chapter of the Varst-mânsar³. Three chapters of the Bak, which are commentaries to the three chief prayers aforesaid, have been incorporated in the Yasna⁴.

Nothing is left of the Vastag, of which the Dinkart gives no analysis, as the author had neither its Avesta, nor its Zend (neither its original text, nor its Pahlavi translation), in an authentic form before him.

Of the Hâdhôkht we have three chapters counted as Yasts⁵, and one inserted in the Yasna⁶.

The Spand, which is dedicated to the story of Zoroaster, has been indirectly preserved, in a modern form, in the Zardust Nâma and in Arđâ Virâf's visit to hell.

¹ Gâthas (Yasna XXVIII-LIV) and Yasna XIV-XVII, XXII-XXVII, LVI.

² Fragments to Vd. II, 6; Tahmuras' Fragm. LXIV-LXVIII (?).

³ Westergaard's Fragm. IV (= Farg. XXIII of the Varst-mânsar Nask).

⁴ Chapters XIX, XX, XXI.

⁵ Yasts XI and XXI, XXII.

⁶ The so-called Fshûsha-mâthra (Yasna LVIII).

§ 4. The Legal group contains:—

- The *Nikâtûm* (Dk. VIII, 16);
- The *Ganbâ-sar-nigat* (Dk. VIII, 21);
- The *Hûspâram* (Dk. VIII, 28);
- The *Sakâtûm* (Dk. VIII, 38);
- The *Vendîdâd* (Dk. VIII, 44);
- The *Kitradât* (Dk. VIII, 13);
- The *Bakân Yast* (Dk. VIII, 15).

Only the first five of these Nasks are strictly legal; the last two deal with cosmogony and mythology.

Of those five legal Nasks, one has been preserved in its entirety, the *Vendîdâd*¹. The *Nikâtûm*, the *Ganbâ-sar-nigat*, and the *Sakâtûm* are represented by a few fragments. An important section of the *Hûspâram* has been preserved, in text and translation, in the Pahlavi *Erpatistân* and *Nirangistân*².

The *Kitradât*, which gives an historical account of mankind and Iran from the creation of the world till the advent of Zoroaster, has been indirectly preserved in part of the *Bundahis* and in the *Shâhnâma*.

The *Bakân Yast* was a collection of prayers in honour of the several Yazatas. From that Nask are derived sixteen of our Yasts, to which may be added the *Hôm Yast* (*Yasna IX–XI*) and the *Srôsh Yast* (*Yasna LVII*).

§ 5. The third group of Nasks, the *Hadhamâthra*, is the least known and the least well preserved. It contained:—

- The *Dâmdât* (Dk. VIII, 5);
- The *Nâtar* (Dk. VIII, 6);
- The *Pâgag* (Dk. VIII, 7);
- The *Rat-dât-itag* (Dk. VIII, 8);
- The *Baris* (Dk. VIII, 9);
- The *Kaskîsrav* (Dk. VIII, 10);
- The *Vîstâp-sâst* (Dk. VIII, 11).

The *Dâmdât* was the Zoroastrian Genesis; the cosmogonic part of the *Bundahis* is derived from it. There remains one Zend fragment of it³.

¹ See below, the Introduction to the *Vendîdâd*.

² See below, p. 300 seq.

³ *Fragm. Vd. H, 20 c.*

We know nothing of the Nâtar, of which the Dînkart has no analysis.

The Gâh and Sîrôza may be derived from the Pâgag that treats of the Gâhânbârs and of the relations between the liturgy and the divisions of time.

The Rat-dât-îtag treats of the arrangement of the sacrifice. It is represented by two fragments ¹.

The Baris is of an ethical character; the Kaskîsrav teaches how to prevent the sacrifice being ill-managed and turning to the benefit of the demons. No fragment has been referred to either of these two Nasks with any certainty ².

The Vîstâsp-sâst, or 'the Introduction of Vîstâsp,' treated of the conversion of Vîstâsp by Zoroaster and of his wars against Argâsp. It is represented by the Vîstâsp Yast (Yt. XXIV) and the Âfrîn Paighambar Zartûst (Yt. XXIII). It is one of the sources of the Zardust Nâma.

§ 6. From this rapid review we may draw the following conclusions:—

(1) Out of the twenty-one Nasks of the Sassanian Avesta, we possess two in their entirety (the Vendîdâd and the Stôt Yast) and the most important part of a third (the Bakân Yast).

(2) We have a considerable part of four Nasks: the Bak, the Hâdhôkht, the Vîstâsp-sâst, and the Hûspâram; and several fragments of most of the others.

(3) We know indirectly, through the medium of Pahlavi translations or compilations, the contents of many Nasks of which we have few or no remnants in their original language: the Dâmdât, the Vîstâsp-sâst, the Kîtradât, and the Spand. In short we possess specimens, more or less considerable, of fifteen Nasks, and the complete text of the two Nasks which were considered all-important. For the Vendîdâd, being the book of purification; was to the priest the chief of the legal Nasks, and this is most

¹ Tahmuras' Fragm. LVIII; Fragm. to Vd. VII, 43.

² The quotations in the Pahlavi Nîrangistân may be referred to the Kaskîsrav.

likely the reason to which we owe its preservation. As to the Gâthas, they were already to the Zoroastrians of the Sassanian age just what they are to the Parsis of to-day : their paramount sanctity was the same as it is now, and their extent was the same, as appears from the fact that the three Gâthic Nasks which were developed around the Gâthas, or artificially attached to them, are composed each of twenty-two Fargards, answering one by one to the twenty-two Gâthas of our Yasna. Therefore the many losses that the Sassanian Avesta underwent in the last twelve centuries did not bear on the essential parts ; and the loss, however considerable it may be, is neither absolute, as much of the matter survived under a Pahlavi garb, nor perhaps irreparable, as the Zend finds made in the Pahlavi literature afford a hope for fresh and more important recoveries, when that deep quarry, only half opened, has been worked out through all its strata.

§ 7. It is not only the general outlines of the Sassanian Avesta we find sketched in the Dinkart ; it furnishes us also with a history of its formation¹, which may be summed up as follows :—

The twenty-one Nasks were formed by Ahura Mazda himself out of the twenty-one words of the Ahuna Vairya. They were brought by Zoroaster to king Vistâsp. Two copies of the complete scriptures were written by order of the king : one was deposited in the treasury at Shapîgân, the other in the Record Office².

When Alexander invaded Persia, the copy in the Record Office was burnt, and the one in Shapîgân was carried off by the Greeks, who had it translated into their own language.

One of the Parthian kings, Valkhash, ordered all the scattered remnants of the Avesta, which had been preserved, either in manuscript or by oral tradition, to be searched for and collected.

¹ In two different concordant documents, one at the end of Dinkart III (West, l. l. pp. xxx and xxxi), the other in the beginning of Dinkart IV (ibid. 412-415).

² *dez-f nîpîst*, 'the fortress for books : ' cf. the Hebrew ספריה סתר.

The founder of the Sassanian dynasty, Ardashîr (211–241), called to his court the high-priest Tansar, gave him the commission to gather and complete the scattered fragments, and invested his work with official authority.

Ardashîr's son, Shâhpûhr I (241–272), ordered the documents relating to profane sciences (medicine, astronomy, geography, philosophy), which were scattered amongst the Hindus and the Greeks, to be collected and embodied in the Avesta.

At last Shâhpûhr II, son of Auhrmazd (309–379), to check the sects that were distressing the religion, ordered a general disputation between them: the champion of orthodoxy, Âdarbâd, son of Mahraspand, submitting himself to a fire-ordeal, went through it victoriously, and the king proclaimed: 'Now we have seen the true religion on earth, we will not suffer any false religion,' and he acted accordingly.

§ 8. This account may be divided into two parts, one extending from the origin to the time of Alexander, the other relating to the restoration of the Avesta after the Greek invasion. These two accounts differ widely in character, the first being vague and legendary, the second being precise in its data and its dates, referring also to an historical period. We shall here have to do only with the second document, of which the import is that the Avesta is a collection that was formed on three occasions out of old fragments: the first edition emanating from a Parthian king, Valkhash: the second from the first Sassanian king, Ardashîr Bâbagân (211–241); the third and last from king Shâhpûhr I (241–272). Let us consider each of these three times, one by one.

§ 9. One may be surprised, at first sight, by the part ascribed to an Arsacide prince in this religious evolution¹. Most Byzantine, Parsi, and Muhammedan writers agree that it was the Sassanian dynasty which raised the Zoroastrian religion from the state of humiliation into which the Greek invasion had made it sink, and, while it gave the

¹ Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde* III, 782, n. 1.

signal for a revival of the old national spirit, made Mazdeism one of the corner stones of the new establishment ¹. Therefore it seems strange to hear that the first step taken to make Mazdeism a state religion was taken by one of those very Philhellenic Parthian princes, who were fully imbued with Greek ideas and manners. Yet this view must not be accepted unreservedly. Ardashîr is nowhere mentioned as professing a religion different from that of his predecessors. In the struggle between Ardavân and Ardashîr, there was no religious interest at stake, but only a political one ; and we are expressly told by Hamza ² that Ardashîr and his adversaries belonged to the same confession. Nay, we shall see that one of the charges brought against him, by his adversaries, was his wanton infraction of the Zoroastrian laws. There is therefore nothing that makes it impossible to admit that in the time and at the court of a Parthian prince a Zoroastrian movement may have originated.

§ 10. There were four kings at least³ who bore the name of Valkhash : the most celebrated and best known of the four was Vologeses I, the contemporary of Nero. Now that Zoroastrianism prevailed with him, or at least around him, we see from the conduct of his brother Tiridates, who was a Magian (Magus) ⁴ ; and by this term we must not understand a magician ⁵, but a Zoroastrian priest. That he was a priest appears from Tacitus' testimony ⁶ ; that he was a Zoroastrian is shown by his scruples about the wor-

¹ S. de Sacy, *Mémoires sur quelques antiquités de la Perse*. Cf. Maçoudi, II, 125.

² Hamzae Ispahensis *Annales*, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 31 (in the translation).

³ Perhaps five (see de Longpérier, *Mémoire sur la Numismatique des Arsacides*, p. 111).

⁴ 'Magus ad eum Tiridates venerat' (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* XXX, 6).

⁵ Pliny very often confounds Magism and Magic, Magians and Magicians. We know from Pliny, too, that Tiridates refused to initiate Nero into his art ; but the cause was not, as he assumes, that it was 'a detestable, frivolous, and vain art,' but because Mazdean law forbids the holy knowledge to be revealed to laymen, much more to foreigners (*Yast* IV, 10 ; cf. *Philostrati Vita Soph.* I, 10).

⁶ 'Nec recusaturum Tiridatem accipiendi diademati in urbem venire, nisi sacerdotii religione attineretur' (*Ann.* XV, 24).

ship of the elements. When he came from Asia to Rome to receive the crown of Armenia at the hands of Nero, he avoided coming by sea, and rode along the coasts¹, 'because the Magi are forbidden to defile the sea².' This is quite in the spirit of later Zoroastrianism, and savours much of Mazdeism. That Vologeses himself shared the religious scruples of his brother appears from his answer to Nero, who insisted upon his coming to Rome also: 'Come yourself, it is easier for you to cross such immensity of sea³.' What we know moreover of his personal character qualifies him for taking the initiative in a religious work. He seems to have been a man of contemplative mind rather than a man of action, which often excited the anger or scorn of his people against him; he had the glory of breaking with the family policy of Parthian kings by giving his brothers a share in the empire, instead of strangling them (Tacitus, *Annales*, XV, 1, 2). At that time the East was in religious fermentation; Christianity was in its infancy; gnostic sects were rife: moreover religion was fast becoming part of politics. Vologeses was called by the people of Adiabene against their king Izates, who had turned Jew (Josephus, *Antiq.* XX, 4, 2) and himself offered the help of his cavalry to Vespasian against Jerusalem.

The namesakes of Vologeses I had too short or too uncertain a lease of power for any one of them to be likely to compete with him as the author of that first religious restoration. We shall therefore assume that the Valkhash of the Dinkart is the same as Vologeses I⁴, and, in this hypothesis, we will ascribe the first collection of Zoroastrian fragments to the third quarter of the first century (50-75),

¹ He crossed only the Hellespont.

² 'Navigare noluerat, quoniam inspuere in maria, aliisque mortalium necessitatibus violare naturam eam fas non putant' (Pliny, l. 1. Cf. *Introd.* X, 8 seq.)

³ Dio Cassius, LXIII, 4. The answer was mistaken for an insult by Nero, and, as it seems, by Dio himself. In fact Vologeses remained to the last faithful to the memory of Nero (Suet. Nero, 57).

⁴ This hypothesis, which was for the first time proposed in the first edition of this translation (1880), seems to have been generally accepted (Gutschmid, 'Persia,' in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, XVIII, 603; West, *Pahlavi Texts*, IV, 413, note 5).

which is nearly the time when the first evangelical narratives were written.

§ 11. Between Vologeses and Ardashîr, for nearly two centuries, there is a blank in the religious history of Iran. With Ardashîr, Zoroastrianism became the religion of the state. The founder of the new dynasty belonged, through his grandmother, to one of the local royal families of Persia, the Bazrangis, and through his grandfather, Sâsân, to the sacerdotal race. Sâsân had in his hands the management of the temple of Anâhita (the Iranian Artemis) at Istakhar. By birth a king and a priest, Ardashîr reduced to a formula the throne-and-altar theory: 'Be aware, my son,' he wrote in his political testament, 'that religion and royalty are two brothers that cannot subsist one without the other; for royalty rests on religion and religion has royalty to protect it¹.' Agathias reports that Ardashîr was initiated in the doctrine of the Magi and could himself celebrate their mysteries; that, from his accession to the throne, their race, formerly little honoured, got the upper hand both in public and private affairs; they became his constant counsellors, and had the management of justice in their hands. Whereas the Parthians boasted their title of Philhellenist, the Sassanian king styled himself Mazdayasn, 'Worshipper of Mazda.' It seemed as if Ahura Mazda had ascended the throne with him.

§ 12. Ardashîr had a man of the name of Tansar to help him in his work of religious restoration. He had been one of those petty local sovereigns called *Mulûk ut-tavâif*, 'Kings of provinces,' among whom the Iranian empire was divided under the nominal suzerainty of the Parthian emperor. 'Belonging to the Platonic sect²,' he had given up his throne to his son and embraced a religious life. When Ardashîr rose up against the *Mulûk ut-tavâif*, Tansar welcomed him as the saviour of the empire, became his missionary, preached submission to him, and sent preachers in his interest through the provinces³. He had written an

¹ Maçoudi, *Les prairies d'or*, II, 162.

² Maçoudi, II, 161.

³ *Kitâb et-tanbîh*, ed. de Goeje, 99. Cf. S. de Sacy, in Maçoudi, IX, 329.

apology of Ardashîr in answer to a reproachful letter from one of the princes threatened by Ardashîr's ambition, Gasnâsf, king of Tabaristân. Tansar's letter, translated from the original Pahlavi into Arabic by Ibn al-Muqaffa, in the middle of the eighth century, and nearly five centuries later (1210 A.D.) from Arabic into Persian by Muhammad bin ul-Hasan, author of a history of Tabaristân, has come down to us in its secondary form, not free from interpolations which are easily detected, so that the original authentic text is clearly recognisable under the modern accretions¹.

That letter, which is the oldest and most important record of the religious history of Zoroastrian Persia, sets in a strong light the moral forces that made the success of the Sassanian revolution. Ardashîr was the happy leader of a necessary reaction against the political anarchy of the Parthian system, and against the moral, social, and religious anarchy that was the outcome of the political one.

The Parthian kings, in the last two centuries of the dynasty, had been hardly more than feudal chiefs, only so far recognised by the local princes (the Mulûk ut-tavâif) as they had strength to make themselves recognised. Each province had its own dynasty, old or new. The legend ran that Alexander, on his death-bed, fearing lest Persia, after his death, should revenge her wrongs on Greece, listened to the perfidious advice of his vizier Aristotle and divided Iran between ninety petty sovereigns, to weaken her for ever. Such was at any rate the condition of Iran in the beginning of the third century A.D. It was in order to restore the unity of the Iranian empire that Ardashîr rose. He suppressed those of the Mulûk ut-tavâif who declined to recognise him as king of kings, and sent their heads as trophies to Anâhita's temple². It was decided by a council of Magi that those Mulûk who would come and deposit their crowns at the feet of the Shâhinshâh, to receive

¹ See the text and translation of that letter (*Lettre de Tansar au Roi de Tabaristan*) in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1894, I, 185-250, 502-555.

² Tabari.

them again from his hands, would retain their title of Shâh¹. At the time when Tansar wrote, fourteen years had elapsed since Ardashîr had begun his work: a part of it was done, the unity of the empire was restored: the only political task that remained to be performed was to avenge Dara's murder on Alexander's successors, and to exact from them the old tribute they had formerly paid to Persia for Egypt and Syria².

§ 13. Then remained the work of moral restoration. The Shâhinshâh's second task is to re-establish 'the law of the Ancients' (سنة اولينان). How shall that ideal of the past be brought again to light? There lay the difficulty, as the Avesta was all but lost, and the tradition of the law had been obliterated by revolutions and anarchy. 'You know that Alexander burnt in Istakhar⁴ our sacred books written on twelve thousand ox-hides. There remained something of it in memory, but it was only legends and traditions⁵: nothing more was known of the religious laws and ordinances⁶; and at last, by the corruption of the men of those times, by the disappearance of the law, the love of novelties and apocrypha⁷ and the wish for notoriety, even those legends and traditions passed away from the memory of the people, so that there was not a particle authentic

¹ Journal Asiatique, l. l. 513-514.

² 'Now the Shâhinshâh intends to go to war against Rûm and he will not rest till he has avenged Dara's blood on the Alexandrides, enriched his own treasury and the treasury of the state, and restored the towns which Alexander spitefully destroyed in Fârs. He must exact from them the tribute which they always paid to our kings for the Coptic country and Syria, which our kings had formerly conquered in the land of the Hebrews, at the time of the invasion of Bokht-Nasr' (l. l. pp. 548-549).—Ardashîr's pretensions are expressed by Herodian in terms remarkably concordant with those in Tansar's letter: 'He pretended to have unquestionable rights to the possession of all the provinces in Asia lying between the Euphrates, the Aegean sea, and the Propontis: as all those countries, as far as Ionia and Caria, had always been governed by satraps of their nation from the days of Cyrus, who transferred the empire from the Medes to the Persians, to the time of Darius, who was conquered by Alexander: therefore by entering into possession of the old heritage of his ancestors he would not wrong the Romans.' (Journal Asiatique, 1894, p. 549.)

³ The Paoiryô d'kaêd in the Avesta.

⁴ Persepolis.

⁵ قصص و احاديث.

⁶ شرايع و احكام.

⁷ حرص و بدمت و تمويهها.

left. Therefore we must absolutely have an upright and honest man to revise the Religion¹. Tansar himself confesses that Ardashir does not pretend to re-establish the old order in its entirety, nor even to keep it free from the admixture of new elements. He takes liberties with it, and, whereas he comes forward to correct the new order (sunnati âkhirîn) by the light of the older one, he does not waive the right of correcting what may be wrong in the old law. Therefore, by his own confession, his restoration is an adaptation. How little he was embarrassed in his work by the authority of authentic written texts, Tansar lets us easily guess, 'When the Shâhinshâh wants to suppress any iniquity of the Ancients, which does not suit the necessities of the present, they say: "This is the old custom, it is the rule of the Ancients." Iniquity, past or present, is a thing to be reprov'd, whether it comes from the Ancients or from the Moderns. But the Shâhinshâh has power over the Religion, and God is his ally²; and in this destroying and changing of the order of tyranny, I see him better armed and adorned with more virtues than the Ancients. No king attempted what he did. The Religion being lost and history forgotten, what man could judge him? Besides, even in the times when men had perfect knowledge of their religion and were closely attached to it, they felt the need of a powerful and wise king in times of doubt; for if the Religion is not enlightened by reason, it has no steadiness³.'

It is no wonder therefore that Zoroastrians of the time may have considered Ardashir a sacrilegious heretic. One of his acts that created the greatest indignation was that he had the sacred fires of the Mulûk ut-tavâif extinguished: a crime that would have cost any other man his life: 'no man before him,' exclaimed king Gasnâsf, 'had ventured on such a sacrilege.' Tansar threw back the charge of sacrilege on the shoulders of the Mulûk ut-tavâif: they

¹ Lettre de Tansar, l. l. p. 212.

² و این شاه مسلط است بر دین و حق با او یار.

³ دین را تا رای بیان نکند قوامی نباشد.

had no right to have a second fire of their own: 'it was a bad innovation, contrary to the custom of the old kings.' It is more likely that the unity of the royal fire was a new dogma, invented on the spur of the moment to serve the usurper's political devices; and Âtar himself, when found to favour anarchy, was treated like any other rebel. In fact many were the laws, introduced by Ardashîr, that were disapproved by public opinion as unwarranted innovations: such were the laws on the strict division of the people into classes with their functions, rights, and distinctive marks; and the laws on heredity. His restoring the Law of the Ancients, said Gasnasf, is nothing else than destroying the real Law¹.

§ 14. How far these reforms were represented as resting on the mere will and reason of the king, or on the authority of religious texts, we do not know. As to the religious texts themselves, and their collection into a body of doctrines, the Dînkart has the following: 'Ardashîr had all the scattered teaching (âmôk-î pargandak) brought together to the capital under the high authority of Tansar; Tansar came; him alone he accepted (frâg patiraft); and from all the others he took away authority.' In other words, among the Zoroastrian schools, there were current several collections of religious texts, more or less authentic, and it was the one taught by Tansar that was stamped by Ardashîr with an official character. From another text in the Dînkart it appears that the Ardashîr compilation contained two classes of texts: texts that were incorporated as they were, and other texts that were conjecturally restored by Tansar, the Pôryôtkêr, so as to make a collection that should be an exact reproduction of the Vîstâsp Avesta, the lost treatise of Shapîgân²: which is as much as saying that the Ardashîr Avesta is a compound of texts anterior to Tansar and texts emanating from Tansar, the whole being an ideal restoration of a primitive Avesta, of the 'old law' or of what was supposed to be the old law, in the time of Ardashîr.

¹ Journal Asiatique, 1894, No. 3, p. 514.

² See the text in the Guimet Zend-Avesta, III, p. xxxi, note 2.

§ 15. Ardashîr's collection was not a canon closed. His successor Shâhpûhr I (241-272), the conqueror of Valerianus, had, we are told, the scientific and philosophic fragments, scattered in India and Greece, collected and embodied in the Avesta. This is a confession that part of the Avesta was translated or imitated from foreign sources: but it is a confession that a Zoroastrian might easily make, as it was an accepted legend that Alexander had the Avesta translated into Greek, so that they could borrow back from the Greeks without being indebted to them. To us it tells a different tale, namely, that the scientific Nasks of the Avesta¹, of which unfortunately very little is left², were written under Shâhpûhr I, in imitation of Greek and Sanskrit scientific treatises.

§ 16. It was not to be expected that a body of Scriptures, formed so recently and with such visible accretions, should obtain at once sufficient authority to command universal respect and check the sectarian spirit. In vain did Ardashîr put the secular arm at the service of the new orthodoxy³: the inquisition disgusted the older generation and could not ensure the triumph of one particular system. The old free believers, not yet confined in the immovable limits of orthodox dogma, went on growing and branching off into independent heresies. One of these, Manicheism, became at one moment powerful even at the court of Shâhpûhr. The execution of Manes under Shâhpûhr's successor, Bahrâm I (272-276), did not stop the progress of the heresies, and it was only under Shâhpûhr II (309-379) that, through Âdarbâd Mahraspand's devotion, the ortho-

¹ The fragments treating of medicine and astronomy, time and space, nature and creation, generation and corruption (yahnûnishn vinâsishn; γένεσις καὶ φθοράς; عالم کون و فساد, Tansar, p. 10 b).

² Of the Hadha-mâthra Nasks the contents of only one are sufficiently known (the Dâmdâd).

³ 'The Shâhînshâh has ordered that if a man swerve from the Religion he should be put in prison, and that for a whole year without ceasing the clergy should read to him, and admonish him, and give him proofs and dissipate his doubts. If he repent and confess his error, he is set at liberty; if through obstinacy and pride he harden in infidelity, he is put to death.' (Letter of Tansar, fol. 12 a.)—Cf. Vd. XVIII, 9, 10; Mînôkhard XV, 22-25.

dox doctrine prevailed in a decisive way. After a public controversy with his opponents, he appealed to God's judgment and had molten brass poured on his breast: he went through the ordeal unscathed, and confounded the heretics. During the ordeal he may have repeated the Gátha lines:—

'O Good Spirit, Ahura Mazda, by thy fire thou decidest between the opponents, according to the greater degree of piety and sanctity; and many of those who see it believe in thy law' (Yasna XLVII, 6).

The king announced that the true religion having manifested itself in a visible way, any false religion (*ag-dînh*) could be tolerated no more. That great religious event must have taken place about the year 330; for the persecution of the Christians began in that year. It was about the time when the Fathers at Nicaea organised Christianity into an orthodox state religion.

After Âdarbâd the canon was closed. Whether he added his contribution to the bulk of the sacred texts, like his predecessors under Ardashîr and Shâhpûhr, there is no evidence either to prove or disprove: in any case, the Avesta after him underwent no change of any sort. The Parsi tradition makes him the last of the founders of the religion, and, forgetting the teachers between Zoroaster and Âdarbâd, makes these two names the Alpha and Omega of the Avesta history¹.

CHAPTER IV.

PARTHIAN ELEMENTS IN THE AVESTA.

§ 1. From the preceding it appears that the Sassanian Avesta, as fixed by Âdarbâd Mahrspand in the beginning

¹ The Patet sums up the religious tradition as follows:—

'I keep steady in the religion which the Lord Hôrmezd and the Amshaspands taught the worshipped Frôhar of Zartusht, the Spitamide;

'which Zartusht taught Vîstâsp;

'which Vîstâsp taught Frashôshtar, Jâmâsp, and Isfandyâr;

'which the latter taught the faithful in this world;

'which by a continuous tradition came down to the ordainer of the holy law, Âdarbâd Mahrspand, who for its sake submitted to the ordeal and came out of it victoriously.'

of the fourth century, represents three successive accretions at least, the first due to Vologeses in the middle of the first century, the second to Ardashîr and Tansar in the middle of the third century, and the third to Shâhpûhr I, at the end of the same. Now we must inquire whether the texts of these successive editions belong, all or in part, to an older Avesta, anterior to the Greek conquest. The evidence in the Dînkart and in Tansar's letter prepares us to suppose that the post-Alexandrian element, at least as far as the form goes, must be considerable. The internal evidence allows us to give greater precision to that inference.

§ 2. One of the best-known and most brilliant pieces of the Avesta, the Hôrn Yast, appears to contain an allusion to Alexander. It is said of Haoma, the plant-god, whose worship is the centre of the Mazdean liturgy, that 'he overthrew the usurping Keresâni who arose, longing for sovereignty, and said: henceforth no priest will go at his wish through the country to teach the law.' Now, the only persecutor of religion of whom Parsi tradition makes mention before the Arabs is Alexander. He is the third in that trinity of tyrants created by Ahriman, who desired to have made them immortal for the destruction of the world. But the first two, Zohâk and Afrâsyâb, were born and died before Zarathustra was born, so that Alexander alone of the three could appear as an anti-Zoroastrian persecutor; which makes us wonder whether the usurper confounded by Haoma might not be the Greek conqueror. Now that epithet Keresâni, literally a bandit, is translated or transcribed in Pahlavi by Kilisyâk, which is the name given in the Pahlavi literature to the infidels of Rûm. Therefore, for the old mediaeval tradition the Keresâni usurper was neither a dēv nor a Turanian, he was a Greek. If the Keresâni persecutor were a Greek, he could be no other than Alexander. A mediaeval Pahlavi apocalypse, the Bahman Yast (II, 19), passing in review the restorers of religion, begins with the Arsacide who destroyed 'the impious Alexander, the Kilisyâk.'

If the Keresâni is Alexander, the passage quoted and the

whole of the Hôṃ Yast, which forms a coherent whole, cannot have been written before the death of Alexander or more accurately before the fall of the Greek domination in Persia. It was about 150 B.C. that Mithridates the Great (B.C. 171-137) dealt the last blow to the Kilisyák. Therefore the Hôṃ Yast could hardly have been written before the middle of the second century before our era.

§ 3. If the Avesta, or part of it, were composed under the Arsacidae, an important fact, otherwise unaccounted for, is explained *ipso facto*: namely the fact that the Avesta seems to ignore the existence of an Iranian empire. The highest political unity is the dahyu, a name which in the inscriptions of Darius denoted the satrapies, the provincial kingdoms of Media, Bactriana, Sogdiana, Arachosia, Aria, Parthia, &c. The highest political power is the danhupaiti, the chief of a dahyu. The one universal danhupaiti, the one danhupaiti of all dahyus, is Mithra¹. This refers to a time when there was no real danhupaiti of all dahyus, no Shâhinshâh, when the real power was in the hands of the independent local kings. This is the period of the Provincial kings, the Mulûk ut-tavâif; and this very name, Mulûk ut-tavâif, is nothing less than a literal translation of the Zend danhupaiti.

§ 4. At the time when the Avesta took its definitive form, Chaldaea was inhabited by Arab tribes, it was already a sort of Irâq Arabî. To the writer of the Avesta, Babylon (Bawri) is the residence of Azi Dahâka², and Azi Dahâka represents the Arab race. It is not only in the later Shâhnâma that he is made the son of an Arab king; both the Bundahis, which reproduces old Avesta documents³, and the Avesta book of the Genealogies itself, made him a descendant of Tâg, the eponym of the

¹ Yasna I, 11.

² Yt. V, 29.—Elsewhere, Yt. XV, 19, Azi is described as offering up a sacrifice to Vayu in the inaccessible Kvirinza. We know from Hamza (p. 32) that this was the name of a palace (the Kulang palace, the fortress of the Stork) which Azi Dahâka had built in Babylon.

³ Son of Khrdtâsp (corrupted to Mardâs in Firdausi), son of Zâinîgâv, son of Vîrafshang, son of Tâg (Bund. XXXI, 6).

Tâgik¹. Now the oldest period known when the Arabs settled along the Euphrates and Tigris is the second half of the Arsacide period. We know that at that time Holwân was on the frontier between the Iranians and Arabs. The region east of Holwân 'was in the hands of the Provincial kings (Mulûk ut-tavâif = danhu-paitis) who were all Persians, and did not recognise the authority of the Arabs. Irâq and Savâd remained in the hands of the Arabs, who were waging a perpetual war with one another, as they are used to do².' Therefore the texts in which the Arab Asi Dahâka appears as reigning in Babylon belong to a time when Arabs were already settled in Mesopotamia.

A certain Zaini-gâus or Zâinîgâv³ is mentioned once in the Avesta as being conquered and killed by Frangrasyan⁴ who on that one occasion was invested with the royal *Hvarenô* and who, accordingly, in the *Shâhnâma*, is credited with having delivered Iran from an Arab invasion: in the absence of Kai-Kâûs, it says, invaders flowed over Iran from every side, both Turanians and Arabs: 'the Arabs were conquered by the Turanians.' Perhaps the key to the Afrâsyâb enigma is here. One can hardly understand how the Turanians beyond the Oxus, whom Afrâsyâb is supposed to represent, could repel the Arabs coming from over the Euphrates. But one must bear in mind that Afrâsyâb's career ends on the banks of the *Kaêkasta* lake, in Âdar-baigân⁵, north of Mesopotamia. On another side, the legendary history of Yemen tells of the Tubba'h Abû Kurrub's invasions into Mesopotamia and his struggles with

¹ Tâg, a brother of Hôshang and the ancestor of the Tâgiks (*Kîtrâdâd Nask*, in *Dînkart VIII*, 13, 8).

² Tabari, tr. Zotenberg, II, 8-9. The Hatra, Hîra, and Ghassanian kingdoms were already flourishing in the first century of our era. The Ghassanians reigned at Damas when Paulus was a prisoner there.

³ Bearing the same name as Asi Dahâka's grandfather (p. xlix).

⁴ Yt. XIX, 93. The translation in the *Sacred Books of the East* is to be corrected as follows: 'that glory that Frangrasyan, the Turanian, bore, when the wicked Zainigâu was killed.' (Cf. *Greater Bundahîr*: 'There was a fiend called Zinîgâv who had poison in his eye: he had come from the country of the Arabs to reign on Iran-Shahr: any man he gazed at with his evil eye, he killed. The Iranians called Frâsyâv into their country, he killed that Zinîgâv.')

⁵ Yt. XVII, 42.

the Turanians of Ādarbaigān¹; so that the wars of Frangrasyan and Zainigzu may be an echo of the predatory struggles between the Arabs from the south and those Turanians of north-western Iran who were for centuries the plague of that country, and whom Khusrô Nôshirvân tried at last to imprison in the Caucasus.

CHAPTER V.

BRÂHMANICAL, BUDDHIST, AND GREEK ELEMENTS.

§ 1. The political and social circumstances which the Avesta reflects being those of the Parthian time, one may easily expect to find in its doctrine the reaction of those civilisations, or religions, which flourished during that period either in Iran or in the neighbouring countries. In fact, we find in the Avesta either polemics against, or loans from, the great contemporary systems, the Brâhmanical, the Buddhist, the Greek, and the Jewish.

§ 2. The true Zoroastrian is called a Mazdayasna, 'a worshipper of Mazda²,' in contradistinction to the Daêvayasna, 'the worshipper of the Daêvas.' Daêva is generally understood as 'a demon,' and that is the meaning it has in the derived dêv and in most of the Zend texts generally; as it is applied to the evil forces of nature, like the Wind-Daêva, or to the evil forces of the soul, like Aêshma, 'Wrath;' Akem Manô, 'Bad Thought;' Tarômaiti, 'Pride.' But it must also have applied to false gods, for the Daêvayasna is not a bad Zoroastrian, it is a man who does not belong to the Zoroastrian system, it is a foreigner, an Anaryan. Doctors must practise on Daêvayasnâs before treating Mazdayasnâs, which is a rule clear and practical only if the Daêvayasna is a worshipper of the false gods, of Indian, Assyrian, or Greek idols; for the test is simple enough. The word may have applied first and more

¹ Tabari, I, 505; Hamza, tr. p. 98.

² The Sassanian kings took on their coins the title of Mazdayasn, instead of the Philhellen of the Arsacidae.

especially to the Indian religions and to the worshippers of Devas.

§ 3. The disparaging meaning of the word Deva in Zoroastrianism was formerly interpreted as a sign that Zoroaster's religion was born in an Indo-Iranian period, from a moral reaction against Vedic polytheism, which sent to hell the former gods. This theory, as far as I can see, has no longer any supporter: it has been seen that it all rests on a few lexicographical particularities, not on inner historical evidence. In fact Zoroastrianism has much in common with the Vedic Pantheon; its supreme God, Ahura Mazda, is not more different from the great Asura, Varuṇa, than Zeus is from Jupiter; the Zoroastrian Apollo, Mithra, answers exactly to the Vedic Mitra. The worship is centred on both sides around the sacred plant (Soma—Haoma) and the sacred fire (Agni—Ātar). The mythological struggle between the God of the Lightning, Indra, and the serpent Ahi is transferred to Ātar (the Fire) and Aži. Yama, son of Vivasvat, and Traitana revive in Yima, son of Vivanghant, and Thraētaona. How those analogies are to be accounted for, whether they are the relics of an old Indo-Iranian religion, or whether they have been, entirely or partly, borrowed from either side by the other, remains an open question, which we are neither prepared to answer in the negative, nor to answer at all. But thus much is clear that there is not the slightest evidence or symptom of any such inner upheaval, rejecting a Vedic or quasi-Vedic religion, as was supposed to have taken place in prehistoric periods.

§ 4. This only remains, that when Zoroastrianism, with the exclusive character which belongs to moral religions, wanted to brand and condemn the most dangerous rival it encountered amongst its neighbours, it found no more characteristic name to designate the false gods and the demons than the name given to divine beings in the false religions of India which had so many followers in the eastern provinces of the empire. It went so far as to take the names of three Indian devas to designate those arch-demons which it opposes artificially and systematically to the Amesha-Spentas; they are Indra, Saurva, and

Nəunghaithya, given as counterparts to Asha Vahista, 'Perfect Righteousness;' Khshathra Vairya, 'Good Government;' and Spenta Ārmaiti, 'Humility.' There is nothing in their Avesta character that reminds one of Indra the Storm God, of Sarva a name of Siva, or of Nāsatyā the Asvin; they are Wickedness, Tyranny, and Pride, by the mere fact of their opposition to the three Amshaspands, and it appears clear thereby that their present character is not the result of a prolonged evolution in the inner circle of Zoroastrianism.

§ 5. The Daēva Būiti who, by order of Angra Mainyu, tries to kill Zarathustra on his being born, is according to the Greater Bundahis 'the demon who resides in the idols' (būt), and is the same as Būtāsp worshipped in India. Būtāsp, the founder of the Samanean or Buddhist sect, is no less a personage than the Bodhisattva, from which it follows that Būiti is nothing but the object of the Buddhist worship, the Buddha, or better the Bodhi. In fact once Būiti is called Būidhi¹. Therefore, at the time when the legend of Zarathustra was written down, Buddhism was one of the religions with which he was supposed to have to struggle. The composer of the nineteenth Fargard of the Vendidad, therefore, knew of Buddhism, and this accounts for the striking analogies between the legend of Zarathustra's temptation by Angra Mainyu and Sakya's temptation by Māra. The Zoroastrian writer thought it fair to borrow such an edifying legend from the very religion he opposed.

§ 6. Another passage in the Yasts mentions controversies victoriously carried on by Zoroastrians against that impostor Gaotema. Here, again, it is striking to find Zoroastrians engaged in religious warfare with an enemy who bears one of the names of Buddha, Gotama. Controversies were to the taste of both sects: Gotama, in the Gātakas, seems to pass all his life in confounding heretics; and late tradition ascribes to Zoroaster, as one of his most

¹ Farg. XI, 9.

glorious feats, the defeat and conversion of a great Indian sage *Kangragaka*.

§ 7. Buddhism was brought beyond the Indus as early as Asoka's reign, though it was only under the Graeco-Bactrian kings (250–125 B.C.) and under the Indo-Greeks (first century before Christ) that it spread widely in the eastern provinces of Iran. One of the greatest Indo-Greeks, Menander—Milinda, was revered as a Buddhist saint. In the middle of the first century B.C. Bactriana was famed for its Buddhist priests, the *Σαμαναῖοι*, the Shamans. In the first century of our era, Kanishka's coins present, in an instructive eclecticism, all the deities of the Indo-Scythian empire, Greek gods, Brahmanical devas, Buddha, and the principal yazatas of Mazdeism. If therefore the alleged allusions to Buddhism are accepted, the Avesta passages where they occur cannot have been written earlier than the second century before our era, though they may bear a later date, as Buddhism was uprooted from Eastern Iran only by Islam.

§ 8. We have already seen that Alexander was known to the composer of the *Hôm Yast*, nay more, that it must be posterior to the fall of the Greek domination in Iran (about 150 B.C.). There was time enough for Greek influence to permeate the Zoroastrian schools, and so it did.

§ 9. The doctrine of the Magi on the duration of the world prevalent during the Achaemenian period is known from Theopompus, a writer contemporary with Philip and Alexander. The existence of the world is divided into periods of three thousand years. During the first two periods Ormazd and Ahriman reign alternately; during the third period they struggle, and destroy each other's work; at the end, Ahriman is conquered and men live happily, needing no food and casting no shadow.

This same doctrine is found in Zoroastrian books, but with a characteristic difference. The world lasts four periods of three thousand years each: the third period is filled, as in Theopompus, with the mixture and conflict of the two principles; the fourth period, that opens with the apparition of Zoroaster and the true religion, ends with the ruin of

Ahriman, the resurrection and future life. But in the first two periods the agreement ceases. In the pre-Alexandrian conception, each period belongs to each of the two principles in turn; the spirit of the Zoroastrian doctrine is quite mystical. During three thousand years the world had only a spiritual, unseen form, and it remained uncorrupted, unmoving, not perceptible. In the next period of three thousand years, it received material form and began to move, though it was still free from Ahriman.

§ 10. That period of spiritual, ideal existence of the world, preceding its material and sensible apparition, reminds one strikingly of the Platonic ideas, and it can hardly have entered Zoroastrianism before Greek philosophy penetrated the East. This hypothesis will seem less bold than it does at first sight, if we remember that, on the confession of old Parsi tradition itself, texts on 'generation and corruption' (yahvûnishn u-vînâsishn), recovered from the Greeks, were embodied in the sacred books as late as the end of the third century of our era; and that the high-priest Tansar, the man who played so important a part in Ardashîr's religious revolution, was expressly represented as a member of the Platonic sect. Without pressing conclusions too hard as to facts and dates, this much can be safely inferred from the preceding, that Platonic doctrines had found their way to Persia in the first centuries of the Christian era.

Platonism of course means Neo-Platonism, that is to say that philosophic compound, inspired by the spirit of Plato, which permeated all the speculations of the centuries before Christ and long after, and which finds its first and most influential expression in Philo Judaeus. In Philo is found, as far as I know, the first exact parallel to the Avesta doctrine mentioned above. As God perceived that no work can be beautiful but from a beautiful model, and that any sensible object needs an ideal archetype, 'when he wanted to create this visible world, he first drew the intelligible one' (βουληθεῖς τὸν ὁρατὸν τουτονὶ κόσμον δημιουργῆσαι, προ-εξετύπου τὸν νοητὸν). The ὁρατὸς κόσμος is the gaêthya sti, the νοητός is the mainyava.

§ 11. The first Genius under Ahura is Vohu Manô, 'Good Thought,' who is his first spiritual creation and the moving principle of the world. He was created first of all beings; through him in the beginning Ahura created the world and the religion; and Ahura takes his advice before proceeding to any of his acts. Besides being his first creation and the instrument of his other creations, he is the type of mankind. At last, in the next world, he is the intercessor between Ahura and man.

When we define Vohu Manô in the words of the Avesta, we define the Logos: and inversely Vohu Manô may be defined in the same terms as Philo's Λόγος Θεῖος: 'as the first manifestation of the divine powers, he is the first-born, the first archangel of God; as an ideal type of human nature, he is the perfect man.' Like Vohu Manô in the Gâthas and still more, the Logos is the instrument of creation. Like him, he is the perfect intercessor, for he applies to the Father to obtain for men the forgiveness of sins and plenty of benefits. As Zarathustra applies to Vohu Manô for his first instruction, so is the Logos the messenger of God, his elect, the transmitter of his revelations. Both Philo's Logos and the Avesta Vohu Manô are God's first-born and first instrument, the ideal man, the intercessor, the revealer.

§ 12. If Vohu Manô is a Zoroastrian adaptation of the Logos, it will follow that the Amshaspands themselves are a post-Alexandrian development; for Vohu Manô is the type of the Amshaspands. As Vohu Manô was chosen to represent mankind, so there grew up round this initial ideal divine abstractions that might be attached, somehow, to the other departments of nature to help like Vohu Manô, and with him, in the creation of the world. This is the series of the six Amesha Spentas:

Vohu Manô,	Good Thought,	reigning over Man (and cattle).
Asha Vahista,	Perfect Righteousness,	„ Fire.
Khshathra Vairya,	Good Royalty,	„ Metals.
Spenta Ârmaiti,	Pious Modesty,	„ Earth.
Haurvatât,	Health,	„ Waters.
Ameretât,	Immortality,	„ Plants.

Here again Philo presents us with a striking parallel.

Between God and the world, the Logos is only the first of a series of divine abstractions or powers (λόγοι, or δυνάμεις): in one passage, unfortunately mutilated, he enumerates six of them, the Θεῖος λόγος being the first. The third, ἡ βασιλική, 'the Royal virtue,' answers literally to the third member of the Zoroastrian series, Khshathra Vairya. The other members of the Philonian series ποιητική, 'the Creative virtue;' ἡ εὐεως, 'the power of Mercy;' νομοθετική, 'the Legislative virtue,' have no counterpart in the Avesta series, which prevents our attributing any particular historical importance to the coincidence of Khshathra Vairya with the βασιλική: yet the coincidence is not quite accidental: it was made possible only by the fact that both Philo and the organisers of the Avesta system moved in a common atmosphere of moral and metaphysical abstractions. In fact ἡ εὐεως, though not one of the Amesha Spentas, might have become one, and in fact is consecrated and invoked with Khshathra Vairya under the name of Marezdika¹, 'Mercy.' The νομοθετική is sanctified in ἀκαῖσα, 'the Law,' or in Māthra Spenta, 'the Holy Word.'

This is the Gnostic atmosphere, and the Gāthas, which are, on the whole, a poem to the glory of the Amesha Spentas and the virtues they impersonate, may be termed the first monument of Gnosticism, but of practical, purely ethic Gnosticism, permeated by a strong sense of reality and a deep pre-occupation with morality: abstraction here is only a means of edification. Philo is nearer the true Gnostics than the writers of the Gāthas: they were mere moralists, with no metaphysical instinct.

CHAPTER VI.

JEWISH ELEMENTS IN THE RELIGION.

§ 1. The Jewish influence, less visible in the doctrine than the Greek, is prominent in the general views and the form of the book.

¹ Yt. II, 2, 7.

The Avesta and the Pentateuch are the only two religious books known in which legislation descends from the heavens to the earth in a series of conversations between the lawgiver and his God. Without attaching undue importance to this correspondence, we shall be more impressed with the fact that both books have the same object, viz. to write the history of the creation and mankind; and in mankind, more especially, the history of the elect race (the Iranians here, the Hebrews there), and in that race the history of the true religion (the religion of Mazda, revealed by Mazda to Zarathustra, and the religion of Jehovah, revealed by Jehovah to Moses). The ultimate end of both books is to teach the faithful the rule of life.

§ 2. Here is a series of particular concordances that show more clearly the unity of their plan :

(1) Creation of the world.—Jehovah creates the world in six days; he creates successively the light, the heaven, the sea, the earth and the plants, the lights in the firmament, the animals, and lastly man.

Ahura Mazda creates the world in six periods; he creates successively the heaven, the water, the earth, the plants, the animals, and man.

(2) Creation of man.—All the human race, in Genesis, is descended from one couple, man and woman, Adam and Eve (Adam means 'man').

All the human race, in the Avesta, is descended from one couple, man and woman, Mashya and Mashyana (Mashya means 'man').

(3) The Deluge.—Jehovah intends to destroy the human race, on account of its wickedness, and to renew it. He brings about the deluge, but saves one just man, Noah, with his family and a couple of each species of animals. Noah, on his advice, builds an ark, in which he takes refuge, with his people, and from which he goes out afterwards to repeople the earth.

In course of time, the earth shall be laid waste by the snows and rains of three long winters, the Mahrkúsha winters. Ahura, in order to repeople his earth with superior races, orders kind Yima to build an underground

palace, the Var of Yima, where the finest specimens of human, animal, and vegetable species will live till the moment when, the evil days being over, they shall open the doors of the Var and repeople the earth with a better race.

(4) Division of the Earth.—Noah has three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, the ancestors of the three races between which the earth is divided.

Thraëtaona, the avenger and successor of Yima, has three sons, Airya, Sairima, and Tûra, between whom the earth is divided: Airya receives Iran, the centre of the earth's surface, Sairima receives the West, and Tûra the East.

Putting aside the legend of Airya, killed by his brothers, which reminds one, but not closely enough, of Joseph persecuted by his brethren, we arrive at the fact that is the central interest of the two books:

(5) The Revelation. Zarathustra converses with Ahura, as Moses with Jehovah, and receives, like him, the revelation of the laws of every description, on the Mountain of the Holy Conversations, as Moses did on Sinai.

(6) Both Moses and Zarathustra had forerunners.

A first covenant was made by Jehovah with Noah.

The Iranian Noah, Yima, had been first offered to act the part of a lawgiver, which he modestly declined.

Moses was preceded by three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. So Zarathustra was preceded by three great saints, who practised before him the worship of Haoma: Vivanghant, Athwya, and Thritha.

§ 3. Certainly it would not be safe to affirm that the coincidences between Genesis and the Avesta are due to a direct action of one on the other. The newly-recovered fragments of a Chaldaean Genesis leave room open for a third medium. However, the myths of the creation and the deluge, the only part of the Biblico-Chaldaean mythology which has, in a rather mutilated form, come down to us, differ so widely in the Bible and the Babylonian tablets, that it is only out of scientific scruple that we leave the Chaldaean door open. For the other points of comparison,

we are obliged, for want of any Chaldaean remains, to let the Bible and the Avesta alone stand face to face.

If the Mazdean Genesis rests on a Chaldaean basis, the date of the loan remains indefinite, as it may virtually have taken place at any date between the time when Iran came into contact with Chaldaea and the time when the Chaldaean mythology died out. If it rests on the Biblical tradition, the loan can hardly have taken place earlier than the time when Judaism began to spread beyond Palestine, that is to say, the first century before Christ and the first after. There were at that time Jewish communities in Media, Parthia, Susiana, and Mesopotamia; the king of Adiabene, Izates, was converted to Judaism about 58 A.D.; and Jewish schools were flourishing in Babylonia and in the Greek towns. So the Magi could meet with doctors of Judaism as well as with teachers of Platonism.

CHAPTER VII.

ACHAEMENIAN AND EARLIER ELEMENTS.

§ 1. From the preceding disquisitions we assume that the Avesta doctrine is not one and self-sufficient: but it contains elements borrowed from foreign systems, from India, Greece, and Judaea. It directs its polemic against India and borrows from her, though in a hostile spirit. It owes to Greece some of its teaching, and to Judaea its historical views. And all these foreign elements were borrowed in the Parthian period.

But these elements, however important they may be, do not constitute the whole of Zoroastrianism, for there are essential doctrines in it, the existence of which can be traced back far beyond the Parthian period and the Greek conquest, with historical evidence. One may, with certain accuracy, distinguish in Zoroastrianism what is old, pre-Alexandrian, or Achaemenian from what is late, or post-Alexandrian.

§ 2. The fundamental basis of Mazdeism, the belief in a supreme God, the organiser of the world, Ahura Mazda,

is as old as anything we know of Persia. Darius proclaims Auramazda, the greatest of all gods, a powerful God, who made this earth, who made that heaven, who made man, who made Darius king.

The gods invoked with the Persian Zeus (Auramazda) are, according to Herodotos, the Sun, the Moon, the Earth, the Wind, the Waters, that is to say, natural Deities. The two greatest gods, next to him, according to Artaxerxes Mnemon, are Mithra and Anahata (Anâhita), that is to say, a God of the Light and a Goddess of the Waters. There is no allusion to, no mention, no indication whatever, of the Amesha Spentas, nor of that crowd of abstract divinities so characteristic of the later Mazdeism. This is no wonder; as we have seen already that the Amesha Spentas are a Platonic development.

§ 3. The principle of dualism is pre-Alexandrian. This is implied, in the time of Darius, by the great king stating that Ahura 'created welfare (shiyâtîm) for man¹;' in the time of Herodotos, by the religious war waged by the Magi against the ants, snakes, and other noxious creatures, which shows that the distinction of Ormazdian and Ahrimanic creatures was already in existence. Moreover, at the end of the Achaemenian period, Aristotle knows of a Good Spirit and the Evil One, Zeus—Oromazdes and Ades—Areimanios.

§ 4. Already in the Achaemenian Mazdeism, the existence of the world was limited to twelve thousand years, distributed into four periods, the character of which was altered in the post-Alexandrian period, to humour the Neo-Platonic tendencies of the age. It was already an established dogma that Ahriman would be conquered at last and that men would live again. The belief in resurrection and a future life implies the correlative belief in future rewards and punishments, which plays a great part in the post-Alexandrian religion, but must have belonged to the older stratum.

¹ See Rawlinson, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. x, p. 291; Benfey, *Die Persischen Keilinschriften*, pp. 63, 95.

§ 5. The practical and utilitarian morality of the Avesta was one of the older traits of the national character. In the eyes of king Darius and the contemporaries of Herodotos, as in those of the writer of Vendîdâd III, and of all good Parsis of the present day, the two greatest merits of a citizen were the begetting and rearing of a numerous family, and the fruitful tilling of the soil. Truthfulness was already considered the paramount virtue, and the balance of merits and demerits was already known at least to the earthly judge.

§ 6. The worship of the elements, water, fire, and earth, and respect for their purity were already in practice. It was forbidden to sully the waters or the fire, to throw a corpse into the fire, or to bury it in the earth until reduced to a fleshless, incorruptible skeleton.

§ 7. There were two sorts of sacrifices: the bloody sacrifice, of which a survival has lingered to this day in the Âtash zôhr, and the bloodless sacrifice, consisting essentially of the Haoma-offering and libations, of which there is no direct mention in the classics, but which indirect evidence obliges us to ascribe to the older religion.

§ 8. Thus the principles of the Achaemenian religion may be summed up as follows:

(1) As far as dogma goes: the existence of two conflicting supreme powers, one good and the other evil, Ormazd and Ahriman; the final defeat of Ahriman after twelve thousand years; and the resurrection. Also a number of naturalistic deities, amongst which were Mithra and Anâhita.

(2) Morals: veneration of truth, family, and agriculture.

(3) Liturgy: a bloody sacrifice and a bloodless sacrifice (Haoma). Certain laws of purity extending to the waters, the fire, and the earth. Burning or burying corpses forbidden.

§ 9. The Achaemenian religion was practised in the south as well as in the north of Iran, in Persia as well as in Media. It had its centre in Media and its sacerdotal class belonged to a Median tribe, the Magi. The priesthood was hereditary—as it still is nowadays amongst the

Parsis—and the Magi were to Mazdeism what the Levites and Cohanim were to Judaism. The sacerdotal tribe spread wherever Mazdeism extended; and in spite of the intense provincial hatred which the Persians bore to the Medians, their former masters, and which the Pseudo-Smerdis' usurpation was not sufficient to smother, still the Magi were in the Persian idea the only true, authorised priests. No sacrifice was of any value which had not been performed by a Magus: only a Magus could make himself heard by the gods.

§ 10. The supposed founder of the religion was named Zarathustra, a personage that must have been known to the pre-Alexandrian religion, as Dino mentions him, and his protectors, king Vistâspa (Ὑστάρσπης) and Vistâspa's brother Zairivairi (Ζαίριβάδρης), were already, in the time of Alexander, heroes of epic songs which were current in Asia. As to the birthplace of Zarathustra, all Zoroastrian texts agree with the old classic tradition in placing it in Media. Whether Zarathustra was an historical or a legendary personage it is difficult to decide, and to some extent useless, as Zoroastrianism no longer appears to be one homogeneous religious monument, since we are confronted with two Zoroastrianisms, one anterior and the other posterior to Alexander. The Pseudo-Xanthos, which is at any rate anterior to the first century B.C., and may be much older, makes Zarathustra the founder of Magism and the first of a series of grand chiefs of Magism who succeeded one another till Alexander's time. Zarathustra would therefore be an old chief of the priestly caste, a Mobedân-Mobed, a Zarathustrôtema κατ' ἐξοχήν, whether historical or legendary. As his legend is known to us only from Avesta sources, we have no means of distinguishing in it what may be older from what may be a later development.

§ 11. Zoroastrianism, whether prior to Alexander or in its post-Alexandrian form, was never a simple religion; it was the result of an historical elaboration of complex materials. It was a growth in which one easily discerns Aryan elements, which it has in common with India, and new original elements. Its Aryan elements may be termed:

the supreme God, the God of the Heaven, Ahura Mazda ; the God of the heavenly light, Mithra ; the worship of the elementary divinities, Waters, Fire, and Earth ; a number of storm myths and mythical legends ; and the worship of Haoma. Purely Iranian are : the dualistic conception of the world, its limited duration of twelve thousand years with its four periods ; the continual conflict of Ormazd and Ahriman, and the latter's defeat ; the resurrection of the dead, the notion of purity carried to the extreme, the prohibition of burning or burying the dead, and the throwing away of corpses to dogs and birds of prey.

§ 12. Some of the new dogmas may be the independent development of Aryan elements : for instance, the dualistic conception may have grown out of the mythical struggles between gods and demons. But the Great year and the resurrection are things quite new, which seem to betray external influences. Of the Scythian origin of Zoroastrianism it will be idle to speak, till the advocates of the system have brought something like historical or rational evidence in its favour. The only civilisation of which we know in the neighbourhood of Media was that of the Assyro-Chaldaeans, which in many things was the instructor of the Medes and taught them their art, their writing, and their political organisation. Unfortunately, too little is known of the inner aspects of the Chaldaean religion. One may wonder if the Frashô-kereti, that renewal of the world that is to take place at the end of the Great year of twelve millennia, was derived from the Semitic myths of the annual revival of Adonis and Tammuz. Even the idea of resurrection seems to be attested on the so-called Cyrus' cylinder of Babylon. If these hypotheses turn out to be correct, older Magism may be defined as an Aryan growth under Chaldaean influences.

CHAPTER VIII.

AGE AND GROWTH OF THE AVESTA.

§ 1. The internal evidence of the doctrines has thus confirmed the half-historical evidence of the texts, and

led us to believe that the Avesta is the embodiment and the fusion of two teachings, one of which belonged to the Achaemenian age, whereas the other could not be older than the fall of the Greek domination in Iran. One might therefore divide the Avesta, so far as the doctrine goes, into pre-Alexandrian and post-Alexandrian texts. The Vendidad may be taken as the best specimen of the texts imbued with the pre-Alexandrian spirit, as its general laws are Achaemenian in tone, and a great part of it may be interpreted by means of classical testimonies regarding the Achaemenian age. The Gâthas may be taken as the best specimen of the post-Alexandrian spirit, as they are filled with ideas of post-Alexandrian growth.

§ 2. The date of the Gâthas, if not exactly determinable, may yet be fixed between rather narrow limits. They can hardly be older than the first century before our era, or even before Philo of Alexandria; for the neo-Platonic ideas and beings are found in them just in the Philonian stage. They cannot be dated later than the time of the Scythian kings, Kanishka and Huvishka, who reigned in India between 78 and 130 A.D., and who left on their coins records of many of the Zoroastrian divinities, not only the old elementary ones, like *Μειρο*—Mithra, *Τειρο*—Tighri, *Οαδο*—Vâta, *Μαο*—Maungha; but also the new abstract deities, like *Οανινδα*—Vanairiti, *Ορλαγνο*—Verethraghna, and the Amshaspand *Σαορηοαρ*—Khshathra Vairya. If it is assumed that the idea Vohu Manô was inspired by Philo or his school, the Gâthas will be thereby ascribed to the first century of our era. It is just the period when we find Vologeses and the first historical mention of an attempt to form a systematic religious code.

The Gâthas present therefore this apparent contradiction, that, being the oldest part of the Avesta, they represent, at the same time, the latest growth of the Zoroastrian spirit. This is contradictory only to those who in a text confound the date of its composition with the date of the ideas it expresses. The Vendidad may be at the same time later than the Gâthas in its composition and older in its material. The writer of the Vendidad had the Gâthas before his eyes,

though he expressed ideas and facts far anterior to the time when the Gāthas could have been written or thought of.

But if the Gāthas were written in the first century of our era, it follows that they must have been written in a dead language. Names like Vaninda, Oado, Saorêvar, on the Indo-Scythian coins, show that at the end of that century the Zend was no longer a living language, but had already been brought to the level of the popular Pahlavi stage. Though the possibility remains that what we call the Philonian concept may be older than Philo, its best-known exponent; and that the Gāthas may therefore be brought back as far as the first or second century before Christ, an epoch when we find already the neo-Platonic spirit in the later productions of Jewish ethics, like the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. In this hypothesis, the Zend might have been still a living, or rather a dying, language, judging from its state of decomposition. As to the country to which it belonged, only one thing can be safely affirmed: it was not Persia. It may have been Media, which remained to the last the centre of Zoroastrianism and the Zoroastrian priesthood; it may have been the eastern part of Iran, where a modern dialect, the Afghan, appears to be a lineal descendant of the Zend.

One question remains to be settled. Allowing that a part of the Avesta is post-Alexandrian, is there a part of it which belongs to the pre-Alexandrian age, namely, that part which, so far as its contents go, belongs to the old religious stratum?

Certainly it would be most hazardous to deny the existence of a sacred literature under the Achaemenian kings, though no historical evidence can be brought forward to support its assumption. Nay more, if the Gāthas are supposed to have been written in a dead language, we are obliged to assume the existence of an old literature and the survival of fragments of it; for it is impossible to write in a dead language unless one has under one's eyes models composed at a time when the language was living. But if there has ever been such a thing as an Achaemenian Avesta, and even if fragments of it were in the hands of the

post-Alexandrian Diaskeuasts, one thing is certain ; there is not one page of that older Avesta that is literally reproduced in the newer Avesta. Those theogonies which the Magi in the time of Herodotos sang at the sacrifice have nothing to do with our Gâthas, since our Gâthas contain elements which did not enter the Iranian mind till Iran was overwhelmed by the Greek conquest. Neither were they like our Yasts, because the composition of our Yasts was directed by an historical and chronological principle, of biblical origin. Only the laws of the Vendidad, which, most of them, are as old as the older Zoroastrianism, may be supposed to be a partial reproduction of an Achaemenian Avesta ; but even they are presented in a form that implies the new evolution. A Magus of the old days was as energetic as an Avesta Âthravan in protecting the purity of the earth against any defilement ; but he would not have spoken of the earth as *Spenta Ârmaiti*.

CHAPTER IX.

CONCLUSIONS.

§ 1. Zoroastrianism is an historical religion, that is to say, one that has changed in course of time, not only by an inner evolution, but also under the reaction of foreign schools and political events.

§ 2. In the remotest period, the Median priests, the Magi, elaborated on a naturalistic basis, not different from what is found in Indian, Greek, and Italian paganisms, an original system, not free from Semitic elements. Its characteristics are : dualism, the limited duration of the world, the resurrection, the worship of pure elements, and the ethics of labour. That system spread from Media to Persia, and was dominant under the Achaemenians. It is Zoroastrianism proper ; no direct documents of it are left ; but it is known indirectly through the inscriptions, through the testimony of the classics, and through the documents of the neo-Zoroastrianism, which received its dogmas and gave them a new form.

§ 3. Alexander's invasion brought in its wake political and moral anarchy. Zoroastrianism did not perish ; its dogmas, its worship, and part of its mythology survived ; but for want of a sacred authoritative book, there was no Zoroastrian orthodoxy. At the same time, the barriers between East and West being broken, all religions and systems were brought face to face. The religious question became the order of the day. Buddhism and Brāhmanism pushed from the East, Judaism from the West, Hellenism ruled all over Iran. In the systems that from all the four points of the compass spread into Iran, either with a conscious propagandist spirit, or through the slow, blind influences of every-day contacts, Zoroastrianism found both what repelled and what attracted it. Its practical and moral ideal revolted against the inert asceticism of Buddhism, the ethical indifference of Brāhmanism, and the superstitious, low worship of immoral Devas.

§ 4. Greece and Palestine, on the contrary, brought to it novel, fascinating, and edifying thoughts. How far and deep Hellenism made its influence felt is symbolically expressed on the coins of the Philhellen Arsacidae. Not that I think that Zeus impressed in any active way the worshippers of Ahura, though Herodotos and Aristotle had recognised their affinities, as the Sassanians did later on. It was Greek philosophy that reacted on the Zoroastrian schools. Platonism was there, as it was in Western Asia, 'the bond between the East and Greece.' What struck the Mazdean sages most in it was what at the same time impressed the Hellenist Jews so much : the idea of the Logos, that divine intelligence abstracted from God and interposed between him and the world ; also the concept of an ideal world, the heavenly unseen prototype of the material one. After the Iranian Logos, Vohu Manō, rose the Amshaspands, to share with him the government of the soul and the world. Then came a host of divine abstractions, to impersonate all the spiritual and material forces of nature. In spite of the dryness and scholastic rigour with which the doctors invested Mazdeism, one cannot help admiring the practical good sense and idea of proportion

which presided over the choice of these divine abstractions and represented their impulses; and when one contrasts them with the Eons of the Gnostics and the Sephiroth of the Cabbalists, which starting from the same point, the First Intelligence, fell engulfed in mystical nihilism, one can understand why and how Mazdeism was, next to Christianity, the only one among the religious systems inspired with Plato's spirit that lived and deserved to live.

§ 5. Judaism inspired Zoroastrianism in a different, though not less powerful, way. It answered certain questions of which Mazdeism had not thought. Its sacred book supplied the Mazdean doctors with its solutions of those questions. It gave them even its historical and chronological framework. The creation, the deluge, the genealogies, the patriarchs, the division of races, the Revelation were all told in a Zoroastrian spirit. Perhaps the very idea of an Avesta was suggested by the Bible. The very divisions of the Bible were adopted in the Avesta: the classification of the Nasks into Dâta (the Law), Gâtha (metaphysics) and Hadha-mâthra, is the classification of the Biblical texts into Thora (Law), Nebiim (Prophets), and Ketûbim. When Islam assimilated the Zoroastrians to the People of the Book, it evinced a rare historical sense and solved the problem of the origin of the Avesta.

§ 6. Thus, in the centuries about the Christian era, was elaborated in Iran a new religion, not differing essentially from the old one, which, in fact was nothing more than this old religion, adapted to the new necessities of its spiritual and political surroundings, better armed against rivals and made stronger by borrowing from every one of its competitors. All these novelties Zoroastrianism could adopt and assimilate to itself without losing its own physiognomy, and there are few instances of foreign elements and concepts so freely borrowed by a religion and so harmoniously blended in the original mould.

CHAPTER X.

THE VENDÎDÂD.

§ 1. According to Parsi tradition the Vendîdâd¹ is the only Nask, out of the twenty-one, that was preserved in its entirety². This is a statement to which it is difficult to trust; for, if there is anything that shows how right the Parsis are in admitting that the Avesta is only a collection of fragments, it is the fragmentary character of the Vendîdâd that strikes us most.

The Vendîdâd has often been described as the book of the laws of the Parsis; it may be more exactly called the code of purification, a description, however, which is itself only so far correct that the laws of purification are the object of the largest part of the book.

✓ The first two chapters deal with mythical matter, without any direct connection with the general object of the Vendîdâd, and are remnants of an old epic and cosmogonic literature. The first deals with the creations and counter-creations of Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu; the second speaks of Yima, the founder of civilisation. Although there was no particular reason for placing them in the Vendîdâd, as soon as they were admitted into it they were naturally put at the beginning, because they referred to the first ages of the world. Three chapters of a mythical character, about the origin of medicine, were put at the end of the book, for want of any better place, but might as well have been kept apart³, as was the so-called Haddhokht Nask fragment. There is also another mythical Fargard, the nineteenth, which, as it treats of the revelation of the law by Ahura to Zarathustra, would have been more suitably placed at the beginning of the Vendîdâd proper, that is, as the third Fargard.

¹ The word Vendîdâd is a corruption of Vîdaêvô-dâtem (dâtem), the 'anti-demoniac law.' It is sometimes applied to the whole of the law (Vendîdâd Sâda).

² See above, p. xxxii.

³ As an introduction to a code of laws on physicians; see Farg. VII, 36-44.

The other sixteen chapters deal chiefly with religious observances, although mythical fragments, or moral digressions, are met with here and there, which are more or less artificially connected with the text, and which were most probably not written in connection with the passages which they follow¹.

§ 2. A rough attempt at regular order appears in these sixteen chapters: nearly all the matter contained in the eight chapters from V to XII deals with impurity arising from the dead and the way of dispelling it; but the subject is again treated, here and there, in other Fargards², and matter irrelevant to the subject has also found its way into these same eight Fargards³. Fargards XIII and XIV are devoted to the dog, but must be completed with a part of the XVth. Fargards XVI, XVII, and most part of XVIII deal with several sorts of uncleanness, and their proper place should rather have been after the XIIth Fargard. Fargard III is devoted to the earth⁴; Fargard IV stands by itself, as it deals with a matter which is treated only there, namely, civil and penal laws⁵.

No better order prevails within these several parts: prescriptions on one and the same subject are scattered about through several Fargards, without any subject being treated at once in a full and exhaustive way; and this occasions needless repetitions⁶.

The main cause of this disorder was, of course, that the advantage of order is rarely felt by Orientals; but it was further promoted by the very form of exposition adopted by the first composers of the Vendidad. The law is revealed by Ahura in a series of answers to questions put to him by

¹ For instance, Farg. V, 15-20; III, 24-29; 30-32; 33; IV, 47-49.

² III, 14-21; 36 seq.; XIX, 11-25.

³ The passages on medicine (VII, 36-44), and on the sea Vouru-kasha (V, 15-20).

⁴ It contains two digressions, the one on funeral laws, the other on husbandry. See Farg. III, *Introd.*

⁵ It contains one digression on physical well-being, which must have belonged originally to Farg. III. See Farg. IV, *Introd.*

⁶ V, 27-30 = VII, 6-9; V, 45-54 = VII, 60-69; V, 57-62 = VII, 17-22.

Zarathustra¹; and as these questions are not of a general character, but refer to details, the matter is much broken up into fragments, each of which, consisting of a question with its answer, stands by itself, as an independent passage.

We shall treat in the following pages, first of the laws of purification, then of the civil laws, and, lastly, of the penalties both religious and civil.

A.

§ 3. The first object of man is purity, *yaozdau*: 'purity is for man, next to life, the greatest good'².

Purity and impurity have not in the Vendidād the exclusively spiritual meaning which they have in our languages: they do not refer to an inward state of the soul, but chiefly to a physical state of the body. Impurity or uncleanness may be described as the state of a person or a thing that is possessed of the demon; and the object of purification is to expel the demon.

The principal means by which uncleanness enters man is death, as death is the triumph of the demon.

When a man dies, as soon as the soul has parted from the body, the Drug Nasu or Corpse-Drug falls upon the dead from the regions of hell, and whoever thenceforth touches the corpse becomes unclean, and makes unclean whomsoever he touches³.

The Drug is expelled from the dead by means of the Sag-did, 'the look of the dog:' 'a four-eyed dog' or 'a white one with yellow ears' is brought near the body and is made to look at the dead; as soon as he has done so, the Drug flees back to hell⁴.

¹ The outward form of the Vendidād has been often compared with that of the Books of Moses. But in reality, in the Bible, there is no conversation between God and the lawgiver: the law comes down unasked, and God gives commands, but gives no answers. In the Vendidād, on the contrary, it is the wish of man, not the will of God, that is the first cause of the revelation. Man must ask of Ahura, who knows everything, and is pleased to answer (XVIII, 13 seq.); the law is 'the question to Ahura,' *âhûiri frashnô*.

² Farg. V, 21, from Yasna XLVIII (XLVII), 5.

³ Farg. VII, 1 seq.

⁴ In the shape of a fly. 'The fly that came to the smell of the dead body was thought to be the corpse-spirit that came to take possession of the dead in the name of Ahriman' (Justi, Persien, p. 88).

The Drug is expelled from the living, whom she has seized through their contact with the dead, by a process of washings with ox's urine (*gômêz* or *nîrang*) and with water, combined with the *Sag-did*¹.

The real import of these ceremonies is shown by the spells which accompany their performance: 'Perish, O fiendish Drug! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Drug! Rush away, O Drug! Perish away, O Drug! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy spirit!'

Thus, in the death of a man, there is more involved than the death of one man: the power of death, called forth from hell, threatens from the corpse, as from a stronghold, the whole world of the living, ready to seize whatever may fall within his reach, and 'from the dead defiles the living, and from the living rushes upon the living.' When a man dies in a house, there is danger for three days lest somebody else should die in that house².

The notion or feeling, out of which these ceremonies grew, was far from unknown to the other Indo-European peoples: what was peculiar to Mazdeism was that it carried it to an extreme, and preserved a clearer sense of it, while elsewhere it grew dimmer and dimmer, and faded away. In fact, when the Greek, going out of a house where a dead man lay, sprinkled himself with water from the *ἀρδάνιον* at the door, it was death that he drove away from himself. The Vedic Indian, too, although his rites were intended chiefly for the benefit of the dead, considered himself in danger and, while burning the corpse, cried aloud: 'Away, go away, O Death! injure not our sons and our men!' (*Rig-veda* X, 18, 1.)

§ 4. As to the rites by means of which the Drug is expelled, they are the performance of myths. There is nothing in worship but what existed before in mythology. What we call a practice is only an imitation of gods, an *ὁμολοῖσθαι θεῶν*, as man fancies he can bring about the things

¹ Farg. VIII, 35-72; IX, 12-36.

² Saddar 78.

he wants, by performing the acts which are supposed to have brought about things of the same kind when practised by the gods.

The Parsis, being at a loss to find four-eyed dogs, interpret the name as meaning a dog with two spots above the eyes¹: but it is clear that the two-spotted dog's services are only accepted for want of a four-eyed one, or of a white one with yellow ears, which amounts to saying that there were myths, according to which the death-fiend was driven away by dogs of that description. This reminds one at once of the three-headed Kerberos, watching at the doors of hell, and, still more, of the two brown, four-eyed dogs of Yama, who guard the ways to the realm of death².

The identity of the four-eyed dog of the Parsi with Kerberos and Yama's dogs appears, moreover, from the Parsi tradition that the yellow-eared dog watches at the head of the *Kinvaṭ* bridge, which leads from this to the next world, and with his barking drives away the fiend from the souls of the holy ones, lest he should drag them to hell³.

Wherever the corpse passes by, death walks with it; all along the way it has gone, from the house to its last resting-place, a spirit of death is breathing and threatening the living. Therefore, no man, no flock, no being whatever that belongs to the world of Ahura, is allowed to pass by

¹ In practice they are still less particular: 'The Sag-dīd may be performed by a shepherd's dog, by a house-dog, by a Vohunazga dog (see Farg. XIII, 19, n.), or by a young dog (a dog four months old),' Comm. ad Farg. VII, 2. As birds of prey are as fiend-smiting as the dog, they are Nasu-smitters like him, and one may appeal to their services, when there is no dog at hand (see Farg. VII, 3, n. 3).

² Rīg-veda X, 14, 10 seq.

³ Gr. Rav. p. 592. Allusions to this myth are found in Farg. XIII, 9, and XIX, 30. The Commentary ad Farg. XIII, 17 has: 'There are dogs who watch over the earthly regions; there are others who watch over the fourteen heavenly regions.' The birth of the yellow-eared dog is described in the Ravāet (l. c.) as follows: 'Ormazd, wishing to keep the body of the first man, Gayōmart, from the assaults of Ahriman, who tried to kill him, cried out: "O thou yellow-eared dog, arise!" and directly the dog barked and shook his two ears; and the unclean Satan and the fiends, when they saw the dreadful looks of the yellow-eared dog, and heard his barking, were sore afraid and fled down to hell.'

that way until the deadly breath, that blows through it, has been blown away to hell¹. The four-eyed dog is made to go through the way three times, or six times, or nine times, while the priest helps the look of the dog with his spells, dreaded by the Drug.

§ 5. The use of *gômêz* in cleansing the unclean is also derived from old mythic conceptions². The storm floods that cleanse the sky of the dark fiends in it were described in a class of myths as the urine of a gigantic animal in the heavens. As the floods from the bull above drive away the fiend from the god, so do they from man here below, they make him 'free from the death-demon' (*frânasu*), and the death-fiend flees away hellwards, pursued by the fiend-smiting spell: 'Perish thou, O Drug . . . , never more to give over to Death the living world of the good spirit!'

§ 6. As uncleanness is nothing else than the contagion of death, it is at its greatest intensity when life is just departing. The *Nasu* at that moment defiles ten persons around the corpse³: when a year is over, the corpse defiles no longer⁴. Thus the notion of uncleanness is quite the reverse of what it is elsewhere: the corpse, when rotten, is less unclean than the body still all but warm with life; death defiles least when it looks most hideous, and defiles most when it might look majestic. The cause is that in the latter case the death-demon has just arrived in the fulness of his strength, whereas in the former case time has exhausted his power.

§ 7. As the focus of the contagion is in the corpse, it must be disposed of so that death may not spread abroad. On this point the old Indo-European customs have been completely changed by Mazdeism. The Indo-Europeans either burnt the corpse or buried it: both customs are held to be sacrilegious in the Avesta.

§ 8. This view originated from the notion of the holiness

¹ Farg. VIII, 14-22.

² Orm. Ahr. § 124. The use of *gômêz* has been lately found to be known in Basse-Bretagne (Luzel, *Le Nirang des Parsis en Basse-Bretagne*, Mélusine, 493).

³ Farg. V, 27; cf. n. 5.

⁴ Farg. VIII, 33-34.

of the elements being pushed to an extreme. The elements, fire, earth, and water are holy, and during the Indo-Iranian period they were already considered so, and in the Vedas they are worshipped as godlike beings. Yet this did not prevent the Indian from burning his dead; death did not appear to him so decidedly a work of the demon, and the dead man was a traveller to the other world, whom the fire kindly carried to his heavenly abode 'on his undecaying, flying pinions, wherewith he killed the demons.' The fire was in that, as in the sacrifice, the god that goes from earth to heaven, from man to god, the mediator, the god most friendly to man. In Persia it remains more distant from him; being an earthly form of the eternal, infinite, godly light¹, no death, no uncleanness can be allowed to enter it, as it is here below the purest offspring of the good spirit, the purest part of his pure creation. Its only function is to repel the fiends with its bright blazing. In every place where Parsis are settled, an everlasting fire is kept, the Bahrâm fire, which, 'preserved by a more than Vestal care²,' and ever fed with perfumes and dry well-blazing wood, whichever side its flames are brought by the wind, goes and kills thousands and thousands of fiends, as Bahrâm does in heaven³. If the necessities of life oblige us to employ fire for profane uses, it must be only for a time an exile on our hearth, or in the oven of the potter, and it must go thence to the Right-Place of the fire (Dâityô Gâtu), the altar of the Bahrâm fire, there to be restored to the dignity and rights of its nature⁴.

At least, let no gratuitous and wanton degradation be inflicted upon it: even blowing it with the breath of the mouth is a crime⁵; burning the dead is the most heinous

¹ *Ignem coelitus delapsum* (Ammian. Marcel. XXVII, 6); Cedrenus; *Elisaëus*; *Recogn. Clement.* IV, 29; *Clem. Homil.* IX, 6; Henry Lord.

² J. Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia*, 1698, p. 265.

³ *Farg.* VIII, 81-96; 79-80.

⁴ Extinguishing it is a mortal sin (*Ravâets*; *Elisaëus*; cf. *Strabo* XV, 14).

⁵ A custom still existing with the *Tâzîk*, an Iranian tribe in Eastern Persia, (de Khanikoff, *Ethnographie de la Perse*). *Strabo* XV, 14. Manu has the same prescription (IV, 53). Cf. *Farg.* XIV, 8, n. 10.

of sins: in the times of Strabo it was a capital crime¹, and the Avesta expresses the same, when putting it in the number of those sins for which there is no atonement².

Water was looked upon in the same light. Bringing dead matter to it is as bad as bringing it to the fire³. The Magi are said to have overthrown a king for having built bath-houses, as they cared more for the cleanness of water than for their own⁴.

§ 9. Not less holy was the earth, or, at least, it became so. There was a goddess who lived in her, *Spənta Armaiti*; no corpse ought to defile her sacred breast: burying the dead is, like burning the dead, a deed for which there is no atonement⁵. It was not always so in Persia: the burning of the dead had been forbidden for years⁶, while the burying was still general. Cambyses had roused the indignation of the Persians by burning the corpse of Amasis: yet, years later, Persians still buried their dead. But the priests already felt scruples, and feared to defile a god. Later on, with the ascendancy of the Magian religion, the sacerdotal observances became the general law⁷.

§ 10. Therefore the corpse is laid on the summit of a mountain, far from man, from water, from tree, from fire, and from the earth itself, as it is separated from it by a layer of stones or bricks⁸. Special buildings, the *Dakhmas*,

¹ Strabo XV, 14; cf. Herod. III, 16.

² Farg. I, 17; cf. Farg. VIII, 74.

³ Farg. VII, 25-27; Strabo XV, 14; Herod. I, 138.

⁴ King Balâsh (Josué le Stylite, traduction Martin, § xx). It seems as if there were a confusion between Balâsh and Kavât; at any rate, it shows that bathing smacked of heresy. Jews were forbidden to perform the legal ablutions (Fürst, *Culturgeschichte der Juden*, 9).

⁵ Farg. I, 13.

⁶ From the reign of Cyrus.

⁷ Still the worship of the earth seems not to have so deeply penetrated the general religion as the worship of fire. The laws about the disposal of the dead were interpreted by many, it would seem, as intended only to secure the purity of water and fire, and they thought that they might be at peace with religion if they had taken care to bury the corpse, so that no part of it might be taken by animals to fire or water (Farg. III, 41, n. 7).

⁸ Farg. VI, 44 seq.; VIII, 10 seq. Cf. IX, 11, n. 5. Moreover, the *Dakhma* is ideally separated from the ground by means of a golden thread, which is supposed to keep it suspended in the air (Ravâet, ap. Spiegel, *Uebersetzung des Avesta* II, XXXVI).

were erected for this purpose¹. There far from the world the dead were left to lie, beholding the sun².

§ 11. Not every corpse defiles man, but only those of such beings as belong to the world of Ahura. They are the only ones in whose death the demon triumphs. The corpse of an Ahrimanian creature does not defile; as its life was incarnate death, the spring of death that was in it is dried up with its last breath: it killed while alive, it can do so no more when dead; it becomes clean by dying³. None of the faithful are defiled by the corpse of an Ashe-maogha or of a Khrafstra. Nay, killing them is a pious work, as it is killing Ahriman himself.

§ 12. Not only real death makes one unclean, but partial death too. Everything that goes out of the body of man is dead, and becomes the property of the demon. The going breath is unclean, it is forbidden to blow the fire with it⁴, and even to approach the fire without screening it from the contagion with a Penôm⁵. Parings of nails and cuttings or shavings of hair are unclean, and become weapons in the hands of the demons unless they have been protected by certain rites and spells⁶. Any phenomenon by which the bodily nature is altered, whether accompanied with danger to health or not, was viewed as a work of the demon, and made the person unclean in whom it took place. One of these phenomena, which is a special object of attention

¹ 'The Dakhma is a round building, and is designated by some writers, "The Tower of Silence." A round pit, about six feet deep, is surrounded by an annular stone pavement, about seven feet wide, on which the dead bodies are placed. This place is enclosed all round by a stone wall some twenty feet high, with a small door on one side for taking the body in. The whole is built up of and paved with stone. The pit has communication with three or more closed pits, at some distance, into which the rain washes out the liquids and the remains of the dead bodies' (Dadabhai Naoroji, *The Manners and Customs of the Parsees*, Bombay, 1864, p. 16). Cf. Farg. VI, 50. A Dakhma is the first building the Parsis erect when settling in a new place (Dosabhoj Framji).

² The Avesta and the Commentator attach great importance to that point: it is as if the dead man's life were thus prolonged, since he can still behold the sun. 'Grant us that we may long behold the sun,' said the Indian *R'shi*.

³ Farg. V, 35 seq.

⁴ See above, p. lxxvi.

⁵ See Farg. XIV, 8, n. 10.

⁶ Farg. XVII.

in the Vendidad, is the uncleanness of women during their menses. The menses are sent by Ahriman¹, especially when they last beyond the usual time: therefore a woman, as long as they last, is unclean and possessed of the demon: she must be kept confined, apart from the faithful whom her touch would defile, and from the fire which her very look would injure; she is not allowed to eat as much as she wishes, as the strength she might acquire would accrue to the fiends. Her food is not given to her from hand to hand, but is passed to her from a distance², in a long leaden spoon. The origin of all these notions is in certain physical instincts, in physiological psychology, which is the reason why they are found among peoples very far removed from one another by race or religion³. But they took in Persia a new meaning as they were made a logical part of the whole religious system.

§ 13. A woman that has just been delivered of a child is also unclean⁴, although it would seem that she ought to be considered pure amongst the pure, since life has been increased by her in the world, and she has enlarged the realm of Ormazd. But the strength of old instincts overcame the drift of new principles. Only the case when the woman has been delivered of a still-born child is examined in the Vendidad. She is unclean as having been in contact with a dead creature; and she must first drink gômêz to wash over the grave in her womb. So utterly unclean is she, that she is not even allowed to drink water, unless she is in danger of death; and even then, as the sacred element has been defiled, she is liable to the penalty of a Peshôtanu⁵. It appears from modern customs that the treatment is the same when the child is born alive: the reason of which is that, in any case, during the first three days after delivery she is in danger of death⁶. A great fire is lighted

¹ Farg. I, 18-19; XVI, 11. Cf. Bund. III.

² Farg. XVI, 15.

³ Cf. Leviticus. See Pliny VII, 13.

⁴ Farg. V, 45 seq.

⁵ Farg. VII, 70 seq.

⁶ 'When there is a pregnant woman in a house, one must take care that there be fire continually in it; when the child is brought forth, one must burn

to keep away the fiends, who use then their utmost efforts to kill her and her child¹. She is unclean only because the death-fiend is in her.

§ 14. Logic required that the sick man should be treated as an unclean one, that is, as one possessed. Sickness, being sent by Ahriman, ought to be cured like all his other works, by washings and spells. In fact, the medicine of spells was considered the most powerful of all², and although it did not oust the medicine of the lancet and that of drugs, yet it was more highly esteemed and less mistrusted. The commentator on the Vendîdâd very sensibly observes that if it does not relieve, it will surely do no harm³, which seems not to have been a matter of course with those who heal by the knife and physic. It appears from the last Fargard that all or, at least, many diseases might be cured by spells and Barashnûm washing. It appears from Herodotos and Agathias that contagious diseases required the same treatment as uncleanness: the sick man was excluded from the community of the faithful⁴, until cured and cleansed according to the rites⁵.

§ 15. The unclean are confined in a particular place, apart from all clean persons and objects, the Armêst-gâh⁶, which may be described, therefore, as the Dakhma for the living. All the unclean, all those struck with temporary death, the man who has touched dead matter, the woman in her menses, or just delivered of child, the leper⁷, or the man who has made himself unclean for ever by carrying a corpse alone⁸, stay there all the time of their uncleanness.

§ 16. Thus far for general principles. From the diversity

a candle, or, better still, a fire, for three days and three nights, to render the Dévs and Drugs unable to harm the child; for there is great danger during those three days and nights after the birth of the child' (Saddar 16).

¹ 'When the child is being born, one brandishes a sword on the four sides, lest fairy Aal kill it' (Polack, Persien I, 223). In Rome, three gods, Intercidona, Pilumnus, and Deverra, keep her threshold, lest Sylvanus come in and harm her (Augustinus, De Civ. D. VI, 9).

² Farg. VII, 44.

⁴ Herod. I, 138.

⁶ The Armêst-gâh for women in their menses is called Dashtânistân.

⁷ Herod. l. l.; Farg. II, 29.

³ Ibid.

⁵ Agathias II, 23.

⁸ Farg. III, 19.

of circumstances arises a system of casuistry, the development of which may be followed first through the glosses to the *Vendidad*, in which the labours of several generations of theologians are embodied, and, later on, through the *Ravâets*. We will give a few instances of it, as found in the *Vendidad* itself.

The process of the cleansing varies according to the degree of uncleanness; and, again, the degree of uncleanness depends on the state of the thing that defiles and the nature of the thing that is defiled.

The uncleanness from the dead is the worst of all, and it is at its utmost when contracted before the *Nasu* has been expelled from the corpse by the *Sag-did*¹: it can be cured only by means of the most complicated system of cleansing, the nine nights' *Barashnûm*².

If the *Nasu* has already been expelled from the corpse, as the defiling power was less, a simple washing once made, the *Ghosel*, is enough³.

The defiling power of the *Nasu* reaches farther, if the death has just taken place, and if the dying creature occupied a higher rank in the scale of beings⁴; for the more recent the victory of the demon, or the higher the being he has overcome, the stronger he must have been himself.

Menstruous women are cleansed by the *Ghosel*⁵.

As for things they are more or less deeply defiled according to their degree of penetrability: metal vessels can be cleansed, earthen vessels cannot⁶; leather is more easily cleansed than woven cloth⁷; hard wood than soft wood⁸. Wet matter is a better conductor of uncleanness than dry matter, and corpses cease to defile after a year⁹.

¹ Farg. VIII, 35-36; 98-99; cf. VII, 29-30, and n. 6 to 30.

² Farg. IX. The *Barashnûm*, originally meant to remove the uncleanness from the dead, became a general instrument of holiness. Children when putting on the *Kôstf* (Farg. XVIII, 9, n. 3) perform it to be cleansed from the natural uncleanness they have contracted in the womb of their mothers. It is good for every one to perform it once a year.

³ Farg. VIII, 36.

⁴ Farg. XVI, 12.

⁵ Farg. VII, 14 seq.

⁶ Farg. VIII, 33-34.

⁷ Farg. V, 27 seq.; VII, 1 seq.

⁸ Farg. VII, 73 seq.

⁹ Farg. VII, 28 seq.

B.

§ 17. In the cases heretofore reviewed, religious purposes are alone concerned. There is another order of laws, in which, although religion interferes, yet it is not the root of the matter; namely, the laws about contracts and assaults, to which the fourth Fargard is devoted, and which are the only remains extant of the civil and penal legislation of Zoroastrianism.

The contracts were divided into two classes, according to their mode, and according to the value of their object¹. As to their mode they are word-contracts or hand-contracts: as to their object, they are sheep-contracts, ox-contracts, man-contracts, or field-contracts, which being estimated in money value are contracts to the amount of 3, 12, 500 istîrs, and upwards².

No contract can be made void by the will of one party alone; he who breaks a contract is obliged to pay the value of the contract next higher in value.

The family and the next of kin are, it would seem, answerable for the fulfilment of a contract, a principle of the old Indo-European civil law³.

§ 18. Assaults are of seven degrees: âgerepta, avaoirista⁴, stroke, sore wound, bloody wound, broken bone, and manslaughter. The gravity of the guilt does not depend on the gravity of the deed only, but also on its frequency. Each of these seven crimes amounts, by its being repeated without having been atoned for, to the crime that immediately follows in the scale, so that an âgerepta seven times repeated amounts to manslaughter.

C.

§ 19. Every crime makes the guilty man liable to two penalties, one here below, and another in the next world.

¹ See p. 35, n. 3.

² An istîr (*στάρηρ*) is as much as four dirhems (*δραχμή*). The dirhem is estimated by modern tradition as a little more than a rupee, but the authority is doubtful (see *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xviii, p. 180, n. 2).

³ Farg. IV, 5 seq.

⁴ Two different sorts of menaces; see IV, 17.

The penalty here below consists of a certain number of stripes with the *Aspahê-astra* or the *Sraoshô-karana* ¹.

The unit for heavy penalties is two hundred stripes; the crime and the criminal thus punished are called *Peshô-tanu* or *Tanu-peretha* (Parsi: *Tanâfûhr*). The two words literally mean, 'one who pays with his own body,' and 'payment with one's body,' and seem to have originally amounted to 'worthy of death, worthiness of death;' and in effect the word *Peshô-tanu* is often interpreted in the *Pahlavi Commentary* by *margarzân*, 'worthy of death.' But, on the whole, it was attached to the technical meaning of 'one who has to receive two hundred strokes with the horse-whip ².' The lowest penalty in the *Vendidad* is five stripes, and the degrees from five stripes to *Peshôtanu* are ten, fifteen, thirty, fifty, seventy, ninety, two hundred. For instance, *âgerepta* is punished with five stripes, *avaoirista* with ten, stroke with fifteen, sore wound with thirty, bloody wound with fifty, broken bone with seventy, manslaughter with ninety; a second manslaughter, committed without the former being atoned for, is punished with the *Peshôtanu* penalty. In the same way the six other crimes, repeated eight, or seven, or six, or five, or four, or three times make the committer go through the whole series of penalties up to the *Peshôtanu* penalty.

¹ The general formula is literally, 'Let (the priest; probably, the *Sraoshâ-varez*) strike so many strokes with the *Aspahê-astra*, so many strokes with the *Sraoshô-karana*.' *Astra* means in Sanskrit 'a goad,' so that *Aspahê-astra* may mean 'a horse-goad;' but *Aspendiârji* translates it by *durra*, 'a thong,' which suits the sense better, and agrees with etymology too ('an instrument to drive a horse, a whip;' *astra*, from the root *az*, 'to drive;' it is the *Aspahê-astra* which is referred to by *Sozomenos* II, 13: *ἰμάσιν ὁμοῖς χαλεπῶς αὐτὸν ἱεραῶνισαν ὁ μάγοι* (the *Sraoshâ-varez*), *βιαζόμενοι προσκυνῆσαι τὸν ἥλιον*). *Sraoshô-karana* is translated by *kâbuk*, 'a whip,' which agrees with the Sanskrit translation of the *st-srôshô-karanâm sin*, 'yat tribhir goḥarmasâ/aghâtâis prâyas-kityam bhavati tâvanmâtram, a sin to be punished with three strokes with a whip.' It seems to follow that *Aspahê-astra* and *Sraoshô-karana* are one and the same instrument, designated with two names, first in reference to its shape, and then to its use (*Sraoshô-karana* meaning 'the instrument for penalty,' or 'the instrument of the *Sraoshâ-varez*?'). The *Aspahê-astra* is once called *astra mairya*, 'the *astra* for the account to be given,' that is, 'for the payment of the penalty' (*Farg.* XVIII, 4).

² *Farg.* IV, 20, 21, 24, 25, 28, 29, 32, 33, 35, 36, 38, 39, 41, 42; V, 44; VI, 5, 9, 19, 48, &c.

§ 20. If one reviews the different crimes described in the Vendidâd, and the respective penalties prescribed for them, one cannot but wonder at first sight at the strange inequality between crime and penalty. Beccaria would have felt uncomfortable while reading the Vendidâd. It is safer to kill a man than to serve bad food to a shepherd's dog, for the manslayer gets off with ninety stripes, whereas the bad master is at once a Peshôtanu¹, and will receive two hundred stripes. Two hundred stripes are awarded if one tills land in which a corpse has been buried within the year², if a woman just delivered of a child drinks water³, if one suppresses the menses of a woman⁴, if one performs a sacrifice in a house where a man has just died⁵, if one neglects fastening the corpse of a dead man so that birds or dogs may not take dead matter to trees and rivers⁶. Two hundred stripes if one throws on the ground a bone of a man's corpse, or of a dog's carcase, as big as two ribs; four hundred if one throws a bone as big as an arm bone, six hundred if one throws a skull, one thousand if the whole corpse⁷. Four hundred stripes if one, being in a state of uncleanness, touches water or trees⁸, four hundred if one covers with a cloth a dead man's feet, six hundred if one covers his legs, one thousand if the whole body⁹ be so covered. Five hundred stripes for killing a whelp, six hundred for killing a stray dog, seven hundred for a house-dog, eight hundred for a shepherd's dog, one thousand stripes for killing a Vanghâpara dog¹⁰, ten thousand stripes for killing a water-dog¹¹.

Capital punishment is expressly pronounced only against the false cleanser¹² and the 'carrier alone'¹³.

Yet any one who bethinks himself of the spirit of the old Aryan legislation will easily conceive that there may be in

¹ Farg. IV, 40, and XIII, 24.

² Farg. VII, 70 seq.

³ Farg. V, 39-44.

⁴ Farg. VI, 18 seq.

⁵ Farg. VIII, 23 seq.

⁶ Farg. XIV, 1 seq.

⁷ Farg. III, 14 seq. Yet there were other capital crimes. See below, § 23.

⁸ Farg. VI, 5.

⁹ Farg. XVI, 13 seq.

¹⁰ Farg. VI, 47 seq.

¹¹ Farg. VIII, 104 seq.

¹² Farg. XIII, 8 seq. and 4.

¹³ Farg. IX, 47 seq.

its eyes many crimes more heinous, and to be punished more severely, than manslaughter: offences against man injure only one man; offences against gods endanger all mankind. No one should wonder at the unqualified cleanser being put to death who reads Demosthenes' Neaera; the Persians who defiled the ground by burying a corpse were not more severely punished than the Greeks were for defiling with corpses the holy ground of Delos¹, or than the conquerors at Arginousae; nor would the Athenians, who put to death Atarbes², have much stared at the awful revenge taken for the murder of the sacred dog. There is hardly any prescription in the Vendidad, however odd and absurd it may seem, but has its counterpart or its explanation in other Aryan legislations: if we had a Latin or a Greek Vendidad, I doubt whether it would look more rational.

§ 21. Yet, if theoretically the very absurdity of its principles is nothing peculiar to the Mazdean law, nay, is a proof of its authenticity, it may be doubted whether it could ever have been actually applied in the form stated in the texts. It may be doubted whether the murder of a shepherd's dog could have actually been punished with eight hundred stripes, much more whether the murder of a water-dog could have been really punished with ten thousand stripes, unless we suppose that human endurance was different in ancient Persia from what it is elsewhere, or even in modern Persia herself³. Now as we see that in modern tradition bodily punishment is estimated in money value, that is to say, converted into fines, a conversion which is alluded to in the Pahlavi translation⁴, it may readily be admitted that as early as the time of the last edition of the Vendidad, that conversion had already been made. In the Ravâets, two hundred stripes, or a Tanâfûhr, are estimated as equal to three hundred istîrs or twelve hundred dirhems, or thirteen hundred and fifty rupees;

¹ Diodor. XII, 58.

² Aelianus, Hist. Var. V, 17.

³ In the time of Chardin, the number of stripes inflicted on the guilty never exceeded three hundred; in the old German law, two hundred; in the Hebrew law, forty.

⁴ Ad Farg. XIV, 2.

a stripe is therefore about equal to six rupees¹. How far that system prevailed in practice, whether the guilty might take advantage of this commutation of his own accord, or only with the assent of the judge, we cannot decide. It is very likely that the riches of the fire-temples came for the most part from that source, and that the sound of the dirhems often made the Sraoshô-karana fall from the hands of the Mobeds. That the system of financial penalties did not, however, suppress the system of bodily penalties, appears from the customs of the Parsis who apply both, and from the Pahlavi Commentary which expressly distinguishes three sorts of atonement: the atonement by money (khvâstak), the atonement by the Sraoshô-karana, and the atonement by cleansing.

§ 22. This third element of atonement is strictly religious. It consists in repentance, which is manifested by avowal of the guilt and by the recital of a formula of repentance, the Patet. The performance of the Patet has only a religious effect: it saves the sinner from penalties in the other world, but not from those here below; it delivers him before God, but not before man. When the sacrilegious cleanser has repented his sin, he is not the less flayed and beheaded, but his soul is saved². Yet, although it has no efficacy in causing the sin to be remitted, the absence of it has power to cause it to be aggravated³.

§ 23. Thus far for sins that can be atoned for. There are some that are anâperetha, 'inexpiable,' which means, as it seems, that they are punished with death here below, and with torments in the other world.

Amongst the anâperetha sins are named the burning of the dead, the burying of the dead⁴, the eating dead matter⁵, unnatural sin⁶, and self-pollution⁷. Although

¹ In later Parsism every sin (and every good deed) has its value in money fixed, and may thus be weighed in the scales of Rashnu. If the number of the good-deed dirhems outweigh the number of sin dirhems, the soul is saved. Herodotus noticed the same principle of compensation in the Persian law of his time (I, 137; cf. VII, 194).

² Farg. IX, 49, n.; cf. III, 20 seq.

³ Farg. I, 13, 17; Strabo XV, 14.

⁴ Farg. I, 12; cf. VIII, 32.

⁵ Farg. IV, 20, 24, 28, 32, 35, &c.

⁶ Farg. VII, 23 seq.

⁷ Farg. VIII, 27.

it is not expressly declared that these sins were punished with death, yet we know it of several of them, either from Greek accounts or from Parsi tradition. There are also whole classes of sinners whose life, it would seem, can be taken by any one who detects them in the act, such as the courtesan, the highwayman, the Sodomite, and the corpse-burner¹.

§ 24. Such are the most important principles of the Mazdean law that can be gathered from the Vendîdâd. These details, incomplete as they are, may give us an idea, if not of the Sassanian practice, at least of the Sassanian ideal. That it was an ideal which intended to pass into practice, we know from the religious wars against Armenia, and from the fact that very often the superintendence of justice and the highest offices of the state were committed to Mobeds.

We must now add a few words on the plan of the following translation. As to our method we beg to refer to the second chapter above. It rests on the Parsi tradition, corrected or confirmed by the comparative method. The Parsi tradition is found in the Pahlavi Commentary², the understanding of which was facilitated to us first by the Gujarati translation and paraphrase of Aspendiârji³, and by a Persian transliteration and translation belonging to the Haug Collection in Munich⁴, for the use of which we were indebted to the obliging kindness of the Director of the State Library in Munich, Professor von Halm. The

¹ See p. 113, n. 4; Farg. XVIII, 65.

² Our quotations refer to the text given in Spiegel's edition, but corrected after the London manuscript.

³ Bombay, 1842, 2 vols. in 8vo.

⁴ Unfortunately the copy is incomplete: there are two lacunae, one from I, 11 to the end of the chapter; the other, more extensive, from VI, 26 to IX. The perfect accordance of this Persian translation with the Gujarati of Aspendiârji shows that both are derived from one and the same source. Their accordance is striking even in mistakes; for instance, the Pahlavi avâstar , a transliteration of the Zend a-vâstra, 'without pastures' (VII, 26), is misread by the Persian translator hvâstâr, خواستار, 'he who wishes,' owing to the ambiguity of the Pahlavi letter  (av or hv), and it is translated by Aspendiârji kâhânâr, 'the wisher.'

Ravâets and the Saddar¹ frequently gave us valuable information as to the traditional meaning of doubtful passages. As for the works of European scholars, we are much indebted to the Commentary on the Avesta by Professor Spiegel, and to the translations in the second edition of Martin Haug's Essays.

We have followed the text of the Avesta as given by Westergaard; the division into paragraphs is according to Westergaard; but we have given in brackets the corresponding divisions of Professor Spiegel's edition. The singularly exact analysis of the Vendidad contained in the Dinkart has proved of great value. For the first chapter we owe much to the Commentary in an unpublished chapter of the Great Bundahis. The analyses of the Nasks in the Dinkart, the Great Bundahis and the essay of Jiwanji Modi on the funeral customs of the Parsis have thrown valuable light on many points of detail.

Many passages in the Vendidad Sâda are mere quotations from the Pahlavi Commentary which have crept into the Sâda text: we have not admitted them into the text. They are generally known to be spurious from their not being translated in the Commentary²: yet the absence of a Pahlavi translation is not always an unmistakable sign of such spuriousness. Sometimes the translation has been lost in our manuscripts, or omitted as having already been given in identical or nearly identical terms. When we thought that this was the case, we have admitted the untranslated passages into the text, but in brackets³.

We have divided the principal Fargards into several sections according to the matter they contain: this division, which is meant as an attempt to resolve the Vendidad into its primitive fragments, has, of course, no traditional

¹ The prose Saddar (as found in the Great Ravâet), which differs considerably from the Saddar in verse, as translated by Hyde.

² Without speaking of their not being connected with the context. See Farg. I, 4, 15, 20; II, 6, 20; V, 4; VII, 53-54.

³ Farg. VII, 3; VIII, 95. Formulae and enumerations are often left untranslated, although they must be considered part of the text (VIII, 72; XI, 9, 12; XX, 6, &c.)

authority, the divisions into paragraphs being the only ones that rest upon the authority of the manuscripts.

The translation will be found, in many passages, to differ greatly from the translations published heretofore¹. The nature of this series of translations did not allow us to give full justificatory notes: but we have endeavoured in most cases to make the explanatory notes commend to scholars the new meanings we have adopted; and, in some instances, we hope that the original text, read anew, will by itself justify our translation.

We must not conclude this introduction without tendering our warmest thanks to Mr. E. W. West, who kindly revised the MS. of the translation before it went to press, and who has, we hope, succeeded in making our often imperfect English more acceptable to English readers.

JAMES DARMESTETER.

PARIS:

October, 1894.

¹ Complete translations of the *Vendidad* have been published by Anquetil Duperron in France (Paris, 1771); by Professor Spiegel in Germany (Leipzig, 1852); by Canon de Harlez in Belgium (Louvain, 1877). The translation of Professor Spiegel was translated into English by Professor Bleek, who added useful information from inedited Gujarati translations (Hertford, 1864).

**A LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS
USED IN THIS VOLUME.**

Asp. = Aspendiârji's translation.

Bund. = Bundahis; Arabic numbers refer to the chapter (according to Justi's edition); Roman numbers refer to the page and line.

Comm. = The Pahlavi Commentary.

Gr. Rav. = Le Grand Ravâet (in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, Supplément Persan, No. 47).

Orm. Ahr. = Ormazd et Ahriman, Paris, Vieweg, 1877.

VEN D Î D Â D.

VEN DÎ DÂD.

FARGARD I.

THIS chapter is an enumeration of sixteen perfect lands created by Ahura Mazda, and of as many plagues created in opposition by Angra Mainyu.

Many attempts have been made, not only to identify these sixteen lands, but also to draw historical conclusions from their order of succession, as representing the actual order of the migrations and settlements of the old Iranian tribes¹. But there is nothing in the text to support such wide inferences. We have here nothing more than a geographical description of Iran, seen from the religious point of view.

Of these sixteen lands there are nine, as follows :—

ZEND NAME.	OLD PERSIAN.	GREEK.	MODERN NAME.
Sughdha (2)	Suguda	Σογδιανή	Soghd سغد (Samarkand)
Môuru (3)	Margu	Μαργιανή	Marv مرو
Bâkhdhi (4)	Bâkhtri	Βάκτρα	Balkh بلخ
Harôyu (6)	Haraiva	'Αρεια	Harê(rud) هری
Vehrkâna (9)	Warkâna	'Υρκανία	Gurgân, Gorgân جرجان گرگان
Harahvaiti (10)	Harauvati	'Αραχωσία	Ar-rokhag اَرَخْج Arghand-(âb) ارغندآب
Haêtumant (11)		'Ερύμανθος	Helmend هلمند
Ragha (12)	Ragâ ²	'Ραγαι	Raï ری
Hapta hindu (15)	Hindava	'Ινδοί	Hind هند (Pañgâb),

which can be identified with certainty, as we are able to follow their

¹ Rhode, *Die heilige Sage des Zendvolks*, p. 61 ; Heeren, *Ideen zur Geschichte*, I, p. 498 ; Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde* I, p. 526 ; Haug in Bunsen's work, *Aegypten's Stellung*, V, 2nd part, p. 104 ; Kiepert, *Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1856, p. 621. Cf. the mythological interpretation by M. Bréal, 'De la géographie de l'Avesta' (in the *Mélanges de mythologie et de linguistique*, p. 187 seq.)

² See however § 16, note 3.

names from the records of the Achaemenian kings or the works of classical writers down to the map of modern Iran.

For the other lands we are confined for information to the Pahlavi Commentary, from which we get :

ZEND NAME.	PAHLAVI NAME.	MODERN NAME.
Vaêkereta (7)	Kâpûl	کابل Kâbul
Urva (8)	Mêshan	Mesene
Varena (14)	Patashkhvârgar or Dailam	Tabaristân or Gîlân
Rangha (16)	Arvastâni Rûm	Eastern Mesopotamia

The identification of Nisâya (5) and Kakhra (13) remains an open question, as there were several cities of that name. We know, however, that Nisâya lay between Balkh and Marv. The first province Airyanem Vaêgô, or Irân-Vêg, we identify with the mediaeval Arrân (nowadays known as Karabagh).

There must have been some systematical idea in the order followed, though it is not apparent, except in the succession of Sughdha, Môuru, Bâkhdhi, Nisâya, Harôyu, Vaêkereta (numbers 2-7), which form one compact group of north-eastern provinces ; the last two provinces, Hindu and Rangha (numbers 15-16), are the two limitroph provinces, east and west (Indus and Tigris) ; and the Rangha brings us back to the first province, Irân-Vêg, whose chief river, the Vanguhi Dâitya, or Aras, springs from the same mountains as the Rangha-Tigris.

The several plagues created by Angra Mainyu to mar the native perfection of Ahura's creations give instructive information on the religious condition of several of the Iranian countries at the time when this Fargard was written. Harât seems to have been the seat of puritan sects that pushed rigorism to the extreme in the law of purification. Sorcery was prevalent in the basin of the Helمند river, and the Paris were powerful in Cabul, which is a Zoroastrian way of saying that the Hindu civilisation prevailed in those parts, which in fact in the two centuries before and after Christ were known as White India, and remained more Indian than Iranian till the Musulman conquest.

1. Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama ¹ Zarathustra, saying :

¹ Or Spitamide. Zarathustra was descended from Spitama at the fifth generation.

I have made every land dear (to its people), even though it had no charms whatever in it¹: had I not made every land dear (to its people), even though it had no charms whatever in it, then the whole living world would have invaded the Airyana Vaêgô².

3 (5). The first of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the Airyana Vaêgô³, by the Vanguhi Dâitya⁴.

¹ 'Every one fancies that the land where he was born and has been brought up is the best and fairest land that I have created' (Comm.)

² Greater Bundahish: 'It is said in the Sacred Book: had I not created the Genius of the native place, all mankind would have gone to Erân-Vêg, on account of its pleasantness.'—On Airyanem Vaêgô or Erân-Vêg, see following note.—Clause 2 in the Vendîdâd Sâda is composed of Zend quotations in the Commentary that illustrate the alternative process of the creation: 'First, Ahura Mazda would create a land of such kind that its dwellers might like it, and there could be nothing more delightful. Then he who is all death would bring against it a counter-creation.'

³ Airyanem Vaêgô, Irân-Vêg, is the holy land of Zoroastrianism: Zoroaster was born and founded his religion there (Bund. XX, 32; XXXII, 3): the first animal couple appeared there (Bund. XIV, 4; Zâd Sparam, IX, 8). From its name, 'the Iranian seed,' it seems to have been considered as the original seat of the Iranian race. It has been generally supposed to belong to Eastern Iran, like the provinces which are enumerated after it, chiefly on account of the name of its river, the Vanguhi Dâitya, which was in the Sassanian times (as Vêh) the name of the Oxus. But the Bundahish distinctly states that Irân-Vêg is 'bordering upon Adarbaigân' (XXIX, 12); now, Adarbaigân is bordered by the Caspian Sea on the east, by the Rangha provinces on the west, by Media proper on the south, and by Arrân on the north. The Rangha provinces are out of question, since they are mentioned at the end of the Fargard (§ 20), and the climatic conditions of Irân-Vêg with its long winter likewise exclude Media and suit Arrân, where the summer lasts hardly two months (cf. § 4, note 6). The very name agrees, as the country

⁴ For this note see next page.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the serpent in the river⁶ and Winter, a work of the Daêvas⁶.

4 (9). There are ten winter months there, two summer months⁷; and those are cold for the waters⁸, cold for the earth, cold for the trees⁹. Winter falls there, the worst of all plagues.

5 (13). The second of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the plain¹⁰ which the Sughdhas inhabit¹¹.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death,

known as Arrân seems to have been known to the Greeks as *Ἀριανία* (Stephanus Byz.), which brings it close to our Airyanem. On the Vanguhi Dâitya, see following note.

⁴ The Vanguhi Dâitya, belonging to Arrân, must be the modern Aras (the classic Araxes). The Aras was named Vanguhi, like the Oxus, but distinguished from it by the addition Dâitya, which made it 'the Vanguhi of the Law' (the Vanguhi by which Zoroaster received the Law).

⁵ 'There are many Khrafstras in the Dâitîk, as it is said, The Dâitîk full of Khrafstras' (Bund. XX, 13). Snakes abound on the banks of the Araxes (Morier, *A Second Journey*, p. 250) nowadays as much as in the time of Pompeius, to whom they barred the way from Albania to Hyrcania (Plut.)

⁶ Arrân (Karabagh) is celebrated for its cold winter as well as for its beauty. At the Naurôz (first day of spring) the fields still lie under the snow. The temperature does not become milder before the second fortnight of April; no flower is seen before May. Summer, which is marked by the migration of the nomads from the plain to the mountains, begins about the 20th of June and ends in the middle of August.

⁷ Vendîdâd Sâda: 'It is known that [in the ordinary course of nature] there are seven months of summer and five of winter' (see Bund. XXV).

⁸ Some say: 'Even those two months of summer are cold for the waters . . .' (Comm.; cf. Mainyô-i-khard XLIV, 20).

⁹ Vend. Sâda: 'There reigns the core and heart of winter.'

¹⁰ Doubtful.

¹¹ Old P. Suguda; Sogdiana.

and he counter-created the locust¹, which brings death unto cattle and plants.

6 (17). The third of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the strong, holy Mōuru².

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created plunder and sin³.

7 (21). The fourth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the beautiful Bākhdhi⁴ with high-lifted banners.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the ants and the ant-hills⁵.

8 (25). The fifth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Nisāya⁶, that lies between Mōuru and Bākhdhi.

¹ 'The plague that fell to that country was the bad locust: it devours the plants and death comes to the cattle' (Gr. Bund.)

² Margu; *Μαργαρή*; Marv.

³ Doubtful.—The Gr. Bd. has: 'The plague that fell to that country was the coming and going of troops: for there is always there an evil concourse of horsemen, thieves, robbers, and heretics, who speak untruth and oppress the righteous.'—Marv continued to be the resort of Turanian plunderers till the recent Russian annexation.

⁴ Bākhtri; *Βάκτρα*; Balkh.

⁵ 'The corn-carrying ants' (Asp.; cf. Farg. XIV, 5).

⁶ By contradistinction to other places of the same name. There was a Nisāya, in Media, where Darius put to death the Mage Gaumāta (Bahistūn I, 58). There was also a Nisā in Fārs, another in Kirmān, a third again on the way from Amol to Marv (Tabari, tr. Noeldeke, p. 101, 2), which may be the same as *Nisāia*, the capital of Parthia (*Παρθαίνισα* ap. Isid. of Charax 12); cf. Pliny VI, 25 (29). One may therefore be tempted to translate, 'Nisāya between which and Bākhdhi Mōuru lies;' but the text hardly admits of that construction, and we must suppose the existence of another Nisāya on the way from Balkh to Marv.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the sin of unbelief¹.

9 (29). The sixth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the house-deserting Harôyu².

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created tears and wailing³.

10 (33). The seventh of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Vaêkereta⁴, of the evil shadows.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the Pairika Knâthaiti, who clave unto Keresâspa⁵.

¹ There are people there 'who doubt the existence of God' (Comm.)

² Harôyu, Old P. Haraiva (transcribed in Greek and Latin 'Apeia Aria instead of 'Apeia Haria, by a confusion with the name of the Aryans); P. Harê (in Firdausi and in Harê-rûd; Harât is an Arabised form.—'The house-deserting Harê: because there, when a man dies in a house, the people of the house leave it and go. We keep the ordinances for nine days or a month: they leave the house and absent themselves from it for nine days or a month' (Gr. Bd.) Cf. Vd. V, 42.

³ 'The tears and wailing for the dead,' the voceros. The tears shed over a dead man grow to a river that prevents his crossing the Kinvat bridge (Saddar 96; Ardâ Virâf XVI, 7, 10).

⁴ Vaêkereta, an older name of Kâbul (Kâpûl: Comm. and Gr. Bd.); perhaps the Ptolemeian *Bayâpda* in Paropanisus (Ptol. VI, 18).

⁵ The Pairika, in Zoroastrian mythology, symbolises idolatry (uzdês-parastih). The land of Kâbul, till the Musulman invasion, belonged to the Indian civilisation and was mostly of Brahmanical and Buddhistic religion. The Pairika Khnâthaiti will be destroyed at the end of the world by Saoshyant, the unborn son of Zarathustra (when all false religions vanish before the true one; Vd. XIX, 5).—Sâma Keresâspa, the Garshâsp of later tradition, is the type of impious heroism: he let himself be seduced to the Daêva-worship, and Zoroaster saw him punished in hell for his contempt of Zoroastrian observances.

11 (37). The eighth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Urva of the rich pastures¹.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the sin of pride².

12 (41). The ninth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Khnenta which the Vehrânas³ inhabit.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created a sin for which there is no atonement, the unnatural sin⁴.

13 (45). The tenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the beautiful Harahvaiti⁵.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created a sin for which there is no atonement, the burying of the dead⁶.

14 (49). The eleventh of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the bright, glorious Haêtumant⁷.

¹ Urva, according to Gr. Bd. Mēshan, that is to say Mesene (Μεσσηνή), the region of lower Euphrates, famous for its fertility (Herodotos I, 193): it was for four centuries (from about 150 B.C. to 225 A.D.) the seat of a flourishing commercial state.

² 'The people of Mēshan are proud: there are no people worse than they' (Gr. Bd.)

³ 'Khnenta is a river in Vehrânâ (Hyrcania)' (Comm.); consequently the river Gorgân.

⁴ See Farg. VIII, 31-32.

⁵ Harauvati; Ἀραχωσία; corrupted into Ar-rokhag (name of the country in the Arabic literature) and Arghand (in the modern name of the river Arghand-âb).

⁶ See Farg. III, 36 seq.

⁷ The basin of the Ἐρύμανθος or Erymanthus, now Hermend, Helmend, that is to say, the region of Saistân.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the evil work of witchcraft.

15 (53). And this is the sign by which it is known, this is that by which it is seen at once : wheresoever they may go and raise a cry of sorcery, there ¹ the worst works of witchcraft go forth. From there they come to kill and strike at heart, and they bring locusts as many as they want ².

16 (59). The twelfth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Ragha ³ of the three races ⁴.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the sin of utter unbelief ⁵.

17 (63). The thirteenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the strong, holy Kakhra ⁶.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death,

¹ In Haētumant.—‘The plague created against Saistân is abundance of witchcraft : and that character appears from this, that all people from that place practise astrology : those wizards produce . . . snow, hail, spiders, and locusts’ (Gr. Bd.) Saistân, like Kâbul, was half Indian (Maçoudi, II, 79–82), and Brahmans and Buddhists have the credit of being proficient in the darker sciences.

² This clause seems to be a quotation in the Pahlavi Commentary.

³ Ragha, transcribed Râk and identified by the Commentary with Adarbaigân and ‘according to some’ with Rai (the Greek *Rayai* in Media). There were apparently two Raghas, one in Atropatene; another in Media.

⁴ ‘That means that the three classes, priests, warriors, and husbandmen, were well organised there’ (Comm. and Gr. Bd.)

⁵ ‘They doubt themselves and cause other people to doubt’ (Comm.)

⁶ There were two towns of that name (*Karkh*), one in Khorasan, and the other in Ghaznin.

and he counter-created a sin for which there is no atonement, the cooking of corpses¹.

18 (67). The fourteenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the four-cornered Varena², for which was born Thraêtaona, who smote Azi Dahâka.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created abnormal issues in women³ and barbarian oppression⁴.

19 (72). The fifteenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the Seven Rivers⁵.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created abnormal issues in women and excessive heat.

20 (76). The sixteenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the land by the sources (?) of the Rangha⁶, where people live who have no chiefs⁷.

¹ 'Cooking a corpse and eating it. They cook foxes and weasels and eat them' (Gr. Bd.) See Farg. VIII, 73-74.

² Varn, identified by the Comm. either with Patashkhvârgar or with Dailam (that is to say Tabaristân or Gîlân). The Gr. Bd. identifies it with Mount Damâvand (which belongs to Patashkhvârgar): this is the mountain where Azi Dahâka was bound with iron bonds by Thraêtaona.—'Four-cornered:' Tabaristân has rudely the shape of a quadrilateral.

³ Farg. XVI, 11 seq.

⁴ The aborigines of the Caspian littoral were Anarian savages, the so-called 'Demons of Mâzana.'

⁵ Hapta hindava, the basin of the affluents of the Indus, the modern Pañgâb (=the Five Rivers), formerly called Hind, by contradistinction to Sindh, the basin of the lower river.

⁶ 'Arvastân-i-Rûm (Roman Mesopotamia)' (Comm.), that is to say, the basin of the upper Tigris (Rangha = Arvand = Tigris).

⁷ 'People who do not hold the chief for a chief' (Comm.), which

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created Winter¹, a work of the Daêvas².

21 (81). There are still other lands and countries³, beautiful and deep, longing and asking for the good, and bright.

FARGARD II.

Yima (*Gamshêd*).

This Fargard may be divided into two parts.

First part (1-20). Ahura Mazda proposes to Yima, the son of Vivanghat, to receive the law from him and to bring it to men. On his refusal, he bids him keep his creatures and make them prosper. Yima accordingly makes them thrive and increase, keeps death and disease away from them, and three times enlarges the earth, which had become too narrow for its inhabitants.

Second part (21 to the end). On the approach of a dire winter, which is to destroy every living creature, Yima, being advised by Ahura, builds a Vara to keep there the finest representatives of every kind of animals and plants, and they live there a life of perfect happiness.

It is difficult not to acknowledge in the latter legend a Zoroastrian adaptation of the deluge, whether it was borrowed from the Bible or from the Chaldaean mythology. The similitude is so striking that it did not escape the Musulmans, and Maçoudi states that certain authors place the date of the deluge in the time of *Gamshêd*. There are essential and necessary differences between the two legends, the chief one being that in the monotheistic narration the

is the translation for *asraosha* (Comm. ad XVI, 18), 'rebel against the law,' and would well apply to the non-Mazdean people of *Arvastân-i-Rûm*.

¹ The severe winters in the upper valleys of the Tigris.

² The Vendîdâd Sâda has here: *taosyâta danhêus aiwistâra*, which the Gr. Bd. understands as: 'and the Tâjik (the Arabs) are oppressive there.'

³ 'Some say: Persis' (Comm.)

deluge is sent as a punishment from God, whereas in the dualistic version it is a plague from the Daêvas : but the core of the two legends is the same : the hero in both is a righteous man who, forewarned by God, builds a refuge to receive choice specimens of mankind, intended some day to replace an imperfect humanity, destroyed by a universal calamity.

I.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda :

O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One !

Who was the first mortal, before myself, Zarathustra, with whom thou, Ahura Mazda, didst converse¹, whom thou didst teach the Religion of Ahura, the Religion of Zarathustra ?

2 (4). Ahura Mazda answered :

The fair Yima, the good shepherd², O holy Zarathustra ! he was the first mortal, before thee, Zarathustra, with whom I, Ahura Mazda, did converse, whom I taught the Religion of Ahura, the Religion of Zarathustra.

3 (7). Unto him, O Zarathustra, I, Ahura Mazda, spake, saying : ' Well, fair Yima, son of Vtvanghat, be thou the preacher and the bearer of my Religion ! '

And the fair Yima, O Zarathustra, replied unto me, saying :

' I was not born, I was not taught to be the preacher and the bearer of thy Religion. '

4 (11). Then I, Ahura Mazda, said thus unto him, O Zarathustra :

¹ ' On the Religion ' (Comm.)

² ' His being a good shepherd means that he held in good condition herds of men and herds of animals ' (Comm.)

‘Since thou dost not consent to be the preacher and the bearer of my Religion, then make thou my world increase, make my world grow: consent thou to nourish, to rule, and to watch over my world.’

5 (14). And the fair Yima replied unto me, O Zarathustra, saying :

‘Yes! I will make thy world increase, I will make thy world grow. Yes! I will nourish, and rule, and watch over thy world. There shall be, while I am king, neither cold wind nor hot wind, neither disease nor death.’

7 (17)¹. Then I, Ahura Mazda, brought two implements unto him : a golden seal and a poniard inlaid with gold². Behold, here Yima bears the royal sway!

8 (20). Thus, under the sway of Yima, three hundred winters passed away, and the earth was replenished with flocks and herds, with men and dogs and birds and with red blazing fires, and there was room no more for flocks, herds, and men.

9. Then I warned the fair Yima, saying: ‘O fair Yima, son of Vîvanghat, the earth has become full of flocks and herds, of men and dogs and birds and of red blazing fires, and there is room no more for flocks, herds, and men.’

¹ § 6 is composed of unconnected Zend quotations, which are no part of the text and are introduced by the commentator for the purpose of showing that ‘although Yima did not teach the law and train pupils, he was nevertheless a faithful and a holy man, and rendered men holy too (?)’ See FRAGMENTS to the Vendîdâd.

² As the symbol and the instrument of sovereignty. ‘He reigned supreme by the strength of the ring and of the poniard’ (Asp.) Thus Farîdûn gives royal investiture to Irag ‘with the sword and the seal, the ring and the crown’ (Firdausi).—The king is master ‘of the sword, the throne, and the ring.’

10. Then Yima stepped forward, in-light¹, southwards², on the way of the sun³, and (afterwards) he pressed the earth with the golden seal, and bored it with the poniard, speaking thus:

‘O Spenta Ârmaiti⁴, kindly⁵ open asunder and stretch thyself afar, to bear flocks and herds and men.’

11. And Yima made the earth grow larger by one-third than it was before, and there came flocks and herds and men, at their will and wish, as many as he wished.

12 (23). Thus, under the sway of Yima, six hundred winters passed away, and the earth was replenished with flocks and herds, with men and dogs and birds and with red blazing fires, and there was room no more for flocks, herds, and men.

13. And I warned the fair Yima, saying: ‘O fair Yima, son of Vîvanghat, the earth has become full of flocks and herds, of men and dogs and birds and of red blazing fires, and there is room no more for flocks, herds, and men.’

14. Then Yima stepped forward, in light, south-

¹ That is to say, his body being all resplendent with light. Cf. Albîrûnî's Chronology (tr. by Sachau, p. 202): ‘Jam rose on that day (Naurôz) like the sun, the light beaming forth from him, as though he shone like the sun.’

² The warm South is the region of Paradise (Yasht XXII, 7): the North is the seat of the cold winds, of the demons and hell (Vd. XIX, 1; VII, 2).

³ Thence is derived the following tradition recorded by G. du Chinon: ‘Ils en nomment un qui s'allait tous les jours promener dans le Ciel du Soleil d'où il apportait la science des Astres, après les avoir visités de si prez. Ils nomment ce grand personnage Gemachid’ (Relations nouvelles du Levant, Lyon, 1671, p. 478).

⁴ The Genius of the Earth.

⁵ ‘Do this out of kindness to the creatures’ (Comm.)

wards, on the way of the sun, and (afterwards) he pressed the earth with the golden seal, and bored it with the poniard, speaking thus :

‘O Spenta Ārmaiti, kindly open asunder and stretch thyself afar, to bear flocks and herds and men.’

15. And Yima made the earth grow larger by two-thirds than it was before, and there came flocks and herds and men, at their will and wish, as many as he wished.

16 (26). Thus, under the sway of Yima, nine hundred winters passed away¹, and the earth was replenished with flocks and herds, with men and dogs and birds and with red blazing fires, and there was room no more for flocks, herds, and men.

17 (28). And I warned the fair Yima, saying : ‘O fair Yima, son of Vtvanghat, the earth has become full of flocks and herds, of men and dogs and birds and of red blazing fires, and there is room no more for flocks, herds, and men.’

18 (31). Then Yima stepped forward, in light, southwards, on the way of the sun, and (afterwards) he pressed the earth with the golden seal, and bored it with the poniard, speaking thus :

‘O Spenta Ārmaiti, kindly open asunder and stretch thyself afar, to bear flocks and herds and men.’

19 (37). And Yima made the earth grow larger by three-thirds than it was before, and there came

¹ Yima, according to Yt. IX, 10, made immortality reign on the earth for a thousand years. The remaining century was spent in the Vara (‘for a hundred years, Gim was in the Var,’ says the Gr. Bund.) On Yima’s fall, see Yt. XIX, 34 ; cf. Yt. V, 25-31.

flocks and herds and men, at their will and wish, as many as he wished.

II.

21 (42)¹. The Maker, Ahura Mazda, called together a meeting of the celestial Yazatas in the Airyana Vaêgô of high renown, by the Vanguhi Dâitya².

The fair Yima, the good shepherd, called together a meeting of the best of the mortals³, in the Airyana Vaêgô of high renown, by the Vanguhi Dâitya.

To that meeting came Ahura Mazda, in the Airyana Vaêgô of high renown, by the Vanguhi Dâitya; he came together with the celestial Yazatas.

To that meeting came the fair Yima, the good shepherd, in the Airyana Vaêgô of high renown, by the Vanguhi Dâitya; he came together with the best of the mortals.

22 (46). And Ahura Mazda spake unto Yima, saying:

‘O fair Yima, son of Vîvanghat! Upon the material world the evil winters are about to fall, that shall bring the fierce, deadly frost; upon the material world the evil winters⁴ are about to fall, that shall

¹ § 20 belongs to the Commentary. See FRAGMENTS to the Vendidad.

² See Farg. I, notes to § 2.

³ The best types of mankind, chosen to live in the Var during the Malkôsrân and repeople the earth when the Var opens.

⁴ The Commentary has here Malkôsrân, a word wrongly identified with the Hebrew Malqôsr, which designates the beneficent autumn rains. Malkôsrân are the winters let loose by a demon or wizard named Malkôsr, in Zend Mahrkûsha ‘the death-causing’ (see Westergaard’s Fragments, VIII).

make snow-flakes fall thick, even an aredvī deep on the highest tops of mountains¹.

23 (52). 'And the beasts that live in the wilderness², and those that live on the tops of the mountains³, and those that live in the bosom of the dale⁴ shall take shelter in underground abodes.

24 (57). 'Before that winter, the country would bear plenty of grass for cattle, before the waters had flooded it. Now after the melting of the snow, O Yima, a place wherein the footprint of a sheep may be seen will be a wonder in the world.

25 (61). 'Therefore make thee a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square⁵, and thither bring the seeds of sheep and oxen, of men, of dogs, of birds, and of red blazing fires⁶.

'Therefore make thee a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square, to be an abode for men; a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square, for oxen and sheep.

26 (65) 'There thou shalt make waters flow in a bed a hâthra long; there thou shalt settle birds, on the green that never fades, with food that never fails. There thou shalt establish dwelling-places, consisting of a house with a balcony, a courtyard, and a gallery⁷.

¹ 'Even where it (the snow) is least, it will be one Vîtasti two fingers deep' (Comm.); that is, fourteen fingers deep.

² The Comm. has, strangely enough, 'for instance, Ispâhân.'

³ 'For instance, Apârsên (the Upairisaêna or Hindû-Kûsh).'

⁴ 'For instance, Khorastân (the plain of Khorasan).'

⁵ 'Two hâthras long on every side' (Comm.) A hâthra is about an English mile.

⁶ That is to say, specimens of each species.

⁷ The last three words are ἀπαξ λεγόμενα of doubtful meaning.

27 (70). 'Thither thou shalt bring the seeds of men and women, of the greatest, best, and finest on this earth¹; thither thou shalt bring the seeds of every kind of cattle, of the greatest, best, and finest on this earth.

28 (74). 'Thither thou shalt bring the seeds of every kind of tree, of the highest of size and sweetest of odour on this earth²; thither thou shalt bring the seeds of every kind of fruit, the best of savour and sweetest of odour³. All those seeds shalt thou bring, two of every kind, to be kept inexhaustible there, so long as those men shall stay in the Vara.

29 (80). 'There shall be no humpbacked, none bulged forward there; no impotent, no lunatic; no one malicious, no liar; no one spiteful, none jealous; no one with decayed tooth, no leprous to be pent up⁴, nor any of the brands wherewith Angra Mainyu stamps the bodies of mortals⁵.

30 (87). 'In the largest part of the place thou shalt make nine streets, six in the middle part, three in the smallest. To the streets of the largest part thou shalt bring a thousand seeds of men and women; to the streets of the middle part, six hun-

¹ The best specimens of mankind, to be the origin of the more perfect races of the latter days.

² 'The highest of size, like the cypress and the plane-tree; the sweetest of odour, like the rose and the jessamine' (Comm.)

³ 'The best of savour, like the date; the sweetest of odour, like the citron' (Comm.)

⁴ 'A man, afflicted with leprosy, is not allowed to enter a town and mix with the other Persians' (Herod. I, 138; he was supposed to have sinned against the sun). Ctesias has a tale of how Megabyzes escaped his enemies by simulating leprosy.

⁵ In order that the new mankind may be exempt from all moral and physical deformities.

dred; to the streets of the smallest part, three hundred¹. That Vara thou shalt seal up with thy golden seal, and thou shalt make a door, and a window self-shining within.'

31 (93). Then Yima said within himself: 'How shall I manage to make that Vara which Ahura Mazda has commanded me to make?'

And Ahura Mazda said unto Yima: 'O fair Yima, son of Vivanghat! Crush the earth with a stamp of thy heel, and then knead it with thy hands, as the potter does when kneading the potter's clay².'

[32. And Yima did as Ahura Mazda wished; he crushed the earth with a stamp of his heel, he kneaded it with his hands, as the potter does when kneading the potter's clay³.]

33 (97). And Yima made a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square. There he brought the seeds of sheep and oxen, of men, of dogs, of birds, and of red blazing fires. . He made a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square, to be an abode for men; a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square, for oxen and sheep.

34 (101). There he made waters flow in a bed a hâthra long; there he settled birds, on the green that never fades, with food that never fails. There

¹ This division of the Var into three quarters very likely answers the distinction of the three classes.

² In the Shâh Nâmah Gamshîd teaches the Dîvs to make and knead clay 'by mixing the earth with water;' and they build palaces at his bidding. It was his renown, both as a wise king and a great builder, that caused the Musulmans to identify him with Solomon.

³ From the Vendîdâd Sâda.

he established dwelling-places, consisting of a house with a balcony, a courtyard, and a gallery.

35 (106). There he brought the seeds of men and women, of the greatest, best, and finest on this earth; there he brought the seeds of every kind of cattle, of the greatest, best, and finest on this earth.

36 (110). There he brought the seeds of every kind of tree, of the highest of size and sweetest of odour on this earth; there he brought the seeds of every kind of fruit, the best of savour and sweetest of odour. All those seeds he brought, two of every kind, to be kept inexhaustible there, so long as those men shall stay in the Vara.

37 (116). And there were no humpbacked, none bulged forward there; no impotent, no lunatic; no one malicious, no liar; no one spiteful, none jealous; no one with decayed tooth, no leprous to be pent up, nor any of the brands wherewith Angra Mainyu stamps the bodies of mortals.

38 (123). In the largest part of the place he made nine streets, six in the middle part, three in the smallest. To the streets of the largest part he brought a thousand seeds of men and women; to the streets of the middle part, six hundred; to the streets of the smallest part, three hundred. That Vara he sealed up with the golden ring, and he made a door, and a window self-shining within.

39 (129). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What are the lights that give light in the Vara which Yima made?

40 (131). Ahura Mazda answered: 'There are uncreated lights and created lights¹. The one

¹ The endless light, which is eternal, and artificial lights. The Commentary has here the following Zend quotation: 'The un-

thing missed there is the *sight of the stars, the moon, and the sun*¹, and a year *seems only as a day*².

41 (133). 'Every fortieth year, to every couple two are born, a male and a female³. And thus it is for every sort of cattle. And the men in the Vara which Yima made live the happiest life⁴.'

42 (137). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is he who brought the Religion of Mazda into the Vara which Yima made?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It was the bird Karshipta⁵, O holy Zarathustra!'

43 (140). O Maker of the material world, thou

created light shines from above; all the created lights shine from below.'

¹ The people in the Var cannot see them, since the Var is underground. That is why the Var has lights of its own.

² As there is no daily revolution of the sun.

³ Cf. the description of Irân-vêg according to a later source, the Mainyô-i-khard (as translated by West): 'Hôrmezd created *Erâ-vêz* better than the remaining places and districts; and its goodness was this, that men's life is three hundred years; and cattle and sheep, one hundred and fifty years; and their pain and sickness are little, and they do not circulate falsehood, and they make no lamentation and weeping; and the sovereignty of the demon of Avarice, in their body, is little, and in ten men, if they eat one loaf, they are satisfied; and in every forty years, from one woman and one man, one child is born; and their law is goodness, and religion the primeval religion, and when they die, they are righteous (=blessed); and their chief is Gôpatshâh, and the ruler and king is Srôsh' (XLIV, 24).

⁴ 'They live there for 150 years; some say, they never die' (Comm.)

⁵ 'The bird Karshipta dwells in the heavens: were he living on the earth, he would be the king of birds. He brought the Religion into the Var of Yima, and recites the Avesta in the language of birds' (Bund. XIX and XXIV). The Comm. identifies the Karshiptan with the *Kakhravâk*, that is the *Kakravâka* of poetical reputation in India.

Holy One! Who are the Lord and the Master there?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Urvataḍ-nara¹, O Zarathustra! and thyself, Zarathustra.'

FARGARD III.

The Earth.

'Les Guèbres,' says Chardin (ed. Langlès, VIII, 358), 'regardent l'agriculture, non seulement comme une profession belle et innocente, mais aussi comme méritoire et noble, et ils croient que c'est la première de toutes les vocations, celle pour quoi le Dieu souverain et les dieux inférieurs, comme ils parlent, ont le plus de complaisance et qu'ils recompensent le plus largement. Cette opinion, tournée en créance parmi eux, fait qu'ils se portent naturellement à travailler à la terre et qu'ils s'y exercent le plus : leurs prêtres leur enseignent que la plus vertueuse activité est d'engendrer des enfants (cf. Farg. IV, 47) et après de cultiver une terre qui serait en friche (cf. infra, § 4), de planter un arbre soit fruitier, soit autre.'

The classical writers (Xenophon, *Oeconomica*, IV, 4 seq.; Polybius, X, 28, quoted § 4, note) express themselves to the same effect, and their testimony has been lately corroborated, in a most unexpected way, by a Greek inscription², emanating from no less an authority than King Darius himself, who congratulates his satrap in Asia Minor, Gadates, 'for working well the King's earth and transplanting in lower Asia the fruits of the country beyond

¹ Zarathustra had three sons during his lifetime, Isad-vâstra, Hvare-kithra, and Urvataḍ-nara, who were respectively the fathers and chiefs of the three classes, priests, warriors, and husbandmen. Urvataḍ-nara, as a husbandman, was chosen to be the ahu or temporal Lord of the Var, on account of the Var being underground. Zarathustra, as a heavenly priest, was, by right, the ratu or Spiritual Lord in Airyana Vaêgô, where he founded the Religion by a sacrifice (Bund. XXXIII and Introd. III, 15).

² Discovered at Deremendjik, near Magnesia, on the Maeander : by Cousin and Deschamps (Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique, XIII, 529).

Euphrates (ὅτι τὴν ἐμὴν ἐκπονεῖς γῆν, τοὺς πέραν Εὐφράτου καρποὺς ἐπὶ τὰ κάτω τῆς Ἀσίας μέρη καταφυτεύων).

The third Fargard may serve as a Commentary to those texts. The principal subject is, as the Dinkard has it:

What comforts most the Genius of the Earth (§§ 1-6)?

What discomforts most the Genius of the Earth (§§ 7-11)?

What rejoices the Earth most (§§ 12-35)?

In each of these three developments a series of five objects is considered. Series I and II, though expressed in symmetrical terms, do not answer one another: there is greater symmetry, as to the ideas, between the second series and the third. Series I and II are a dry enumeration. The third series contains two interesting digressions, one on the funeral laws (§§ 14-21), and the other on the sanctity of husbandry (§§ 24-33).

The Fargard ends with a development forbidding the burial of the dead (§§ 36-42): it is a sort of commentary to § 8.

The subject of this chapter has become a commonplace topic with the Parsis, who have treated it more or less antithetically in the Mainyô-i-khard (chaps. V and VI) and in the Ravâets (Gr. Rav. pp. 434-437).

I.

1. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the first place where the Earth¹ feels most happy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place whereon one of the faithful steps forward, O Spitama Zarathustra! with the log in his hand², the Baresma³ in his hand, the milk⁴ in his hand, the mortar⁵ in his

¹ 'The Genius of the Earth' (Comm.)

² The wood for the fire altar.

³ The Baresma (now called barsom) is a bundle of sacred twigs which the priest holds in his hand while reciting the prayers. (See Farg. XIX, 18 seq. and notes.)

⁴ The so-called *gîv* or *gîvâam*, one of the elements of the Haoma sacrifice.

⁵ The Hâvana or mortar used in crushing the Haoma or Hôma.

hand, lifting up his voice in good accord with religion, and beseeching Mithra¹, the lord of the rolling country-side, and Râma *Hvâstra*².'

2, 3 (6-10). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the second place where the Earth feels most happy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place whereon one of the faithful erects a house with a priest within³, with cattle, with a wife, with children, and good herds within; and wherein afterwards the cattle continue to thrive, virtue to thrive⁴, fodder to thrive, the dog to thrive, the wife to thrive, the child to thrive, the fire to thrive, and every blessing of life to thrive.'

4 (11). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the third place where the Earth feels most happy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place where one of the faithful sows most corn, grass, and fruit, O Spitama Zarathustra! where he waters ground that is dry, or drains ground that is too wet⁵.'

¹ Mithra, the Persian Apollo, sometimes like him identified with the Sun, is invoked here as making the earth fertile. 'Why do not you worship the Sun? asked king Yazdgard the Christians. Is he not the god who lights up with his rays all the world, and through whose warmth the food of men and cattle grows ripe?' (Elisaeus.)

² The god that gives food its savour: he is an acolyte to Mithra.

³ With the domestic chaplain (the *Panthakî*).

⁴ By the performance of worship.

⁵ Under the Achaemanian kings countrymen who brought water to places naturally dry received the usufruct of the ground for five generations (Polybius, X, 28). But for those underground canals (called *Kanâts*), which bring water from the mountains all through the Iranian desert, Persia would starve.

5 (15). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the fourth place where the Earth feels most happy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place where there is most increase of flocks and herds.'

6 (18). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the fifth place where the Earth feels most happy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place where flocks and herds yield most dung.'

II.

7 (21). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the first place where the Earth feels sorest grief?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the neck of Arezûra¹, whereon the hosts of fiends rush forth from the burrow of the Drug².'

8 (25). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the second place where the Earth feels sorest grief?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place wherein most corpses of dogs and of men lie buried³.'

¹ The neck of Arezûra (Arezûrahê grîva) is 'a mount at the gate of hell, whence the demons rush forth' (Bund. XII, 8; Dâdistân XXXIII, 5); it is also called 'the head of Arezûra' (Farg. XIX, 45), or 'the back of Arezûra' (Bund. XII, 2). Arezûra was a fiend, son of Ahriman, who was killed by the first man, Gayômarð (Mainyô-i-khard XXVII, 15). The mount named from him lies in the North (which is the seat of the demons): it seems to belong to the Alborz chain, like the Damâvand (Bund. XII, 8), where Azi Dahâka was bound (Farg. I, 18, notes).

² Hell, the Drug being assimilated to a burrowing Khrafstra. Cf. Farg. VII, 24.

³ 'It is declared in the good religion, that, when they conceal

9 (28). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the third place where the Earth feels sorest grief?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place whereon stand most of those Dakhmas on which the corpses of men are deposited¹.'

10 (31). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the fourth place where the Earth feels sorest grief?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place wherein are most burrows of the creatures of Angra Mainyu².'

11 (34). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the fifth place where the Earth feels sorest grief?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place whereon

a corpse beneath the ground, Spendârmad, the archangel, shudders; it is just as severe as a serpent or scorpion would be to any one in a sleeping-garment, and it is also just like that to the ground. When thou makest a corpse beneath the ground as it were apparent, thou makest the ground liberated from that affliction' (Saddar XXXIII, tr. by West, in the Sacred Books of the East, XXIV). Cf. Vd. VI, 51; VII, 45.

¹ With regard to Dakhmas, see Farg. VI, 45. 'Nor is the Earth happy at that place whereon stands a Dakhma with corpses upon it; for that patch of ground will never be clean again till the day of resurrection' (Gr. Rav. 435, 437). Although the erection of Dakhmas is enjoined by the law, yet the Dakhma in itself is as unclean as any spot on the earth can be, since it is always in contact with the dead (cf. Farg. VII, 55). The impurity which would otherwise be scattered over the whole world, is thus brought together to one and the same spot. Yet even that spot, in spite of the Ravâet, is not to lie defiled for ever, as every fifty years the Dakhmas ought to be pulled down, so that their sites may be restored to their natural purity (see Farg. VII, 49 seq. and this Farg. § 13).

² 'Where there are most Khrafstras' (noxious animals).

the wife and children of one of the faithful¹, O Spitama Zarathustra! are driven along the way of captivity, the dry, the dusty way, and lift up a voice of wailing.'

III.

12 (38). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the first that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is he who digs out of it most corpses of dogs and men².'

13 (41). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the second that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is he who pulls down most of those Dakhmas on which the corpses of men are deposited³.'

14 (44). Let no man alone by himself⁴ carry a corpse⁵. If a man alone by himself carry a corpse,

¹ Killed by an enemy.

² This joy answers the second grief of the earth (§ 8; cf. note). There is no counterpart given to the first grief (§ 7), because, as the Commentary naively expresses it, 'it is not possible now so to dig out hell,' which will be done at the end of the world (Bund. XXX, 32).

³ This answers the third grief (§ 9; cf. note).

⁴ No ceremony in general can be performed by one man alone. Two Mobeds are wanted to perform the Vendîdâd service, two priests for the Barashnûm, two persons for the Sag-dîd (Anquetil, II, 584 n.) It is never good that the faithful should be alone, as the fiend is always lurking about, ready to take advantage of any moment of inattention. If the faithful be alone, there is no one to make up for any negligence and to prevent mischief arising from it. Never is the danger greater than in the present case, when the fiend is close at hand, and in direct contact with the faithful.

⁵ A corpse from which the Nasu has not been expelled by the Sag-dîd ceremony (described Vd. VIII, 14-22).

the Nasu¹ rushes upon him, to defile him, from the nose of the dead, from the eye, from the tongue, from the jaws, from the sexual organs, from the hinder parts. This Drug Nasu falls upon him, [stains him] even to the end of the nails, and he is unclean, thenceforth, for ever and ever.

15 (49). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What shall be the place of that man who has carried a corpse [alone]²?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It shall be the place on this earth wherein is least water and fewest plants, whereof the ground is the cleanest and the driest and the least passed through by flocks and herds, by the fire of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of Baresma, and by the faithful³.'

16 (55). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from the fire? How far from the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of Baresma? How far from the faithful?

17 (57). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty paces⁴ from the fire, thirty paces from the water, thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of Baresma, three paces from the faithful.

¹ The word Nasu has two meanings: it means either the corpse (*nasâi*), or the corpse-demon (the Drug Nasu, that is to say the demon who takes possession of the dead body and makes his presence felt by the decomposition of the body and infection).

² He cannot purify himself like the Nasâ-sâlâr (Vd. VIII, 13). 'He who carries a man, knowing that the man is dead and that the Sag-dîd has not been performed, commits a sin worthy of death (*margarzân*).' As the absence of Sag-dîd makes the infection worse, it is the same crime as if a man were to introduce a plague into the country.

³ To avoid any contact of that man with pure beings.

⁴ A pace (*gâma*) is as much as three feet (*pâdha*; Vd. IX, 8).

18, 19 (58-63). 'There, on that place, shall the worshippers of Mazda erect an enclosure¹, and therein shall they establish him with food, therein shall they establish him with clothes, with the coarsest food and with the most worn-out clothes. That food he shall live on, those clothes he shall wear, and thus shall they let him live, until he has grown to the age of a Hana, or of a Zaurura, or of a Pairista-khshudra².

20, 21 (64-71). 'And when he has grown to the age of a Hana, or of a Zaurura³, or of a Pairista-khshudra, then the worshippers of Mazda shall order a man strong, vigorous, and skilful⁴, to cut the head off his neck⁵, in his enclosure on the top of the mountain: and they shall deliver his corpse unto the greediest of the corpse-eating creatures made by the beneficent Spirit, unto the vultures, with these words: "The man here has repented of all his evil thoughts, words, and deeds. If he has committed any other evil deed, it is remitted by his repentance⁶: if he has committed no other evil deed, he is absolved by his repentance, for ever and ever."'

¹ The Armet-gâh, the place for the unclean; see *Intro.* V, 15.

² Hana means, literally, 'an old man'; Zaurura, 'a man broken down by age'; Pairista-khshudra, 'one whose seed is dried up.' These words have acquired the technical meanings of 'fifty, sixty, and seventy years old.'

³ When he is near his death. The carrier alone (*êvak-bar*), being *margarzân* (see p. 27, n. 2), ought to have been put to death at once. The rigour of theory was abated in practice and delayed to the moment when the guilty man was to have paid to nature the debt due to religion.

⁴ 'Trained to operations of that sort' (*Comm.*); a headsman.

⁵ Perhaps: 'to flay him alive and cut off his head.' Cf. *Farg.* IX, 49, text and note.

⁶ By the performance of the *Patet*.

22 (72). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the third that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is he who fills up most burrows of the creatures of Angra Mainyu¹.'

23 (75). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the fourth that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is he who sows most corn, grass, and fruit, O Spitama Zarathustra! who waters ground that is dry, or drains ground that is too wet².'

24 (79). 'Unhappy is the land that has long lain unsown with the seed of the sower and wants a good husbandman, like a well-shapen maiden who has long gone childless and wants a good husband.

25 (84). 'He who would till the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, unto him will she bring forth plenty of fruit: even as it were a lover sleeping with his bride on her bed; the bride will bring forth children, the earth will bring forth plenty of fruit³.

26, 27 (87-90). 'He who would till the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, unto him thus says the Earth: "O thou man! who dost till me with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, here shall I ever go on bearing, bring-

¹ This joy answers the fourth grief of the earth (§ 10).

² This is identical with § 4, which is developed in the following clauses (§§ 24-34).

³ The text has: 'she brings either a son or plenty of fruit,' she being either the woman or the earth.

ing forth all manner of food, bringing corn first to thee¹."

28, 29 (91-95). 'He who does not till the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, unto him thus says the Earth: "O thou man! who dost not till me with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, ever shalt thou stand at the door of the stranger, among those who beg for bread; the refuse and the crumbs of the bread are brought unto thee², brought by those who have profusion of wealth."'

30 (96). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the food that fills the Religion of Mazda³?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is sowing corn again and again, O Spitama Zarathustra!

31 (99). 'He who sows corn, sows righteousness: he makes the Religion of Mazda walk, he suckles the Religion of Mazda; as well as he could do with a hundred man's feet, with a thousand woman's breasts⁴, with ten thousand sacrificial formulas⁵.

32 (105). 'When barley was created, the Daêvas

¹ 'When something good grows up, it will grow up for thee first' (Comm.) Perhaps: 'bringing to thee profusion of corn' ('some say, she will bring to thee 15 for 10;' Comm.)

² 'They take for themselves what is good and send to thee what is bad' (Comm.)

³ Literally, 'What is the stomach of the law?'

⁴ 'He makes the Religion of Mazda as fat as a child could be made by means of a hundred feet, that is to say, of fifty servants walking to rock him; of a thousand breasts, that is, of five hundred nurses' (Comm.)

⁵ With the recitation of 10,000 Yêngê hâtâm, that is to say, as if one had performed for his weal as many sacrifices as contain 10,000 Yêngê hâtâm.

started up¹; when it grew², then fainted the Daêvas' hearts; when the knots came³, the Daêvas groaned; when the ear came, the Daêvas flew away⁴. In that house the Daêvas stay, wherein wheat perishes⁵. It is as though red hot iron were turned about in their throats, when there is plenty of corn⁶.

33 (111). 'Then let people learn by heart this holy saying: "No one who does not eat, has strength to do heavy works of holiness⁷, strength to do works of husbandry, strength to beget children. By eating every material creature lives, by not eating it dies away."'

34 (116). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is⁸ the fifth that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy?

Ahura Mazda answered: '[It is he who kindly and piously gives⁹ to one of the faithful who tills the earth,] O Spitama Zarathustra!

35 (118). 'He who would not kindly and piously give to one of the faithful who tills the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! Spenta Ârmaiti⁹ will throw him down into darkness, down into the world of woe, the world of hell, down into the deep abyss¹⁰.'

¹ John Barleycorn got up again,
And sore surpris'd them all.

² Doubtful.

³ Doubtful.

⁴ The general meaning of the sentence is how the Dêvs are broken down 'by the growing, the increasing, and the ripening of the corn' (Dînkard, l. i. § 10).

⁵ Doubtful.

⁶ Doubtful.

⁷ 'Like the performance of the dvâzda hômâst' (the longest and most cumbersome of all Zoroastrian ceremonies).

⁸ The Ashô-dâd or alms. The bracketed clause is from the Vendidad Sâda.

⁹ The Genius of the Earth offended.

¹⁰ Conjectural translation.

IV.

36 (122). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall bury in the earth either the corpse of a dog or the corpse of a man, and if he shall not disinter it within half a year, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Five hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra¹, five hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana¹.'

37 (126). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall bury in the earth either the corpse of a dog or the corpse of a man, and if he shall not disinter it within a year, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'A thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

38 (130). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall bury in the earth either the corpse of a dog or the corpse of a man, and if he shall not disinter it within the second year, what is the penalty for it? What is the atonement for it? What is the cleansing from it?

39 (135). Ahura Mazda answered: 'For that deed there is nothing that can pay, nothing that can atone, nothing that can cleanse from it; it is a trespass for which there is no atonement, for ever and ever.'

40 (137). When is it so?

'It is so, if the sinner be a professor of the

¹ See Introduction.

Religion of Mazda, or one who has been taught in it¹.

‘But if he be not a professor of the Religion of Mazda, nor one who has been taught in it², then his sin is taken from him, if he makes confession of the Religion of Mazda and resolves never to commit again such forbidden deeds³.

41 (142). ‘The Religion of Mazda indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! takes away from him who makes confession of it the bonds of his sin⁴; it takes away (the sin of) breach of trust⁵; it takes away (the sin of) murdering one of the faithful⁶; it takes away (the sin of) burying a corpse⁷; it takes away (the sin of) deeds for which there is no atonement; it takes away the worst sin of usury⁸; it takes away any sin that may be sinned.

¹ A born Zoroastrian or a catechist: in both cases, he must have known that he was committing sin.

² He did not know that he was committing sin.

³ He makes Patet and says to himself, ‘I will never henceforth sin again’ (Comm.)

⁴ If not knowingly committed; see § 40 and the following notes.

⁵ Doubtful. From the Commentary it appears that draosha must have meant a different sort of robbery: ‘He knows that it is forbidden to steal, but he fancies that robbing the rich to give to the poor is a pious deed’ (Comm.)

⁶ Or better, ‘a Mazdean,’ but one who has committed a capital crime; ‘he knows that it is allowed to kill the margarzân, but he does not know that it is not allowed to do so without an order from the judge.’ Cf. VIII, 74 note.

⁷ ‘He knows that it is forbidden to bury a corpse; but he fancies that if one manages so that dogs or foxes may not take it to the fire and to the water, he behaves piously’ (Comm.)—He fancies that the prohibition of burying the dead is meant only for the protection of the fire and the water, not of the earth herself.

⁸ Or, possibly, ‘the sin of usury.’ ‘He knows that it is lawful

42 (149). 'In the same way the Religion of Mazda, O Spitama Zarathustra! cleanses the faithful from every evil thought, word, and deed, as a swift-rushing mighty wind cleanses the plain¹.

'So let all the deeds he doeth be henceforth good, O Zarathustra! a full atonement for his sin is effected by means of the Religion of Mazda.'

FARGARD IV.

Contracts and Outrages.

This Fargard is the only one in the Vendîdâd that deals strictly with legal objects.

I a. Classification of the contracts according to the value of their object (§ 2).—A contract is cancelled by paying the amount of the contract higher by one degree (§§ 3-4).

Religious responsibility of the family for the breach of a contract by one of its members (§§ 5-10).

Punishment of the Mihir-Drug (one who breaks a contract), (§§ 11-16).

II a. Definition of the outrages known as âgerepta (threatening attitude), avaoirista (assault), aredur (blows), (§ 17).

Penalties for menaces (§§ 18-21); for assaults (§§ 22-25); for blows (§§ 26-29); for wounds (§§ 30-33); for wounds causing blood to flow (§§ 34-36); for broken bones (§§ 37-39); for manslaughter (§§ 40-43).

III a. Contract of charity to co-religionists (§§ 44-45).

IV a. Heinousness of false oath (§ 46).

III b. Dignity of wealth; of marriage; of physical weal (§§ 47-49 a).

IV b. Heinousness of false oath. Ordeal (§§ 49 b-55).

Part of this Fargard has been made unduly obscure by the transposition of § 46, wrongly inserted between the clause on charity (§§ 44-45) and the corresponding development on the dignity of material goods. This transposition is found in all known manuscripts and belonged to the older text from which they are derived.

to take high interest, but he does not know that it is not lawful to do so from the faithful' (Comm.)

¹ 'From chaff' (Comm.)

I.

1. He that does not restore a loan to the man who lent it, steals the thing and robs the man¹. This he doeth every day, every night, as long as he keep in his house his neighbour's property, as though it were his own².

I a.

2 (4). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How many in number are thy contracts, O Ahura Mazda?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They are six in number, O holy Zarathustra³. The first is the word-contract⁴; the second is the hand-contract⁵; the third is the contract to the amount of a sheep⁶; the

¹ 'He is a thief when he takes with a view not to restore; he is a robber when, being asked to restore, he answers, I will not' (Comm.)

² Every moment that he holds it unlawfully, he steals it anew. 'The basest thing with Persians is to lie; the next to it is to be in debt, for this reason among many others, that he who is so, must needs sink to lying at last' (Herod. I, 183). The debtor in question is of course the debtor of bad faith, 'he who says to a man, Give me this, I will restore it to thee at the proper time, and he says to himself, I will not restore it' (Comm.)

³ At first view it seems as if the classification were twofold, the contracts being defined in the first two clauses by their mode of being entered into, and in the last four by their amount. Yet it appears from the following clauses that even the word-contract and the hand-contract are indicative of a certain amount, which, however, the commentators did not, or were unable to, determine.

⁴ The word-contract may be a contract of which the object are words: the contract of *jâ dangôî* (*ukhdhō - vaḥaḥ*), by which one offers to speak and intervene for some one's benefit, or the contract between master and pupil (for teaching the sacred texts).

⁵ The contract for hiring labour (?).

⁶ 'Viz. to the amount of 3 *istîrs* [in weight],' (Comm.) An *istîr* (στατήρ) is as much as 4 dirhems (δραχμή).

fourth is the contract to the amount of an ox ¹; the fifth is the contract to the amount of a man ²; the sixth is the contract to the amount of a field ³, a field in good land, a fruitful one, in good bearing ⁴.

3 (13). The word-contract is fulfilled by words of mouth.

It is cancelled by the hand-contract; he shall give as damages the amount of the hand-contract.

4 (16). The hand-contract is cancelled by the sheep-contract; he shall give as damages the amount of the sheep-contract.

The sheep-contract is cancelled by the ox-contract; he shall give as damages the amount of the ox-contract.

The ox-contract is cancelled by the man-contract; he shall give as damages the amount of the man-contract.

The man-contract is cancelled by the field-contract; he shall give as damages the amount of the field-contract.

5 (24). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the word-contract, how many are involved in his sin ⁵?

¹ 'To the amount of 12 istîrs (=48 dirhems),' (Comm.)

² 'To the amount of 500 dirhems.' The exact translation would be rather, 'The contract to the amount of a human being' (promise of marriage).

³ 'Upwards of 500 istîrs.'

⁴ A sort of gloss added to define more accurately the value of the object, and to indicate that it is greater than that of the preceding one.

⁵ Literally, how much is involved? The joint responsibility of the family was a principle in the Persian law: '*Leges apud eos impendio formidatae, et abominandae aliae, per quas ob noxam unius omnis propinquitās perit*' (Am. Marcellinus XXIII, 6).

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabânazdistas¹ answerable for three hundred (years)².'

6 (26). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the hand-contract, how many are involved in his sin?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabânazdistas answerable for six hundred (years)³.'

7 (28). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the sheep-contract, how many are involved in his sin?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabânazdistas answerable for seven hundred (years)⁴.'

8 (30). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the ox-contract, how many are involved in his sin?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabânazdistas answerable for eight hundred (years)⁵.'

¹ The next of kin to the ninth degree.

² See § 11. This passage seems to have puzzled tradition. The Commentary says, 'How long, how many years, has one to fear for the breach of a word-contract?—the Nabânazdistas have to fear for three hundred years;' but it does not explain farther the nature of that fear; it only tries to reduce the circle of that liability to narrower limits: 'only the son born after the breach is liable for it; the righteous are not liable for it; when the father dies, the son, if righteous, has nothing to fear from it.' And finally, the Ravâets leave the kinsmen wholly aside; the penalty falling entirely upon the real offender, and the number denoting only the duration of his punishment in hell: 'He who breaks a word-contract, his soul shall abide for three hundred years in hell' (Gr. Rav. 94).

³ See § 12. 'His soul shall abide for six hundred years in hell' (Gr. Rav. l. 1.)

⁴ See § 13. 'His soul shall abide for seven hundred years in hell' (Gr. Rav. l. 1.)

⁵ See § 14. 'His soul shall abide for eight hundred years in hell.'

9 (32). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the man-contract, how many are involved in his sin?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Na-bânazdistas answerable for nine hundred (years)¹.'

10 (34). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the field-contract, how many are involved in his sin?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Na-bânazdistas answerable for a thousand (years)².'

11 (36). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the word-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, three hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana³.'

12 (39). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the hand-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Six hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, six hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana⁴.'

13 (42). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the sheep-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seven hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seven hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana⁵.'

¹ See § 15. 'His soul shall abide for nine hundred years in hell.'

² See § 16. 'His soul shall abide for a thousand years in hell.'

³ One tanâfûhr and a half, that is 1800 dirhems. See Introd.

⁴ Three tanâfûhrs, or 3600 dirhems.

⁵ Three tanâfûhrs and a half, or 4200 dirhems.

14 (45). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the ox-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Eight hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, eight hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana ¹.'

15 (48). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the man-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Nine hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, nine hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana ².'

16 (51). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the field-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'A thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana ³.'

II a.

17 (54). If a man rise up with a weapon in his hand, it is an Âgerepta ⁴. If he brandish it, it is

¹ Four tanâfûhrs, or 4800 dirhems.

² Four tanâfûhrs and a half, or 5400 dirhems.

³ Five tanâfûhrs, or 6000 dirhems.

⁴ In this paragraph are defined the first three of the eight outrages with which the rest of the Fargard deals. Only these three are defined, because they are designated by technical terms. We subjoin the definitions of them found in a Sanskrit translation of a Patet (Paris, Bibl. Nat. f. B. 5, 154), in which their etymological meanings are better preserved than in the Zend definition itself:—

Âgerepta, 'seizing,' is when a man seizes a weapon with a view to smite another.

Avaoirista, 'brandishing,' is when a man brandishes a weapon with a view to smite another.

Aredus is when a man actually smites another with a weapon,

an Avaoirista. If he actually smite a man with malicious aforethought, it is an Aredus. Upon the fifth Aredus¹ he becomes a Peshôtanu².

18 (58). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! He that committeth an Âgerepta, what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Five stripes with the Aspahê-astra, five stripes with the Sraoshô-karana;

'On the second Âgerepta, ten stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ten stripes with the Sraoshô-karana;

'On the third, fifteen stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifteen stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.

19 (63). 'On the fourth, thirty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, thirty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana;

'On the fifth, fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana;

'On the sixth, sixty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, sixty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana;

'On the seventh, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

20 (67). If a man commit an Âgerepta for the eighth time, without having atoned for the preceding³, what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

but without wounding him, or inflicts a wound which is healed within three days.

¹ Viz. on the sixth commission of it, as appears from § 28.

² He shall receive two hundred stripes, or shall pay 1200 dirhems (see Introd.)

³ Literally, 'without having undone the preceding.'

21 (70). If a man commit an Âgerepta¹, and refuse to atone for it², what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

22 (73). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Avaoirista, what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ten stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ten stripes with the Sraoshô-karana;

'On the second Avaoirista, fifteen stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifteen stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.

23 (75). 'On the third, thirty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, thirty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana;

'On the fourth, fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana;

'On the fifth, seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana;

'On the sixth, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

24 (76). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Avaoirista for the seventh time, without having atoned for the preceding, what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

25 (77). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Avaoirista, and refuse to atone for it, what penalty shall he pay?

¹ Even though the Âgerepta has been committed for the first time.

² Literally, 'and does not undo it.' If he does not offer himself to bear the penalty, and does not perform the Patet (see Introd.)

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

26 (79). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Aredus, what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fifteen stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifteen stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

27 (81). 'On the second Aredus, thirty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, thirty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana;

'On the third, fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana;

'On the fourth, seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana;

'On the fifth, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

28. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Aredus for the sixth time, without having atoned for the preceding, what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

29 (82). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Aredus, and refuse to atone for it, what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

30 (85). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another and hurt him sorely, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

31 (87). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty stripes

with the Aspahê-astra, thirty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana ;

‘The second time, fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana ;

‘The third time, seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana ;

‘The fourth time, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.’

32 (89). If a man commit that deed for the fifth time, without having atoned for the preceding, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered : ‘He is a Peshôtanu : two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.’

33 (90). If a man commit that deed and refuse to atone for it, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered : ‘He is a Peshôtanu : two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.’

34 (93). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One ! If a man smite another so that the blood come, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered : ‘Fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana ;

‘The second time, seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana ;

‘The third time, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.’

35 (95). If he commit that deed for the fourth time, without having atoned for the preceding, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered : ‘He is a Peshôtanu : two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.’

36 (96). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that the blood come, and if he refuse to atone for it, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-*karana*.'

37 (99). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that he break a bone, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-*karana*;

'The second time, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-*karana*.'

38 (102). If he commit that deed for the third time, without having atoned for the preceding, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-*karana*.'

39 (104). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that he break a bone, and if he refuse to atone for it, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-*karana*.'

40 (106). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that he give up the ghost, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-*karana*.'

41 (109). If he commit that deed again, without having atoned for the preceding, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

42 (112). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that he give up the ghost, and if he refuse to atone for it, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

43 (115). And they shall thenceforth in their doings walk after the way of holiness, after the word of holiness, after the ordinance of holiness.

III a¹.

44 (118). If men of the same faith, either friends or brothers, come to an agreement together, that one may obtain from the other, either goods², or a wife³, or knowledge⁴, let him who desires goods

¹ We return here to contracts; the logical place of §§ 44-45 would be after § 16.

² The analysis of the Vendîdâd in the Dînkard has here: 'a proof that one professes the Religion well is to grant bountifully to the brethren in the faith any benefit they may ask for.'

³ Woman is an object of contract, like cattle or fields: she is disposed of by contracts of the fifth sort, being more valuable than cattle and less so than fields. She is sold by her father or her guardian, often from the cradle. 'Instances are not wanting of the betrothal of a boy of three years of age to a girl of two' (see Dosabhoy Framjee's work on The Parsees, p. 77; cf. 'A Bill to Define and Amend the Law relating to Succession, Inheritance, Marriage, &c.,' Bombay, 1864).

⁴ On the holiness of the contract between pupil and teacher, see Yt. X, 116. Cf. above, p. 35, n. 4.

have them delivered to him; let him who desires a wife receive and wed her; let him who desires knowledge be taught the holy word,

45 (123). during the first part of the day and the last, during the first part of the night and the last, that his mind may be increased in intelligence and wax strong in holiness. So shall he sit up, in devotion and prayers, that he may be increased in intelligence: he shall rest during the middle part of the day, during the middle part of the night¹, and thus shall he continue until he can say all the words which former Aêthrapaitis² have said.

IV a.

46 (128). Before the boiling water publicly prepared³, O Spitama Zarathustra! let no one make bold to deny having received [from his neighbour] the ox or the garment in his possession.

III b.

47 (130)⁴. Verily I say it unto thee, O Spitama Zarathustra! the man who has a wife is far above him who lives in continence⁵; he who keeps a house is far above him who has none; he who has

¹ He sleeps 'the third part of the day and the third part of the night' (Yasna LXII, 5).

² A teaching priest (Parsi Hêrbad).

³ This clause is intended against false oaths taken in the so-called Var-ordeal (see § 54 n.) It ought to be placed before § 49 bis, where the penalty for a false oath is given.

⁴ §§ 47-49 are a sort of commentary to the beginning of § 44.

⁵ What king Yazdgard found most offensive in Christianity was 'that the Christians praise death and despise life, set no value upon fecundity and extol sterility, so that if their disciples would listen to

children is far above the childless man¹; he who has riches is far above him who has none.

48 (134). And of two men, he who fills himself with meat receives in him Vohu Manô² much better than he who does not do so³; the latter is all but dead; the former is above him by the worth of an Asperena⁴, by the worth of a sheep, by the worth of an ox, by the worth of a man⁵.

49 (137). This man can strive against the onsets of Astô-vidhōtu⁶; he can strive against the well-darted arrow; he can strive against the winter

them, they would no longer have any intercourse with women and the world would end' (Elisaeus).

¹ 'In Persia there are prizes given by the king to those who have most children' (Herod. I, 136). 'He who has no child, the bridge (of Paradise) shall be barred to him. The first question the angels there will ask him is, whether he has left in this world a substitute for himself; if the answer be, No, they will pass by and he will stay at the head of the bridge, full of grief and sorrow' (Saddar 18; Hyde 19). The primitive meaning of this belief is explained by Brahmanical doctrine; the man without a son falls into hell, because there is nobody to pay him the family worship.

² Vohu Manô is at the same time the god of good thoughts and the god of cattle.

³ 'There are people who strive to pass a day without eating, and who abstain from any meat; we strive too and abstain, namely, from any sin in deed, thought, or word: . . . in other religions, they fast from bread; in ours, we fast from sin' (Saddar 83).—'The Zoroastrians have no fasting at all. He who fasts commits a sin, and must, by way of expiation, give food to a number of poor people' (Albîrûnî, Chronology, p. 217).

⁴ A dirhem.

⁵ Or: 'is worth an Asperena, worth a sheep, worth an ox, worth a man,' which means, according to the Commentary: 'deserves the gift of an Asperena, of a sheep's value, an ox's value, a man's value.'

⁶ Astô-vidhōtu, the demon of death (Farg. V, 8). The man who eats well has greater vitality.

fiend, with thinnest garment on; he can strive against the wicked tyrant and smite him on the head; he can strive against the ungodly fasting Ashemaogha¹.

IV b.

49 (bis). On the very first time when that deed² has been done, without waiting until it is done again,

50 (143). down there³ the pain for that deed shall be as hard as any in this world: even as if one should cut off the limbs from his perishable body with knives of brass, or still worse;

51 (146). down there the pain for that deed shall be as hard as any in this world: even as if one should nail⁴ his perishable body with nails of brass, or still worse;

52 (149). down there the pain for that deed shall be as hard as any in this world: even as if one should by force throw his perishable body headlong down a precipice a hundred times the height of a man, or still worse;

53 (152). down there the pain for that deed shall be as hard as any in this world: even as if one should by force impale⁵ his perishable body, or still worse.

54 (154). Down there the pain for his deed shall be as hard as any in this world: to wit, the deed of

¹ The Commentary has: 'like Mazdak, son of Bâmdât,' the communistic heresiarch who flourished under Kobâd (488-531) and was put to death under Noshirvan.

² The taking of a false oath. Cf. § 46.

³ In hell.

⁴ Doubtful.

⁵ Doubtful.

a man, who, knowingly lying, confronts the brimstoned, golden¹, truth-knowing water with an appeal unto Rashnu² and a lie unto Mithra³.

55 (156). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! He who, knowingly lying, confronts the brimstoned, golden, truth-knowing water with an appeal unto Rashnu and a lie unto Mithra, what is the penalty that he shall pay⁴?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seven hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seven hundred stripes with the Sraoshê-karana.'

FARGARD V.

This chapter and the following ones, to the end of the twelfth, deal chiefly with uncleanness arising from the dead, and with the means of removing it from men and things.

The subjects treated in this Fargard are as follows:—

I (1-7). If a man defile the fire or the earth with dead matter (Nasu), involuntarily or unconsciously, it is no sin.

II (8-9). Water and fire do not kill.

III (10-14). Disposal of the dead during winter when it is not possible to take them to the Dakhma.

IV (15-20). Why Ahura, while forbidding man to defile water, sends water from the heavens down to the Dakhmas, covered with corpses. How he purifies that water.

¹ The water before which the oath is taken contains some incense, brimstone, and one danak of molten gold (Gr. Rav. 101).

² The god of truth (Yt. XII). The formula is as follows: 'Before the Amshaspand Bahman, before the Amshaspand Ardibehesht, here lighted up . . . &c., I swear that I have nothing of what is thine, N. son of N., neither gold, nor silver, nor brass, nor clothes, nor any of the things created by Ormazd' (l. l. 96). Cf. above, § 46.

³ He is a Mithra-drug, 'one who lies to Mithra.'

⁴ In this world.

V (21-26). On the excellence of purity and of the law that shows how to recover purity, when lost.

VI (27-38). On the defiling power of the Nasu being greater or less, according to the greater or less dignity of the being that dies.

VII (39-44). On the management of sacrificial implements defiled with Nasu.

VIII (45-62). On the treatment of a woman who has been delivered of a still-born child; and what is to be done with her clothes.

I a.

1. There dies a man in the depths of the vale: a bird takes flight from the top of the mountain down into the depths of the vale, and it feeds on the corpse of the dead man there: then, up it flies from the depths of the vale to the top of the mountain: it flies to some one of the trees there, of the hard-wooded or the soft-wooded, and upon that tree it vomits and deposits dung.

2 (7). Now, lo! here is a man coming up from the depths of the vale to the top of the mountain; he comes to the tree whereon the bird is sitting; from that tree he intends to take wood for the fire. He fells the tree, he hews the tree, he splits it into logs, and then he lights it in the fire, the son of Ahura Mazda. What is the penalty that he shall pay¹?

3 (11). Ahura Mazda answered: 'There is no sin upon a man for any Nasu that has been brought by dogs, by birds, by wolves, by winds, or by flies.

4 (12). 'For were there sin upon a man for any Nasu that might have been brought by dogs, by

¹ For defiling the fire by bringing dead matter into it (see Farg. VII, 25 seq.) contrarily to the rule, 'Put ye only proper and well-examined fuel (in the fire).' For the purification of unclean wood, see Farg. VII, 28 seq.

birds, by wolves, by winds, or by flies, how soon all this material world of mine would be only one Peshôtanu¹, bent on the destruction of righteousness, and whose soul will cry and wail²! so numberless are the beings that die upon the face of the earth.'

I b.

5 (15). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Here is a man watering a corn-field. The water streams down the field; it streams again; it streams a third time; and the fourth time, a dog, a fox, or a wolf carries some Nasu into the bed of the stream: what is the penalty that the man shall pay³?

6 (19). Ahura Mazda answered: 'There is no sin upon a man for any Nasu that has been brought by dogs, by birds, by wolves, by winds, or by flies.

7 (20). 'For were there sin upon a man for any Nasu that might have been brought by dogs, by birds, by wolves, by winds, or by flies, how soon all this material world of mine would be only one Peshôtanu, bent on the destruction of righteousness, and whose soul will cry and wail! so numberless are the beings that die upon the face of the earth.'

¹ 'People guilty of death' (Comm.) Cf. Yasna LIII, 9 b.

² After their death, 'When the soul, crying and beaten off, is driven far away from Paradise' (Comm.) This is imitated from the Gâthas (Yasna XLVI, 11 c; LI, 13 b; cf. Vd. XIII, 8-9).

³ For defiling the earth and the water: 'If a man wants to irrigate a field, he must first look after the water-channel, whether there is dead matter in it or not. . . . If the water, unknown to him, comes upon a corpse, there is no sin upon him. If he has not looked after the rivulet and the stream, he is unclean' (Saddar 75).

II a.

8 (23). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Does water kill¹?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Water kills no man: Astô-vîdhôtu binds him, and, thus bound², Vayu³ carries him off; and the flood takes him up⁴, the flood takes him down⁵, the flood throws him ashore; then birds feed upon him. When he goes away⁶, it is by the will of Fate he goes.'

II b.

9 (29). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Does fire kill?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fire kills no man: Astô-vîdhôtu binds him, and, thus bound, Vayu carries him off; and the fire burns up life and limb. When he goes away, it is by the will of Fate he goes.'

¹ Water and fire belong to the holy part of the world, and come from God: how then is it that they kill? 'Let a Gueber light a sacred fire for a hundred years, if he once fall into it, he shall be burnt.' Even the Mobeds, if we may trust Elisaeus, complained that the fire would burn them without regard for their piety, when to adore it they came too near (Vartan's War, p. 211 of the French translation by l'Abbé Garabed). The answer was that it is not the fire nor the water that kills, but the demon of Death and Fate. 'Nothing whatever that I created in the world, said Ormazd, does harm to man; it is the bad Nâi (read Vâi) that kills the man' (Gr. Rav. 124).

² 'Astf-vahât is the bad Vâi who seizes the life (of man): when his hand strokes him, it is lethargy; when he casts his shadow upon him, it is fever; when he looks in his eyes, he destroys life, and it is called Death' (Bund. XXVIII, 35). Cf. Farg. IV, 49; XIX, 29.

³ 'The bad Vâi' (Comm.) Vâi (Vayu) being the Genius of Destiny, good or evil.

⁴ To the surface.

⁵ To the bottom.

⁶ When he departs.

III.

10 (34). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If the summer is past and the winter has come, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do¹?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'In every house, in every borough, they shall raise three rooms for the dead².'

11 (37). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How large shall be those rooms for the dead?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Large enough not to strike the skull of the man, if he³ should stand erect, or his feet or his hands stretched out: such shall be, according to the law, the rooms for the dead.'

12 (41). 'And they shall let the lifeless body lie there, for two nights, or for three nights, or a month long, until the birds begin to fly⁴, the plants to grow, the hidden floods⁵ to flow, and the wind to dry up the earth⁶.'

¹ In case a man dies during the snowy season, while it is difficult or impossible to take the corpse to the Dakhma, which usually stands far from inhabited places. The same case is treated again in Farg. VIII, 4 seq.

² One for men, another for women, a third for children. As not every house is considerable or rich enough to have these three accommodations, there will be a common Zâd-marg for the village. The Zâd-marg is a small mud house where the corpse is laid, to lie there till it can be taken to the Dakhma (Anquetil, *Zend-Avesta* II, 583). The Zâd-marg is still used in Persia, and in the Gugarati provinces (where it is called Nasâ-khâna, 'house for corpses'). In Bombay they use the simpler and more economical method given in Farg. VIII, 8.

³ 'Being in life' (Comm.)

⁴ To come back.

⁵ They were hidden under the earth.

⁶ 'Until the winter is past' (Comm.)

13 (44). 'And as soon as the birds begin to fly, the plants to grow, the hidden floods to flow, and the wind to dry up the earth, then the worshippers of Mazda shall lay down the dead (on the Dakhma), his eyes towards the sun.

14 (46). 'If the worshippers of Mazda have not, within a year, laid down the dead (on the Dakhma), his eyes towards the sun, thou shalt prescribe for that trespass the same penalty as for the murder of one of the faithful¹; until the corpse has been rained on, until the Dakhma has been rained on, until the unclean remains have been rained on, until the birds have eaten up the corpse.'

IV.

15 (49). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Is it true that thou, Ahura Mazda, seizest the waters from the sea Vouru-kasha² with the wind and the clouds?

16 (51). That thou, Ahura Mazda, takest them down to the corpses³? that thou, Ahura Mazda, takest them down to the Dakhmas? that thou, Ahura Mazda, takest them down to the unclean remains? that thou, Ahura Mazda, takest them down to the bones? and that then thou, Ahura Mazda, makest them flow back unseen? that thou, Ahura Mazda, makest them flow back to the sea Pûitika⁴?

¹ See Farg. III, 41, note; cf. below, §§ 21-26.

² Vouru-kasha or Frâkh-kart, the Ocean, wherefrom all waters come and whereto they return (Farg. XXI, 4).

³ Zoroaster wonders that Ormazd fears so little to infringe his own laws by defiling waters with the dead. In a Ravâet, he asks him bluntly why he forbids men to take corpses to the water, while he himself sends rain to the Dakhmas (Gr. Rav. 125).

⁴ The sea where waters are purified before going back to their

17 (53). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is even so as thou hast said, O righteous Zarathustra! I, Ahura Mazda, seize the waters from the sea Vouru-kasha with the wind and the clouds.

18 (55). 'I, Ahura Mazda, take them to the corpses; I, Ahura Mazda, take them down to the Dakhmas; I, Ahura Mazda, take them down to the unclean remains; I, Ahura Mazda, take them down to the bones; then I, Ahura Mazda, make them flow back unseen; I, Ahura Mazda, make them flow back to the sea Pûitika.

19 (56). 'The waters stand there boiling, boiling up in the heart of the sea Pûitika, and, when cleansed there, they run back again from the sea Pûitika to the sea Vouru-kasha, towards the well-watered tree¹, whereon grow the seeds of my plants of every kind by hundreds, by thousands, by hundreds of thousands.

20 (60). 'Those plants, I, Ahura Mazda, rain down upon the earth¹, to bring food to the faithful, and fodder to the beneficent cow; to bring food to

gathering place, the sea Vouru-kasha (see § 19). 'All the thickness, salt, and impurity of the sea Pûitîk wishes to go to the Frâkh-kart sea; but a mighty high wind, blowing from the Var Satvês, drives it away: whatever is clean and movable passes to the Frâkh-kart sea, and the rest (the unclean element) flows back to the Pûitîk' (Bund. XIII, 10).

¹ The tree of all seeds (Harvisptokhm), which grows in the middle of the sea Vouru-kasha; the seeds of all plants are on it. There is a godlike bird, the Sinamru, sitting on that tree; whenever he flies off the tree, there grow out of it a thousand boughs; whenever he alights on it, there break a thousand boughs, the seeds of which are scattered about, and rained down on the earth by Tistar (Tistrya), the rain-god (Yt. XII, 17; Minokhired LXII, 37 seq.; Bundahis XXVII; cf. Farg. XX, 4 seq.)

my people that they may live on it, and fodder to the beneficent cow.'

V.

21 (63). 'This¹ is the best, this is the fairest of all things, even as thou hast said, O pure [Zarathustra]!'

With these words the holy Ahura Mazda rejoiced the holy Zarathustra²: 'Purity is for man, next to life, the greatest good³, that purity, O Zarathustra, that is in the Religion of Mazda for him who cleanses his own self with good thoughts, words, and deeds⁴.'

22 (68). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! This Law, this fiend-destroying Law of Zarathustra⁵, by what greatness, goodness, and fairness is it great, good, and fair above all other utterances?

23 (69). Ahura Mazda answered: 'As much above all other floods as is the sea Vouru-kasha, so much above all other utterances in greatness, goodness, and fairness is this Law, this fiend-destroying Law of Zarathustra.'

24 (71). 'As much as a great stream flows swifter than a slender rivulet, so much above all other utterances in greatness, goodness, and fairness is this Law, this fiend-destroying Law of Zarathustra.'

¹ The cleansing, the purification.

² 'When Zoroaster saw that man is able to escape sin by performing good works, he was filled with joy' (Comm.)

³ Quotation from the Gâthas (Yasna XLVIII, 5 c).

⁴ That is to say, 'Who performs the rites of cleansing according to the prescriptions of the law.'

⁵ The Law (Dâtem), that part of the religious system of

‘As high as the great tree¹ stands above the small plants it overshadows, so high above all other utterances in greatness, goodness, and fairness is this Law, this fiend-destroying Law of Zarathustra.

25 (73). ‘As high as heaven is above the earth that it compasses around, so high above all other utterances is this Law, this fiend-destroying Law of Mazda.

‘[Therefore], he will apply to the Ratu², he will apply to the Sraoshâ-varez³; whether for a draona-service⁴ that should have been undertaken⁵ and has not been undertaken⁶; or for a draona that should have been offered up and has not been offered up; or for a draona that should have been entrusted and has not been entrusted⁷.

which the Vendîdâd is the specimen, and the object of which is the purification of man.

¹ ‘The royal cypress above small herbs’ (Comm.)

² ‘To take the rule’ (Comm.), which probably means, ‘to know what sort of penance he must undergo;’ as, when a man has sinned with the tongue or with the hand, the Dastur (or Ratu) must prescribe for him the expiation that the sin requires. The Ratu is the chief priest, the spiritual head of the community.

³ ‘To weep for his crime’ (Comm.), which may mean, ‘to recite to him the Patet, or, to receive at his hand the proper number of stripes.’ The Sraoshâ-varez is the priest that superintends the sacrifice. He receives the confession of the guilty man and very likely wields the Sraoshô-karana.

⁴ The Srôsh-darûn, a service in honour of any of the angels, or of deceased persons, in which small cakes, called draona, are consecrated in their names, and then given to those present to eat.

⁵ When it ought not to be.

⁶ When it ought to be.

⁷ The meaning of the sentence is not certain. The Commentary has: ‘Whether he has thought what he ought not to have thought, or has not thought what he ought to have thought; whether he has said what he ought not to have said, or has not

26 (81). 'The Ratu has power to remit him one-third of his penalty¹: if he has committed any other evil deed, it is remitted by his repentance; if he has committed no other evil deed, he is absolved by his repentance for ever and ever².'

VI.

27 (82). O Maker³ of the material world, thou Holy One! If there be a number of men resting in the same place, on the same carpet, on the same pillows, be there two men near one another, or five, or fifty, or a hundred, close by one another; and of those people one happens to die; how many of them does the Drug Nasu⁴ envelope with corruption, infection, and pollution?

28 (86). Ahura Mazda answered: 'If the dead one be a priest, the Drug Nasu rushes forth⁴, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the eleventh and defiles the ten⁵.'

said what he ought to have said; whether he has done what he ought not to have done, or has not done what he ought to have done.'

¹ When the Ratu remits one-third of the sin, God remits the whole of it (Saddar 29).

² Cf. Farg. III, 41.

³ Nasu (*vékus*) designates both the corpse and the corpse-demon (the Drug that produces the corruption and infection of the dead body).

⁴ In opposition to the case when the dead one is an Ashe-maogha (§ 35), as no Nasu issues then.

⁵ Literally, 'If she goes as far as the eleventh, she defiles the tenth.' That is to say, she stops at the eleventh and defiles the next ten. In the Ravâets, the Avesta distinctions are lost, and the defiling power of the Nasu is the same, whatever may have been the rank of the dead: 'If there be a number of people sleeping in the same place, and if one of them happen to die, all those around him, in any direction, as far as the eleventh, become unclean if they have been in contact with one another' (Gr. Rav. 470).

'If the dead one be a warrior, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the tenth and defiles the nine.

'If the dead one be a husbandman, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the ninth and defiles the eight.

29 (92). 'If it be a shepherd's dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the eighth and defiles the seven.

'If it be a house-dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the seventh and defiles the six.

30 (96). 'If it be a Vohunazga dog¹, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the sixth and defiles the five.

'If it be a Tauruna dog², the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the fifth and defiles the four.

31 (100). 'If it be a porcupine dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the fourth and defiles the three.

'If it be a Gazu dog³, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the third and defiles the two.

32 (104). 'If it be an Aiwizu dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the second and defiles the next.

'If it be a Vizu dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the next, she defiles the next.'

¹ A dog without a master (see Farg. XIII, 19).

² A hunting-dog.

³ This name and the two following, Aiwizu and Vizu, are left untranslated in the Pahlavi translation.

33 (108). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If it be a weasel¹, how many of the creatures of the good spirit does it directly defile, how many does it indirectly defile?

34 (110). Ahura Mazda answered: 'A weasel does neither directly nor indirectly defile any of the creatures of the good spirit, but him who smites and kills it; to him the uncleanness clings for ever and ever².'

35 (113)³. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If the dead one be such a wicked, two-footed ruffian, as an ungodly Ashemaogha⁴, how many of the creatures of the good spirit does he directly defile, how many does he indirectly defile?

36 (115). Ahura Mazda answered: 'No more than a frog does whose venom is dried up, and that has been dead more than a year⁵. Whilst alive, indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! such a wicked, two-legged ruffian as an ungodly Ashemaogha, directly defiles the creatures of the good spirit, and indirectly defiles them.

37 (119). 'Whilst alive he smites the water⁶; whilst alive he blows out the fire⁷; whilst alive he

¹ A weasel. The weasel is one of the creatures of Ahura, for 'it has been created to fight against the serpent garza and the other khrafstras that live in holes' (Bund. XIX, 27).

² Not that the unclean one cannot be cleansed, but that his uncleanness does not pass from him to another.

³ §§ 35-38; cf. Farg. XII, 21-24.

⁴ Ashemaogha, a heretic.

⁵ The frog is a creature of Ahriman's, and one of the most hateful. Cf. Farg. XIV, 5.

⁶ By defiling it (a capital crime; see Farg. VII, 25).

⁷ He extinguishes the Bahrâm fire (a capital crime; cf. Farg. VII, 25).

carries off the cow¹; whilst alive he smites the faithful man with a deadly blow, that parts the soul from the body²; not so will he do when dead.

38 (120). 'Whilst alive, indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! such a wicked, two-legged ruffian as an ungodly Ashemaogha robs the faithful man of the full possession of his food, of his clothing, of his wood, of his bed, of his vessels³; not so will he do when dead⁴.'

VII.

39 (122). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When into our houses here below we have brought the fire, the Baresma, the cups, the Haoma, and the mortar⁵, O holy Ahura Mazda! if it come to pass that either a dog or a man dies there, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

40 (125). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Out of the house, O Spitama Zarathustra! shall they take the fire, the Baresma, the cups, the Haoma, and the mortar; they shall take the dead one out to the proper place⁶ whereto, according to the law, corpses must be brought, to be devoured there.'

41 (128). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When shall they bring back the fire into the house wherein the man has died?

¹ As a cattle-lifter.

² As an assassin.

³ By defiling them, he deprives the faithful of their use.

⁴ 'When a wicked man dies, the Drug who was with him during his lifetime, seizes him and drags him down to Ahriman; therefore, his body, as the Drug is no longer with it, becomes pure. On the contrary, when it is a righteous man that dies, the Amshâspands take his soul to Ormazd and the Drug settles in the house of the body and makes it impure' (Gujastak Abalish).

⁵ In order to perform a sacrifice.

⁶ The Dakhma.

42 (129). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wait for nine nights in winter, for a month in summer¹, and then they shall bring back the fire to the house wherein the man has died.'

43 (131). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! And if they shall bring back the fire to the house wherein the man has died, within the nine nights, or within the month, what penalty shall they pay?

44 (134). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall be Peshôtanus: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-*astra*, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-*karana*.'

VIII.

45 (135)². O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If in the house of a worshipper of Mazda there be a woman with child, and if being a month gone, or two, or three, or four, or five, or six, or seven, or eight, or nine, or ten months gone³, she bring forth a still-born child, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

46 (139). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The place in that Mazdean house whereof the ground is the cleanest and the driest, and the least passed through by flocks and herds, by the fire of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of Baresma, and by the faithful;—

47 (143). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from the fire? How far from

¹ Corruption being worse in summer.

² §§ 45-54 = Farg. VII, 60-69.

³ The pregnancy, without lasting more than nine calendar months (9 times 30 days), generally extends along ten months on the calendar (for instance from January 10 to October 10).

the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of Baresma? How far from the faithful?

48 (144). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty paces from the fire; thirty paces from the water; thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of Baresma; three paces from the faithful'¹;—

49 (145). 'On that place shall the worshippers of Mazda erect an enclosure², and therein shall they establish her with food, therein shall they establish her with clothes.'

50 (147). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the food that the woman shall first take?

51 (148). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Gômêz³ mixed with ashes, three draughts of it, or six, or nine, to send down the Dakhma within her womb⁴.

52 (151). 'Afterwards she may drink boiling⁵ milk of mares, cows, sheep, or goats, with pap or without pap⁶; she may take cooked milk without

¹ The carrier alone is kept thirty feet from the faithful (Farg. III, 18), as he is cut off from the community: his food is not brought to him, he has a store prepared for him. The woman, when armêst, is only temporarily isolated; she stays in the house and her food is brought to her all but from hand to hand (Farg. XVI, 6).

² The place for the man or woman in state of uncleanness, or Armêst-gâh.

³ Urine of the ox: the so-called Nîrang-dîn; cf. Farg. VIII, 37; XIX, 21. 'Three cups, or six, or nine, according to her strength' (Asp.)

⁴ Her womb is a Dakhma, as it contained a dead body.—These nine draughts of gômêz mixed with ashes are like an interior Barashnûm, as the Barashnûm consists of nine successive purifications with gômêz and dust.

⁵ Doubtful.

⁶ Doubtful.

water, meal without water, and wine without water¹.

53 (154). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long shall she remain so? How long shall she live thus on milk, meal, and wine?

54 (155). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three nights long shall she remain so; three nights long shall she live thus on milk, meal, and wine. Then, when three nights have passed, she shall wash her body, she shall wash her clothes, with gômêz and water, by the nine holes², and thus shall she be clean.'

55 (157). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long shall she remain so? How long, after the three nights have gone, shall she sit confined, and live separated from the rest of the worshippers of Mazda, as to her seat, her food, and her clothing?

56 (158). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Nine nights long shall she remain so: nine nights long, after the three nights have gone, shall she sit confined, and live separated from the rest of the worshippers of Mazda, as to her seat, her food, and her clothing. Then, when the nine nights have gone, she shall wash her body, and cleanse her clothes with gômêz and water³.'

¹ 'The water would be defiled;' cf. Farg. VII, 70 seq.

² She shall perform the nine nights' Barashnûm, for the details of which see Farg. IX. That Barashnûm is taken forty days after the delivery.

³ 'If a woman brings forth a still-born child, after a pregnancy of one month to ten months, the first food she shall take is nîrang (=gômêz) . . . fire and ashes; and she is not allowed until the fourth day to take water or salt, or any food that is cooked with water or salt: on the fourth day they give her nîrang, that she may cleanse herself and wash her clothes with it, and she is not

57 (160)¹. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can those clothes, when once washed and cleansed, ever be used either by a Zaotar, or by a Hâvanan, or by an Âtare-vakhsha, or by a Frabaretar, or by an Âbered, or by an Âsnatar, or by a Rathwiskar, or by a Sraoshâ-varez², or by any priest, warrior, or husbandman³?

58 (162). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Never can those clothes, even when washed and cleansed, be used either by a Zaotar, or by a Hâvanan, or by an Âtare-vakhsha, or by a Frabaretar, or by an Âbered, or by an Âsnatar, or by a Rathwiskar, or by a Sraoshâ-varez, or by any priest, warrior, or husbandman.

59 (164). 'But if there be in a Mazdean house a woman who is in her sickness, or a man who has become unfit for work⁴, and who must sit in the place of infirmity⁵, those clothes shall serve for their

allowed to wash herself and her clothes with water until the forty-first day' (Gr. Rav. 568).

¹ §§ 57-62 = Farg. VII, 17-22.

² These are the names of the different priests who were engaged in the sacrifices. The Hâvanan strains the Haoma; the Âtare-vakhsha kindles the fire; the Frabaretar brings to the Zaotar all that he needs; the Âbered brings the water; the Âsnatar washes and strains the Haoma; the Rathwiskar mixes the Haoma and the milk; the Zaotar chants the hymns and says the prayers; the Sraoshâ-varez superintends the sacrifice. Nowadays there are only two priests, the Zaotar (Zôtf) and the Rathwiskar (Raspf), the latter performing all the accessory services formerly performed by several priests. Cf. Nîrangistân, §§ 71 sq.

³ In short, by any of the faithful, when in state of purity.

⁴ An Armêst; literally, 'an infirm person,' that is to say, one who is unclean, during the time of his uncleanness (Farg. IX, 33 seq.), when all work is forbidden to him.

⁵ The Armêst-gâh, the place of seclusion of the Armêst.

coverings and for their sheets¹, until they can withdraw their hands for prayer².

60 (168). 'Ahura Mazda, indeed, does not allow us to waste anything of value that we may have, not even so much as an Asperena's³ weight of thread, not even so much as a maid lets fall in spinning.

61 (171). 'Whosoever throws any clothing on a dead body⁴, even so much as a maid lets fall in spinning, is not a pious man whilst alive, nor shall he, when dead, have a place in Paradise.

62 (174). 'He makes himself a viaticum unto the world of the wicked, into that world⁵, made of

¹ The clothing defiled by the dead can only serve for Dashtân women, even after it has been washed and exposed for six months to the light of the sun and of the moon (Saddar 91; cf. Farg. VII, 10 seq.)

² Until they are clean. The unclean must have their hands wrapped in an old piece of linen, lest they should touch and defile anything clean.

³ See Farg. IV, 48, note 4.

⁴ Cf. Farg. VIII, 23 seq. It appears from those passages that the dead must lie on the mountain naked, or 'clothed only with the light of heaven' (Farg. VI, 51). The modern custom is to clothe them with old clothing (Dadabhai Naoroji, *Manners and Customs of the Parsis*, p. 15). 'When a man dies and receives the order (to depart), the older the shroud they make for him, the better. It must be old, worn out, but well washed: they must not lay anything new on the dead. For it is said in the Zend Vendîdâd, If they put on the dead even so much as a thread from the distaff more than is necessary, every thread shall become in the other world a black snake clinging to the heart of him who made that shroud, and even the dead shall rise against him and seize him by the skirt, and say, That shroud which thou madest for me has become food for worms and vermin' (Saddar 12). After the fourth day, when the soul is in heaven, then rich garments are offered up to it, which it will wear in its celestial life (Saddar 87).

⁵ 'Where darkness can be seized with the hand' (Comm.; cf. Aogemaidê 28); something more than the 'visible darkness.'

darkness, the offspring of darkness¹, which is Darkness' self. To that world, to the world of Hell, you are delivered by your own doings, by your own religion, O sinners² !'

FARGARD VI.

I (1-9). How long the earth remains unclean, when defiled by the dead.

II (10-25). Penalties for defiling the ground with dead matter.

III (26-41). Purification of the different sorts of water, when defiled by the dead.

IV (42-43). Purification of the Haoma.

V (44-51). The place for corpses ; the Dakhmas.

I.

1. How long shall the piece of ground lie fallow whereon dogs or men have died ?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' A year long shall the piece of ground lie fallow whereon dogs or men have died, O holy Zarathustra !

2 (3). ' A year long shall no worshipper of Mazda sow or water that piece of ground whereon dogs or men have died ; he may sow as he likes the rest of the ground ; he may water it as he likes³.

3 (5). ' If within the year they shall sow or water the piece of ground whereon dogs or men have died, they are guilty of the sin of "burying the dead" '

¹ The Commentary has, 'the place of those who impregnate darkness, for the Drug who conceives seed from the sinner comes from that place' (cf. Farg. XVIII, 30 seq.)

² Quotation from the Gáthas (Yasna XXXI, 20).

³ Cf. Farg. VII, 45 seq.

towards the water, towards the earth, and towards the plants ¹.

4 (7). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If worshippers of Mazda shall sow or water, within the year, the piece of ground whereon dogs or men have died, what is the penalty that they shall pay?

5 (9). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They are Peshôtanus: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astara, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshê-*karana* ².'

6 (10). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If worshippers of Mazda want to till that piece of ground again ³, to water it, to sow it, and to plough it, what shall they do?

7 (12). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall look on the ground for any bones, hair, dung, urine, or blood that may be there.'

8 (13). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If they shall not look on the ground for any bones, hair, dung, urine, or blood that may be there, what is the penalty that they shall pay?

9 (15). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They are Peshôtanus: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astara, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshê-*karana*.'

II.

10 (16). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground

¹ 'To the water which they pour out, to the earth which they plough, to the plants which they sow' (Comm.)

² 'If they plough and sow it, one tanâsfûhr (see Introd. V, 19); if they pour water on it, one tanâsfûhr; if they plough, sow, and water it, two tanâsfûhrs' (Comm.)

³ Even when a year's space is past, the ground is not free ipso facto.

a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as the top joint of the little finger, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

11 (18). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, thirty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

12 (20). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as the top joint of the fore-finger, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

13 (24). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

14 (25). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as the top joint of the middle finger, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

15 (29). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

16 (30). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as a finger or as a rib, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

17 (34). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

18 (35). O Maker of the material world, thou

Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as two fingers or as two ribs, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

19 (39). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshô-tanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

20 (40). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as an arm-bone or as a thigh-bone, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

21 (44). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Four hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, four hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

22 (45). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as a man's skull, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

23 (49). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Six hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, six hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

24 (50). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground the whole body of a dead dog, or of a dead man, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

25 (53). Ahura Mazda answered: 'A thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

III.

26 (54). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a worshipper of Mazda, walking, or running, or riding, or driving, come upon a corpse in a stream of running water, what shall he do?

27 (56). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Taking off his shoes, putting off his clothes, while the others wait¹, O Zarathustra! he shall enter the river, and take the dead out of the water; he shall go down into the water ankle-deep, knee-deep, waist-deep, or a man's full depth, till he can reach the dead body².'

28 (61). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If, however, the body be already falling to pieces and rotting, what shall the worshipper of Mazda do?

29 (63). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He shall draw out of the water as much of the corpse as he can grasp with both hands, and he shall lay it down on the dry ground; no sin attaches to him for any bone, hair, grease, dung, urine, or blood that may drop back into the water.'

30 (65). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What part of the water in a pond does the Drug Nasu defile with corruption, infection, and pollution?

31 (66). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Six steps on each of the four sides. As long as the corpse has

¹ Ready to help him in case of need.

² 'If he is able to draw out the corpse and does so, it is a pious deed worth a tanâfûhr (that is, one by which a tanâfûhr sin can be cancelled); if he is able to draw it out and does not do so, it is a tanâfûhr sin. Gûgôrasp says, It is a margarzân sin (a capital crime)' (Comm.)

not been taken out of the water, so long shall that water be unclean and unfit to drink. They shall, therefore, take the corpse out of the pond, and lay it down on the dry ground.

32 (69). 'And of the water they shall draw off the half, or the third, or the fourth, or the fifth part, according as they are able or not; and after the corpse has been taken out and the water has been drawn off, the rest of the water is clean, and both cattle and men may drink of it at their pleasure, as before.'

33 (72). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What part of the water in a well does the Drug Nasu defile with corruption, infection, and pollution?

34 (73). Ahura Mazda answered: 'As long as the corpse has not been taken out of the water, so long shall that water be unclean and unfit to drink. They shall, therefore, take the corpse out of the well, and lay it down on the dry ground.'

35 (73). 'And of the water in the well they shall draw off the half, or the third, or the fourth, or the fifth part, according as they are able or not; and after the corpse has been taken out and the water has been drawn off, the rest of the water is clean, and both cattle and men may drink of it at their pleasure, as before.'

36 (74). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What part of a sheet of snow or hail does the Drug Nasu defile with corruption, infection, and pollution?

37 (75). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three steps¹

¹ Nine feet on the four sides.

on each of the four sides. As long as the corpse has not been taken out of the water, so long shall that water be unclean and unfit to drink. They shall, therefore, take the corpse out of the water, and lay it down on the dry ground.

38 (78). 'After the corpse has been taken out, and the snow or the hail has melted, the water is clean, and both cattle and men may drink of it at their pleasure, as before.'

39 (79). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What part of the water of a running stream does the Drug Nasu defile with corruption, infection, and pollution?

40 (80). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three steps down the stream, nine steps up the stream, six steps across. As long as the corpse has not been taken out of the water, so long shall the water be unclean and unfit to drink. They shall, therefore, take the corpse out of the water, and lay it down on the dry ground.

41 (83). 'After the corpse has been taken out and the stream has flowed three times¹, the water is clean, and both cattle and men may drink of it at their pleasure, as before.'

IV.

42 (84). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the Haoma that has been touched with Nasu from a dead dog, or from a dead man, be made clean again?

43 (85). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It can, O holy Zarathustra! If it has been prepared for the

¹ Three times the measure up the stream (that is nine feet).

sacrifice¹, there is to it no corruption, no death, no touch of any Nasu². If it has not been prepared for the sacrifice, [the stem] is defiled the length of four fingers³: it⁴ shall be laid down on⁵ the ground, in the middle of the house, for a year long. When the year is passed, the faithful may drink of its juice at their pleasure, as before.'

V.

44 (92). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Whither shall we bring, where shall we lay the bodies of the dead⁶, O Ahura Mazda?

45 (93). Ahura Mazda answered: 'On the highest summits⁷, where they know there are always corpse-eating dogs and corpse-eating birds, O holy Zarathustra!

46 (95). 'There shall the worshippers of Mazda fasten the corpse, by the feet and by the hair, with brass, stones, or clay, lest the corpse-eating dogs and the corpse-eating birds shall go and carry the bones to the water and to the trees.

47 (98). 'If they shall not fasten the corpse, so that the corpse-eating dogs and the corpse-eating

¹ Pounded and strained.

² Because the Haoma is the plant of life; when strained for the sacrifice, it is the king of healing plants (Bund. XXIV); the dead shall become immortal by tasting of the white Haoma (ib. XXXI).

³ Four fingers from the point touched by the Nasu. That part of the stem shall be cut off (Frâmjî): the rest can be made clean.

⁴ What is left of the stem.

⁵ Perhaps: in the ground (it shall be buried).

⁶ In places where there are no Dakhmas; for instance, in the country.

⁷ 'On the top of a mountain' (Comm.) Cf. VIII, 10.

birds may go and carry the bones to the water and to the trees, what is the penalty that they shall pay ?'

48 (100). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall be Peshôtanus: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

49 (101). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Whither shall we bring, where shall we lay the bones¹ of the dead, O Ahura Mazda ?

50 (102). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The worshippers of Mazda shall make a receptacle² out of the reach of the dog, of the fox, and of the wolf, and wherein rain-water cannot stay.

51 (105). 'They shall make it, if they can afford it, with stones, plaster, or earth³; if they cannot afford it, they shall lay down the dead man on the ground, on his carpet and his pillow, clothed with the light of heaven, and beholding the sun⁴.'

¹ When the flesh has been stripped off the bones, they may be collected in a stone ossuary. See following note.

² 'When the corpse-eating birds have eaten the fat, that fat which, when it is not possible to eat it, becomes rotten, offensive, and fraught with noxious creatures, then men shall properly convey the bones away to the bone-receptacle (astôdân), which one is to elevate so from the ground, and over which a roof so stands, that in no way does the rain fall upon the dead matter, nor the water reach up to it therein, nor are the dog and fox able to go to it, and for the sake of light coming to it a hole is made therein' (Dâdistân XVIII, 3; tr. West).

³ Such stone ossuaries have been found at Bushir, by Mr. Malcolm; earth ossuaries, found at Susa, were brought to the Louvre by M. Dieulafoy.

⁴ The dead must see the sun: that is why the astôdân has holes for letting the light in (see note 2 above).

FARGARD VII.

I (1-5). How long after death the Drug Nasu takes possession of the corpse.

II (6-9 = V, 27-30). How far the defiling power of the Drug Nasu extends.

III (10-22). Cleansing of clothes defiled by the dead.

IV (23-24). Eating of Nasu an abomination.

V (25-27). Bringing Nasu to fire or water an abomination.

VI (28-35). Cleansing of wood and corn defiled by the dead.

VII a (36-40). Physicians; their probation.

VII b (41-44). Their fees.

VIII (45-59). Purification of the earth, of the Dakhmas. The Dakhmas and the Daêvas.

IX (60-72 ; 66-69 = V, 45-54). Treatment of a woman who has brought forth a still-born child.

X (73-75). Cleansing of vessels defiled by the dead.

XI (76). Cleansing of the cow.

XII (78). Unclean libations.

This chapter would offer tolerable unity, but for a digression on medicine, which would be better placed as an introduction to the last three chapters. Sections II and IX, parts of which have already been found in Fargard V, are more suitably placed here. This chapter, as a whole, deals with the action of the Drug Nasu, from the moment she takes hold of the corpse, and shows how and when the several objects she has defiled become clean, namely, clothes, wood, corn, earth, women, vessels, and cows.

I.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When a man dies, at what moment does the Drug Nasu rush upon him?'

2 (3). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Directly after death, as soon as the soul has left the body, O Spitama Zarathustra! the Drug Nasu comes and rushes upon him, from the regions of the north¹, in

¹ Hell lies in the north; cf. II, 10 n.; III, 7 n.; XIX, 1 Yt. XXII, 25; Bundahis XV, 19.

the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, droning without end, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras¹.

[3. 'On him she stays until the dog has seen the corpse² or eaten it up, or until the flesh-eating birds have taken flight towards it³. When the dog has seen it or eaten it up, or when the flesh-eating birds have taken flight towards it, then the Drug Nasu rushes away to the regions of the north in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, droning without end, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.']

4 (5). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If the man has been killed by a dog, or by a wolf, or by witchcraft, or by the artifices of hatred⁴, or by falling down a precipice, or by the law⁵, or by calumny⁶, or by the noose⁷, how long after death does the Drug Nasu come and rush upon the dead?

5 (6). Ahura Mazda answered: 'At the next watch after death⁸, the Drug Nasu comes and

¹ Khrafstra is a general denomination for noxious animals.

² Until the Sag-dîd has been performed (see VIII, 16 seq.)

³ The Sag-dîd may be performed by birds of prey as well as by dogs. The dog smites the Nasu when it brings its muzzle near to the dead, the bird (mountain hawk, sparrow (?), or eagle) when its shadow passes over the body (Comm. ad § 2; cf. § 29). § 3 is from the Vendîdâd Sâda.

⁴ 'By poison' (Comm.)

⁵ Literally, 'by men'; that is to say, put to death by the community according to law (Comm.)

⁶ If he has been condemned unjustly.

⁷ If he has strangled himself.

⁸ The day is divided into five watches or ratu. If the man dies a natural death, the Drug comes directly; if the death be violent and unlooked for, the Drug comes later (as the corruption does not set in so quickly).

rushes upon the dead, from the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, droning without end, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.'

II¹.

6 (7). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One ! If there be a number of men resting in the same place, on the same carpet, on the same pillows, be there two men near one another, or five, or fifty, or a hundred, close by one another ; and of those people one happens to die ; how many of them does the Drug Nasu envelope with corruption, infection, and pollution ?

7 (11). Ahura Mazda answered : ' If the dead one be a priest, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra ! she goes as far as the eleventh and defiles the ten.

' If the dead one be a warrior, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra ! she goes as far as the tenth and defiles the nine.

' If the dead one be a husbandman, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra ! she goes as far as the ninth and defiles the eight.

8 (17). ' If it be a shepherd's dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra ! she goes as far as the eighth and defiles the seven.

' If it be a house dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra ! she goes as far as the seventh and defiles the six.

9 (21). ' If it be a Vohunazga dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra ! she goes as far as the sixth and defiles the five.

' If it be a Tauruna dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra ! she goes as far as the fifth and defiles the four ².'

¹ §§ 6-9 = Farg. V, 27-30.

² This enumeration is less complete than that in the fifth Fargard, as it comprises only the first four sorts of dogs ; the rest is to be supplied as in Farg. V, 31-38.

. . . 'Those clothes shall serve for their coverings and for their sheets'. . .

III.

10 (26). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What part of his bedding² and pillow does the Drug Nasu defile with corruption, infection, and pollution?

11 (27). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The Drug Nasu defiles with corruption, infection, and pollution the upper sheet and the inner garment³.'

12 (28). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can that garment be made clean, O holy Ahura Mazda! that has been touched by the carcase of a dog or the corpse of a man?

13 (29). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It can, O holy Zarathustra!'

How so?

'If there be on the garment seed, or blood, or dirt, or vomit, the worshippers of Mazda shall rend it to pieces, and bury it under the ground⁴.

14 (33). 'But if there be no seed [on the garment], nor blood, nor dirt, nor vomit, then the worshippers of Mazda shall wash it with gômêz.

15 (35). 'If it be leather, they shall wash it with gômêz three times, they shall rub it with earth three

¹ This phrase, which forms part of § 19, is wrongly inserted here.

² The bedding on which he has died.

³ The upper sheet of the bed and the inner garment of the body, that is to say, only those clothes which have been in direct contact with the dead.

⁴ According to the Commentary only that part which has been defiled is rent off; the rest may still be used.

times, they shall wash it with water three times, and afterwards they shall expose it to the air for three months at the window of the house.

‘If it be woven cloth, they shall wash it with gômêz six times¹, they shall rub it with earth six times, they shall wash it with water six times, and afterwards they shall expose it to the air for six months at the window of the house.

16 (37). ‘The spring named Ardvî Sûra, O Spitama Zarathustra! that spring of mine, purifies the seed of males, the womb of females, the milk of females².’

17³ (41). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can those clothes, when once washed and cleansed, ever be used either by a Zaoatar, or by a Hâvanan, or by an Âtare-vakhsha, or by a Frabaretar, or by an Âbered, or by an Âsnâtar, or by a Rathwiskar, or by a Sraoshâ-varez, or by any priest, warrior, or husbandman?

18 (43). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘Never can those clothes, even when washed and cleansed, be used either by a Zaoatar, or by a Hâvanan, or by an Âtare-vakhsha, or by a Frabaretar, or by an Âbered, or by an Âsnâtar, or by a Rathwiskar, or by a Sraoshâ-varez, or by any priest, warrior, or husbandman.

19 (45). ‘But if there be in a Mazdean house a woman who is in her sickness, or a man who has become unfit for work, and who must sit in the place of infirmity, those clothes shall serve for their coverings and for their sheets, until they can withdraw their hands for prayer.

20 (49). ‘Ahura Mazda, indeed, does not allow us to waste anything of value that we may have, not even so

¹ See Farg. XIX, 21.

² This clause is a quotation from Yasna LXV, 5, intended to illustrate the cleansing power of water. Ardvî Sûra is the goddess of the waters. Cf. Farg. XXI, 6 notes.

³ §§ 17-22 = Farg. V, 57-62.

much as an Asperena's weight of thread, not even so much as a maid lets fall in spinning.

21 (52). 'Whosoever throws any clothing on a dead body, even so much as a maid lets fall in spinning, is not a pious man whilst alive, nor shall he, when dead, have a place in Paradise.

22 (55). 'He makes himself a viaticum unto the world of the wicked, into that world, made of darkness, the offspring of darkness, which is Darkness' self. To that world, to the world of Hell, you are delivered by your own doings, by your own religion, O sinners!'

IV.

23 (59). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can he be clean again who has eaten of the carcase of a dog or of the corpse of a man¹?

24 (60). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He cannot, O holy Zarathustra! His burrow² shall be dug out, his heart shall be torn out, his bright eyes shall be put out; the Drug Nasu falls upon him, takes hold of him even to the end of the nails, and he is unclean, thenceforth, for ever and ever³.'

¹ The carcase-eater lodges the Nasu in himself; he becomes a Nasu, and therefore must be destroyed; cf. below, § 76 seq.

² His house, as he is assimilated to a devouring Khrafstra; cf. Farg. III, 7.

³ Till the resurrection. 'It is prescribed in the Vendîdâd that if a man shall eat of a carcase, his house and family shall be destroyed, his heart shall be torn out of his body, his eyes shall be put out, and his soul shall abide in hell till the resurrection' (Saddar 71). 'He who eats of a carcase with sinful intent is both unclean and margarzân; Barashnûm and Nîrang are of no avail for him, he must die. If there has been no sinful intent, he may wash himself; one may give him the ashes and the gômêz (Comm.); he is unclean, he is not margarzân' (Old Rav. 115 b).

V.

25 (65). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can he be clean again, O holy Ahura Mazda! who has brought a corpse with filth into the waters, or unto the fire, and made either unclean?

26 (66). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He cannot, O holy Zarathustra! Those wicked ones it is, those Nasu-cutters, that most increase spiders and locusts¹; those wicked ones it is, those Nasu-cutters, that most increase the grass-destroying drought².

27 (69). 'Those wicked ones it is, those Nasu-cutters, that increase most the power of the winter², produced by the fiends, the cattle-killing, thick-snowing, overflowing, the piercing, fierce, mischievous winter³. Upon them comes and rushes the Drug Nasu, she takes hold of them even to the end of the nails, and they are unclean, thenceforth, for ever and ever⁴.'

¹ 'It is said in the Avesta that when there are many gnats and locusts it is owing to corpses having been brought to water and to fire' (Saddar 72).

² § 26 refers chiefly to the damage produced by the defilement of the waters, and § 27 to that produced by the defilement of the fire.

³ 'In the same way (by the bringing of corpses to water and to fire), winter grows colder, and summer grows warmer' (Saddar 72).

⁴ 'Whoever shall do that deed, shall pay for it in this world and in the next; they shall flay his body in the presence of the assembly, they shall tear him limb from limb, and his corpse shall be thrown away to dogs and ravens, . . . and when his soul comes to the other world, he shall suffer tortures from the Dêvs. If he has not made his Patet, his soul shall remain in hell till the day of resurrection' (Gr. Rav. p. 123).

VI.

28 (72). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the wood be made clean, O holy Ahura Mazda! whereunto Nasu has been brought from a dead dog, or from a dead man?

29 (73). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It can, O holy Zarathustra!'

How so?

'If the Nasu has not yet been expelled¹ by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds², they shall lay down, apart on the ground, all the wood on a Vîtasti³ all around, if the wood be dry; on a Frârâthni⁴ all around, if it be wet; then they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean⁵.

30 (78). 'But if the Nasu has already been expelled⁶ by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds, they shall lay down, apart on the ground, all the wood on a Frârâthni all around, if the wood be dry; on a Frâbâzu⁷ all around, if it

¹ That is to say, if the Sag-dîd has not yet been performed. Read: 'If the Nasu has been expelled . . .' (that is to say, if the Sag-dîd has been performed). See note 6.

² See above, p. 77, n. 3.

³ Twelve fingers; a span.

⁴ The Frârâthni is, as it seems, as much as a forearm.

⁵ 'After a year,' according to the Commentary.

⁶ Read: 'But if the Nasu has not yet been expelled.' It appears from the similar passages (VIII, 35, 36, and 98, 99) and from the general principles of uncleanness that the words 'If the Nasu has not yet been expelled,' in § 29, have been misplaced there from § 30, and that the corresponding words in § 30 belong to § 29; because uncleanness spreads less far, when the Sag-dîd has taken place.

⁷ A measure of unknown extent; 'an arm's length,' it would seem.

be wet; then they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.

31 (81). 'Thus much of the wood around the dead shall they lay down, apart on the ground, according as the wood is dry or wet; as it is hard or soft; they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.'

32 (83). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the corn or the fodder be made clean, O holy Ahura Mazda! whereunto Nasu has been brought from a dead dog, or from a dead man?

33 (84). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It can, O holy Zarathustra!'

How so?

'If the Nasu has not yet been expelled¹ by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds, they shall lay down, apart on the ground, all the corn on a Frârâthni all around, if the corn be dry; on a Frâbâzu all around, if it be wet; then they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.

34 (89). 'But if the Nasu has already been expelled² by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds, they shall lay down, apart on the ground, all the corn on a Frâbâzu all around, if the corn be dry; on a Vîbâzu³ all around, if it be wet; then they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.

35 (92). 'Thus much of the corn around the dead

¹ Read: 'If the Nasu has already been expelled . . .' See § 29 note.

² Read: 'If the Nasu has not yet been expelled . . .' See § 30 note.

³ A measure of unknown extent; 'an ell,' it would seem.

shall they lay down, apart on the ground, according as the corn is dry or wet; as it is sown or not sown; as it is reaped or not reaped; [as it is beaten or not beaten]¹; as it is winnowed or not winnowed²; [as it is ground or not ground]²; as it is kneaded [or not kneaded]³; they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.'

VII a.

36 (94). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a worshipper of Mazda want to practise the art of healing, on whom shall he first prove his skill? on worshippers of Mazda or on worshippers of the Daêvas⁴?

37 (96). Ahura Mazda answered: 'On worshippers of the Daêvas shall he first prove himself, rather than on worshippers of Mazda. If he treat with the knife a worshipper of the Daêvas and he die; if he treat with the knife a second worshipper of the Daêvas and he die; if he treat with the knife for the third time a worshipper of the Daêvas and he die, he is unfit for ever and ever.

38 (99). 'Let him therefore never attend any worshipper of Mazda; let him never treat with the knife any worshipper of Mazda, nor wound him with the knife. If he shall ever attend any worshipper of Mazda, if he shall ever treat with the knife any worshipper of Mazda, and wound him with the knife,

¹ From the Vendîdâd Sâda.

² Doubtful.

³ This is supplied, as it seems to be required by the context and by the Pahlavi translation.

⁴ On Zoroastrians or on idolaters (or, what is tantamount, on Iranians or on non-Iranians).

he shall pay for his wound the penalty for wilful murder¹.

39 (102). 'If he treat with the knife a worshipper of the Daêvas and he recover; if he treat with the knife a second worshipper of the Daêvas and he recover; if for the third time he treat with the knife a worshipper of the Daêvas and he recover; then he is fit for ever and ever².

40 (104). 'He may henceforth at his will attend worshippers of Mazda; he may at his will treat with the knife worshippers of Mazda, and heal them with the knife.

VII b.

41 (105). 'A healer shall heal a priest for a blessing of the just³; he shall heal the master of a house for the value of an ox of low value; he shall heal the lord of a borough⁴ for the value of an ox of average value; he shall heal the lord of a town for the value of an ox of high value; he shall heal the lord of a province for the value of a chariot and four⁵.

42 (110). 'He shall heal the wife of the master of a house for the value of a she-ass; he shall heal the wife of the lord of a borough for the value of

¹ For baodhê-varsta, literally, 'done with full conscience.'

² 'Some say, One who has been qualified may become disqualified; one who has been disqualified shall never become qualified' (Comm. ad § 43).

³ The priest will say to him: Be holy! (that is to say, be one of the blest!) 'Thus he will become holy (i.e. he will go to Paradise); there is no equivalent in money. Some say, It is given when the priest has not 3000 stîrs' (Comm.)

⁴ A group of several houses; Aspendiârji and Anquetil say, 'a street.'

⁵ 'A value of seventy stîrs' (Comm.)

a cow; he shall heal the wife of the lord of a town for the value of a mare; he shall heal the wife of the lord of a province for the value of a she-camel.

43 (114). 'He shall heal the heir of a great house for the value of an ox of high value; he shall heal an ox of high value for the value of an ox of average value; he shall heal an ox of average value for the value of an ox of low value; he shall heal an ox of low value for the value of a sheep; he shall heal a sheep for the value of a piece of meat ¹.

44 (118). 'If several healers offer themselves together, O Spitama Zarathustra! namely, one who heals with the knife, one who heals with herbs, and one who heals with the Holy Word ², let one apply to the healing by the Holy Word: for this one is the best-healing of all healers who heals with the Holy Word; he will best drive away sickness from the body of the faithful ³.'

VIII.

45 (122). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long after the corpse of a dead man has been laid down on the ground, clothed with the light of heaven and beholding the sun, is the ground clean again ⁴?

¹ Cf. the tariff of fees for the cleanser, Farg. IX, 37 seq.

² 'By spells' (Comm.; cf. *Odyssea* XIX, 457). This classification was not unknown to Asclepios: he relieved the sick 'now with caressing spells, now with soothing drink or balsam, now with the knife' (*Pindaros*, *Pyth.* III, 51).

³ Cf. *Yt.* III, 6. The treatment by the Holy Word seems not to consist only in the recitation of spells, but the spells must be accompanied by the ceremony of the *Barashnûm* (see Farg. XXII).

⁴ Restored to the purity of its nature, and fit to till; as it remains *Nasu* till that time.

46 (123). Ahura Mazda answered: 'When the corpse of a dead man has lain on the ground for a year, clothed with the light of heaven, and beholding the sun, then the ground is clean again, O holy Zarathustra ¹!'

47 (124). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long after the corpse of a dead man has been buried in the earth, is the earth clean again?

48 (125). Ahura Mazda answered: 'When the corpse of a dead man has lain buried in the earth for fifty years ², O Spitama Zarathustra! then the earth is clean again ³.'

49 (126). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long after the corpse of a dead man has been laid down on a Dakhma; is the ground, whereon the Dakhma stands, clean again?

50 (127). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Not until the dust of the corpse, O Spitama Zarathustra! has mingled with the dust of the earth ⁴. Urge every one in the material world, O Spitama Zarathustra! to pull down Dakhmas ⁵.

51 (129). 'He who should pull down Dakhmas, even so much thereof as the size of his own body, his sins in thought, word, and deed are remitted as they would be by a Patet; his sins in thought, word, and deed are undone ⁶.

52 (132). 'Not for his soul shall the two spirits

¹ See Farg. VI, 1 seq.

² The time necessary to consume the corpse to its last particle.

³ Cf. Farg. III, 36 seq.

⁴ A space of time estimated at fifty years (Comm.) Cf. Farg. III, 13.

⁵ Cf. Farg. III, 9, text and note, and § 13.

⁶ 'A tanáfûhr sin is remitted thereby' (Comm.)

wage war with one another¹; and when he enters Paradise, the stars, the moon, and the sun shall rejoice in him; and I, Ahura Mazda, shall rejoice in him, saying: "Hail, O man! thou who hast just passed from the decaying world into the undecaying one²!"

55³ (137). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Where are there Daêvas? Where is it they offer worship to the Daêvas? What is the place whereon troops of Daêvas rush together, whereon troops of Daêvas come rushing along? What is the place whereon they rush together to kill their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads?

56 (138). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Those Dakhmas that are built upon the face of the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! and whereon are laid the corpses of dead men, that is the place where there are Daêvas, that is the place whereon troops of Daêvas

¹ When a man dies, hell and Paradise, fiends and gods struggle for the possession of his soul: Astôvîdhôtus, Vîzaresha, and the bad Vayu drag the souls of the wicked to hell; Mithra, Sraosha, Rashnu, and the good Vayu take the souls of the good to Paradise (see Farg. XIX, 29 seq.; Yt. XXII; Mainyô-i-khard II). The struggle lasts for three days and three nights (the sadis), during which time the relatives of the dead offer up prayers and sacrifices to Sraosha, Rashnu, and Vayu, to assure him their protection (cf. IX, 56).

² Cf. Yt. XXII, 16 and Farg. XIX, 31.

³ §§ 53, 54 belong to the Commentary; they are composed of disconnected quotations, part of which refers to the different deeds by which a tanâfûhr sin may be redeemed, while the other part refers to the rules of what may be called the book-keeping of good actions and sins.

rush together ; whereon troops of Daêvas come rushing along ; whereon they rush together to kill their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads.

57 (140). 'On those Dakhmas, O Spitama Zarathustra ! those Daêvas take food and void filth. As you, men, in the material world, you cook meal and eat cooked meat, so do they. It is, as it were, the smell of their feeding that you smell there, O men !

58 (143). 'For thus they go on revelling, until that stench is rooted in the Dakhmas. In those Dakhmas arise the infection of diseases, itch, hot fever, naêza ¹, cold fever, rickets, and hair untimely white ². On those Dakhmas meet the worst murderers, from the hour when the sun is down ³.

59 (148). 'And people of small understanding who do not seek for better understanding ⁴, the Gainis ⁵ make those diseases grow stronger by a third ⁶, on their thighs, on their hands, on their three-plaited hair ⁷.'

¹ Doubtful.

² Albinism was regarded as sent by the demons. When Zâl was born with white hair, his father Sâm exposed on the Alborz 'that child of Dêv, with an old man's head' (Firdausi).

³ Cemeteries are the meeting-place of robbers and murderers.

⁴ 'Who do not seek for instruction.'

⁵ 'The Gahi' (Comm.) The Gaini seems to be the Gahi as 'killing,' as bringing sickness.

⁶ The general meaning of the sentence seems to be that, for want of hygiene, diseases grow worse through the infection from the Dakhmas.

⁷ Doubtful.

IX.

60¹ (151). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If in the house of a worshipper of Mazda there be a woman with child, and if being a month gone, or two, or three, or four, or five, or six, or seven, or eight, or nine, or ten months gone, she bring forth a still-born child, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

61 (155). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The place in that Mazdean house whereof the ground is the cleanest and the driest, and the least passed through by flocks and herds, by the fire of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of baresma, and by the faithful;—

62 (158). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from the fire? How far from the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of baresma? How far from the faithful?

63 (159). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty paces from the fire; thirty paces from the water; thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of Baresma; three paces from the faithful;—

64 (160). 'On that place shall the worshippers of Mazda erect an enclosure, and therein shall they establish her with food, therein shall they establish her with clothes.'

65 (162). O Maker of the material word, thou Holy One! What is the food that the woman shall first take?

66 (163). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Gômêz mixed with ashes, three draughts of it, or six, or nine, to send down the Dakhma within her womb.

67 (166). 'Afterwards she may drink boiling milk of mares, cows, sheep, or goats, with pap or without pap; she may take cooked milk without water, meal without water, and wine without water.'

68 (169). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long shall she remain so? How long shall she live thus on milk, meal, and wine?

¹ §§ 60-69 = Farg. V, 45-54. See the Commentary there.

69 (170). Ahura Mazda answered : ' Three nights long shall she remain so ; three nights long shall she live thus on milk, meal, and wine. Then, when three nights have passed, she shall wash her body, she shall wash her clothes, with gômêz and water, by the nine holes, and thus shall she be clean.'

70 (172). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One ! But if fever befall her unclean body, if these two worst pains, hunger and thirst, befall her, may she be allowed to drink water ¹ ?

71 (175). Ahura Mazda answered : ' She may ; the first thing for her is to have her life saved. From the hands of one of the holy men, a holy faithful man, who knows the holy knowledge ², she shall drink of the strength-giving water. But you, worshippers of Mazda, fix ye the penalty for it. The Ratu being applied to, the Sraoshâ-varez being applied to³, shall prescribe the penalty to be paid⁴.'

72 (181). What is the penalty to be paid ?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' The deed is that of a Peshôtanu : two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana⁵.'

X.

73 (183). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One ! Can the eating-vessels be made clean

¹ Before those three days have passed.

² If there is near her a pious and intelligent man, who recognises that her life would be endangered by too strict an adherence to the rule, he will let her depart from it.

³ See Farg. V, 25.

⁴ For the water having been defiled.

⁵ A penalty to be undergone by the husband, at least in modern practice : ' If through fear of death or of serious illness she has drunk water before the appointed time, her husband shall make Patet for her fault before the Dastur ' (Old Rav. 98 b).

that have been touched by Nasu from a dog, or Nasu from a man ?

74 (184). Ahura Mazda answered : ' They can, O holy Zarathustra !'

How so ?

' If they be of gold, you shall wash them once with gômêz, you shall rub them once with earth, you shall wash them once with water, and they shall be clean.

' If they be of silver, you shall wash them twice with gômêz, you shall rub them twice with earth, you shall wash them twice with water, and they shall be clean.

[75. ' If they be of brass, you shall wash them thrice with gômêz, you shall rub them thrice with earth, you shall wash them thrice with water, and they shall be clean.

' If they be of steel, you shall wash them four times with gômêz, you shall rub them four times with earth, you shall wash them four times with water, and they shall be clean.

' If they be of stone, you shall wash them six times with gômêz, you shall rub them six times with earth, you shall wash them six times with water, and they shall be clean¹.]

' If they be of earth, of wood, or of clay, they are unclean for ever and ever².'

XI.

76 (189). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One ! Can the cow be made clean that has

¹ From the Vendîdâd Sâda.

² The power of resistance to uncleanness follows the value of the materials : gold, silver, iron, steel, stone, earth, wood, clay.

eaten of the carcase of a dog, or of the corpse of a man?

77 (190). Ahura Mazda answered: 'She can, O holy Zarathustra! The priest shall not, within a year, take from her either milk or cheese for the libation, nor meat for the libation and the Baresma¹. When a year has passed, then the faithful may eat of her as before².'

XII.

78 (193). Who is he, O holy Ahura Mazda! who, meaning well and desiring righteousness, prevents righteousness? Who is he who, meaning well, falls into the ways of the Drug³?

79 (194). Ahura Mazda answered: 'This one, meaning well and desiring righteousness, prevents righteousness; this one, meaning well, falls into the ways of the Drug, who offers up water defiled by the dead and unfit for libation; or who offers up in the dead of the night water unfit for libation⁴.'

¹ The libation waters (Zaothra) are mixed with milk (gīv). The cheese (or butter) and the meat are elements of the darūn as gōshôdâ.

² 'Whatever comes from her, if dropped, is clean; if taken, unclean. If she be big with young, the young is born clean, if conceived before her eating of the corpse; if conceived afterwards, it is born unclean' (Comm.)

³ Possibly, 'works for the Drug.'

⁴ 'From what hour may sacrifice to the Good Waters be offered? From sunrise to sunset. . . . He who offers up libations to the Good Waters after sunset, before sunrise, does no better deed than if he should throw them downright into the jaws of a venomous snake' (Nīrangistân, § 48).

FARGARD VIII.

I (1-3). Purification of the house where a man has died.

II (4-13). Funerals.

III (14-22). Purification of the ways along which the corpse has been carried.

IV (23-25). No clothes to be thrown on a corpse.

V (26-32). Unlawful lusts.

VI (33-34). A corpse when dried up does not contaminate.

VII (35-72). Purification of the man defiled by the dead.

VIII (73-80). Purification of the fire defiled by the dead.

IX (81-96). The Bahrâm fire.

X (97-107). Purification in the wilderness.

This chapter, putting aside section V, may be entitled : Funerals and Purification. Logical order may easily be introduced into it, by arranging the sections as follows : I, IV, II, III, VI, VII, X, VIII, IX.

I.

1. If a dog or a man die under a hut of wood or a hut of felt¹, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do²?

2 (4). Ahura Mazda answered : ' They shall search for a Dakhma, they shall look for a Dakhma all around³. If they find it easier to remove the dead, they shall take out the dead, they shall let the house stand, and shall perfume it with Urvâsna or Vohû-

¹ A movable shelter, by contradistinction to a fixed abode, something like the oba of the Tartars, one of those huts made of boards or felt and called thâruma by the Arabs, which served as pavilions for princes as well as tents for nomads.

² That sort of abode, having only one room, can have no chamber for the dead (Farg. V, 10).

³ If there is a Dakhma in the proximity, they remove the corpse at once. If there is no Dakhma or the season prevents its access, they purify the hut first.

gaona, or Vohû-kereti, or Hadhâ-naêpata, or any other sweet-smelling plant ¹.

3 (8). 'If they find it easier to remove the house, they shall take away the house, they shall let the dead lie on the spot, and shall perfume the house with Urvâsna, or Vohû-gaona, or Vohû-kereti, or Hadhâ-naêpata, or any other sweet-smelling plant.'

II.

4 (11). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If in the house of a worshipper of Mazda a dog or a man happens to die, and it is raining ², or snowing, or blowing ³, or it is dark, or the day is at its end, when flocks and men lose their way, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do ³?

5 (14). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The place in that house whereof the ground is the cleanest and the driest, and the least passed through by flocks and herds, by the fire of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of Baresma, and by the faithful;—

6 (16). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from the fire? How far from the

¹ 'So, when a dog or a man dies, the first thing to do is to take the corpse out (from the house), and to purify the house, inside and outside, with perfumes burnt on the fire' (Comm.) Cf. XI, 4. Urvâsna is the râsan plant, a sort of garlic; Vohû-gaona, Vohû-kereti, and Hadhâ-naêpata are respectively (according to Frâmrjî) benzoin, aloe, and pomegranate.

² 'No corpse must be taken to the Dakhma when rain is falling, or threatening. If one is overtaken by rain on the way, if there be a place to lay it down, they shall lay it down; if there be none, they must go on and take it to the Dakhma, they must not retrace their steps: . . . When arrived at the Dakhma, if they find it full of water, they may nevertheless lay down the corpse' (Comm.)

³ If it is the season of rain or snow. Cf. V, 10 seq.

water? How far from the consecrated bundles of Baresma? How far from the faithful?

7 (17). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty paces from the fire; thirty paces from the water; thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of Baresma; three paces from the faithful;—

8 (18). 'On that place they shall dig a grave¹, half a foot deep if the earth be hard, half the height of a man if it be soft²; [they shall cover the surface of the grave with ashes or cowdung]³; they shall cover the surface of it with dust of bricks, of stones, or of dry earth⁴.

9 (21)⁵. 'And they shall let the lifeless body lie there, for two nights, or three nights, or a month long, until the birds begin to fly, the plants to grow, the hidden floods to flow, and the wind to dry up the earth.

10 (23). 'And when the birds begin to fly, the plants to grow, the hidden floods to flow, and the wind to dry up the earth, then the worshippers of Mazda shall make a breach in the wall of the house⁶,

¹ This is the case when the house is too small for containing a special chamber for the dead (as prescribed Farg. V, 10). Nowadays they dispense even with that grave: the corpse is laid on the floor, on a slab of marble, by which it is sufficiently isolated from the ground to prevent its being defiled.

² Soft earth, being not impervious to liquids, lets contagion through more easily.

³ Vendîdâd Sâda.

⁴ Substances more impervious.

⁵ §§ 9-10; cf. Farg. V, 12-13.

⁶ 'The master and mistress of the house are carried away through a breach (made in the wall of the house); others through the door' (Comm.)—'The more scrupulous parties have it [the body] removed by a side, in preference to the usual general entrance' (H. G. Briggs, *The Parsis*, 1852, p. 50).

and two men, strong and skilful¹, having stripped their clothes off², shall take up the body from the clay or the stones, or from the plastered house³, and they shall lay it down on a place where they know there are always corpse-eating dogs and corpse-eating birds.

11 (29). 'Afterwards the corpse-bearers shall sit down, three paces from the dead, and the holy Ratu⁴ shall proclaim to the worshippers of Mazda thus: "Worshippers of Mazda, let the urine be brought here wherewith the corpse-bearers there shall wash their hair and their bodies!"'

12 (32). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the urine wherewith the corpse-bearers shall wash their hair and their bodies? Is it of sheep or of oxen? Is it of man or of woman?

13 (35). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is of sheep or of oxen; not of man nor of woman, except a man or a woman who has married the next-of-kin⁵: these

¹ The corpse-bearers or *nasu-kasha* (*Khândyas*). 'The corpse must be carried by two persons (see *Farg.* III, 13 seq.), no matter who they are; they may be a man and a woman, or two women' (Comm.)

² 'As they are exchanged for the special clothes in which they carry corpses' (Comm.), the so-called *gâma-i dakhma*, 'the Dakhma clothes.'

³ The Dakhma (see *Farg.* VI, 50 seq.)

⁴ The priest who directs the funerals, 'the chief of the *Nasu-kashas*' (Comm.), the so-called *Nasâ-sâlâr*.

⁵ The next-of-kin marriage or *Hvaêtvadatha* (*Khêtûdâd*) is one of the good works that Ahriman dreads most (*Shâyast lâ-shâyast* XVIII; West, *Pahlavi Texts*, I, 389). 'Aharman and the demons are less predominant in the body of him who practises *Khêtûdâd*' (West, II, 422). Therefore their *maêsmâ* is as powerful as the *gômêz*.

shall therefore procure the urine wherewith the corpse-bearers shall wash their hair and their bodies¹.

III.

14 (38). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the way, whereon the carcasses of dogs or corpses of men have been carried, be passed through again by flocks and herds, by men and women, by the fire of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of Baresma, and by the faithful?

15 (40). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It cannot be passed through again by flocks and herds, nor by men and women, nor by the fire of Ahura Mazda, nor by the consecrated bundles of Baresma, nor by the faithful².

16 (41). 'They shall therefore cause a yellow dog with four eyes³, or a white dog with yellow ears, to go three times through that way⁴. When either the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, is brought there, then the Drug Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, [in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, droning without end, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras⁵.]

¹ 'When back in the village they perform the regular Barash-nâm with consecrated gômêz' (Comm.)

² The way by which the corpse has passed is haunted by the Drug Nasu: the Drug is expelled from it by the same proceeding as it was expelled from the dead, by the Sag-dîd. The Sag-dîd for the purification of the way seems to have fallen into desuetude.

³ A dog with two spots above the eyes.

⁴ 'Afrag says, the dog goes straight along the length of the way; Maidyô-mâh says, he goes across it from side to side' (Comm.)

⁵ Cf. Farg. VII, 3.

17 (45). 'If the dog goes unwillingly, O Spitama Zarathustra, they shall cause the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, to go six times¹ through that way. When either the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, is brought there, then the Drug Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, [in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, droning without end, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.]

18 (47). 'If the dog goes unwillingly, they shall cause the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, to go nine times through that way. When either the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, has been brought there, then the Drug Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, [in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, droning without end, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.]

19 (49). 'An Âthravan shall first go along the way and shall say aloud these victorious words: "Yathâ ahû vairyô² :—The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness.

" "The gifts of Vohu-manô³ to the deeds done in this world for Mazda.

¹ 'Three times suffice if the dog goes of his own accord; if he goes by force, it counts as nothing; if he goes but with reluctance, that shall suffice' (Comm. ad § 18).

² A prayer in frequent use, and considered of great efficacy, generally known as the Ahuna Vairya or Honover. It was by reciting it that Ormazd in his first conflict with Ahriman drove him back to hell (Bund. I).

³ Of Paradise, as Vohu-manô (Good Thought) is the doorkeeper of heaven (cf. Farg. XIX, 31).

“He who relieves the poor makes Ahura king.

20 (52). “*Kem-nâ mazdâ*¹:—What protector hast thou given unto me, O Mazda! while the hate of the wicked encompasses me? Whom but thy *Âtar* and *Vohu-manô*², through whose work I keep on the world of righteousness? Reveal therefore to me thy Religion as thy rule³!

“*Ke verethrem-gâ*⁴:—Who is the victorious who will protect thy teaching? Make it clear that I am the guide for both worlds. May Sraosha come with *Vohu-manô* and help whomsoever thou pleasest, O Mazda!

21 (60). “Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and *Ârmaiti Spenta*! Perish, O fiendish *Drug*! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O creation of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O *Drug*! Rush away, O *Drug*! Perish away, O *Drug*! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of Righteousness!”

22 (63). ‘Then the worshippers of Mazda may at their will bring by those ways sheep and oxen, men and women, and Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, the consecrated bundles of *Baresma*, and the faithful.

¹ Yasna XLVI, 7.

² I have no protection to expect but from my virtue (*Vohu-manô*, ‘Good Thought’) and from thy fire, which in the fire ordeal (*Var Nîrang*) will show my innocence.

³ That is to say, one must take Religion as one’s rule.

⁴ Yasna XLIV, 16. This stanza, which in the original *Gâtha* refers to the human incarnation of Sraosha, that is to say, to king *Vîstâspa*, the victorious protector of the Prophet and his Religion, is applied here to the god Sraosha, as a protector of the soul in its passage from this world to the other (*Farg. VII, 52*).

‘The worshippers of Mazda may afterwards¹ prepare meals with meat and wine in that house; it shall be clean, and there will be no sin, as before.’

IV.

23 (65). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw clothes, either of skin or woven, upon a dead body², enough to cover the feet, what is the penalty that he shall pay³?

Ahura Mazda answered: ‘Four hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, four hundred stripes with the Sraoshê-karana.’

24 (68). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw clothes, either of skin or woven, upon a dead body, enough to cover both legs, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: ‘Six hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, six hundred stripes with the Sraoshê-karana.’

25 (71). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw clothes, either of skin or woven, upon a dead body, enough to cover the whole body, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: ‘A thousand stripes

¹ On the fourth day. For three days and nights after the death it is forbidden to cook meat in the house (Comm.)

² The dead must be stripped of his clothes and is exposed on the heights ‘clothed with the light of heaven’ (Farg. VI, 51).—The modern use is to have him wrapped in a shroud as old and as much worn out as possible (Farg. V, 61).

³ See Farg. V, 60; VII, 20.

with the Aspahê-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

V.

26 (74). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man, by force, commits the unnatural sin, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Eight hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, eight hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

27 (77). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man voluntarily commits the unnatural sin, what is the penalty for it? What is the atonement for it? What is the cleansing from it?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'For that deed there is nothing that can pay, nothing that can atone, nothing that can cleanse from it; it is a trespass for which there is no atonement, for ever and ever.'

28 (83)¹. When is it so?

'It is so, if the sinner be a professor of the Religion of Mazda, or one who has been taught in it.

'But if he be not a professor of the Religion of Mazda, nor one who has been taught in it, then his sin is taken from him, if he makes confession of the Religion of Mazda and resolves never to commit again such forbidden deeds.

29 (88). 'The Religion of Mazda indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! takes away from him who makes confession of it the bonds of his sin; it takes away (the sin of) breach of trust; it takes away (the sin of) murdering one of the faithful; it takes away (the sin of) burying a corpse; it takes away (the sin of) deeds for which there is no atonement; it takes away the worst sin of usury; it takes away any sin that may be sinned.

¹ See Farg. III, 38-42, text and notes.

30 (95). 'In the same way the Religion of Mazda, O Spitama Zarathustra! cleanses the faithful from every evil thought, word, and deed, as a swift-rushing mighty wind cleanses the plain.

'So let all the deeds he doeth be henceforth good, O Zarathustra! a full atonement for his sin is effected by means of the Religion of Mazda.'

31 (98). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the man that is a Daêva? Who is he that is a worshipper of the Daêvas? that is a male paramour of the Daêvas? that is a female paramour of the Daêvas? that is a wife to the Daêva¹? that is as bad as a Daêva? that is in his whole being a Daêva? Who is he that is a Daêva before he dies, and becomes one of the unseen Daêvas after death²?

32 (102). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The man that lies with mankind as man lies with womankind, or as woman lies with mankind, is the man that is a Daêva; this one is the man that is a worshipper of the Daêvas, that is a male paramour of the Daêvas, that is a female paramour of the Daêvas, that is a wife to the Daêva; this is the man that is as bad as a Daêva, that is in his whole being a Daêva; this is the man that is a Daêva before he dies, and becomes one of the unseen Daêvas after death: so is he, whether he has lain with mankind as mankind, or as womankind³.'

¹ 'As a wife is obedient to her husband, so is he to the Daêvas' (Comm.)

² Demons are often the restless souls of the wicked, excluded from heaven. The Persian sect of the Mahâbâdians believed that the soul that had not spoken and done good became an Ahriman or *gîn* (Dabistân).

³ The guilty may be killed by any one, without an order from

VI.

33 (107). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Shall the man be clean who has touched a corpse that has been dried up and dead more than a year¹?

34 (108). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He shall. The dry mingles not with the dry². Should the dry mingle with the dry, how soon all this material world of mine would be only one Peshôtanu, bent on the destruction of righteousness, and whose soul will cry and wail! so numberless are the beings that die upon the face of the earth³.'

VII.

35 (111). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the man be made clean that has

the Dastur (see § 74 n.), and by this execution an ordinary capital crime may be redeemed (Comm. ad VII, 52).

¹ The corpse, dried up, contains no longer any of the solid and liquid elements that generate corruption and infection (see above, p. 75, n. 2).

² This principle still prevails even with Musulman Persians: 'Pour encourir leur immondicité dans l'attouchement des Chrétiens et autres idolâtres, il est nécessaire que s'ils les touchent, leurs vêtements soient mouillés. C'est à cause, disent-ils, qu'étant secs l'immondicité ne s'attache pas; . . . ce qui est cause que dans les villes où leurs Mullas et Docteurs ont plus d'autorité, ils font parfois défendre par leurs Kans que lorsqu'il pleut, les Chrétiens ne sortent pas de leurs maisons, de crainte que par accident, venans à les heurter, ils ne soient rendus immondes' (G. du Chinon, p. 88 seq.; cf. Chardin). Still nowadays, in Persia, the Jews are not allowed to go out of their house on a rainy day, lest the religious impurity, conducted through the rain, should pass from the Jew to the Musulman.

³ See Farg. V, 4.

touched the corpse of a dog or the corpse of a man?

36 (113). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He can, O holy Zarathustra!'

How so?

'If the Nasu has already been expelled by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds, he shall cleanse his body with gômêz and water, and he shall be clean¹.

37 (117). 'If the Nasu has not yet been expelled by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds², then the worshippers of Mazda shall dig three holes in the ground³, and he shall thereupon wash his body with gômêz, not with water. They shall then lift and bring my dog⁴, they shall bring him (thus shall it be done and not otherwise) in front [of the man]⁵.

38 (121). 'The worshippers of Mazda shall dig three other holes⁶ in the ground, and he shall thereupon wash his body with gômêz, not with water. They shall then lift and bring my dog, they shall bring him (thus shall it be done and not otherwise) in front [of the man]. Then shall they wait until he

¹ If the Sag-dîd has been performed, a simple ghosel is enough. Cf. Farg. VII, 29, notes 1 and 5.

² If the Sag-dîd has not been performed, the Barashnûm is necessary.

³ The first three holes, which contain gômêz. For the disposition of the holes, see the following Fargard.

Three times; every time that the unclean one passes from one hole to another (Comm. ad IX, 32).

⁴ To look at him, or, rather, at the Nasu in him, whilst the priest sings the spells that drive the Nasu.

⁵ Containing gômêz too.

is dried¹ even to the last hair on the top of his head.

39 (125). 'They shall dig three more holes² in the ground, three paces away from the preceding, and he shall thereupon wash his body with water³, not with gômêz.

40 (127). 'He shall first wash his hands; if his hands be not first washed, he makes the whole of his body unclean. When he has washed his hands three times, after his hands have been washed, thou shalt sprinkle with water⁴ the forepart of his skull⁵.'

41 (131). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the forepart of the skull, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush⁶?

¹ He rubs himself dry with handfuls of dust (see IX, 29 seq.)

² Containing water.

³ As a master does not take away the dunghill from his house with his own hands, but has it taken away by his servants, so the water, being of higher dignity than the gômêz, has the worst of the impurity taken by the gômêz, and intervenes only when there is nothing left that can attain it (Abalish, tr. Barthelemy, ch. V and note 29).

⁴ The water is shed from a spoon, tied to a long stick, 'the stick with nine knots' (Farg. IX, 14).

⁵ Bareshnûm; from which word the whole of the operation has taken its name.

⁶ The Nasu is expelled symmetrically, from limb to limb, from the right side of the body to the left, from the forepart to the back parts, and she flies, thus pursued, downwards from the top of the head to the tips of the toes. The retreating order of the Nasu is just the reverse of the order in which she invaded the different members of the first man: she entered Gayomart by the little toe of the left foot, then went up to the heart, then to the shoulder, at last to the summit of the head (Gr. Bund.) Death still seizes the foot first.

Ahura Mazda answered : ' In front, between the brows, the Drug Nasu rushes.'

42 (134). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach in front, between the brows, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush ?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' On the back part of the skull the Drug Nasu rushes.'

43 (137). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the back part of the skull, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush ?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' In front, on the jaws, the Drug Nasu rushes.'

44 (140). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach in front, on the jaws, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush ?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' Upon the right ear the Drug Nasu rushes.'

45 (143). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right ear, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush ?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' Upon the left ear the Drug Nasu rushes.'

46 (146). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left ear, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush ?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' Upon the right shoulder the Drug Nasu rushes.'

47 (149). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right shoulder, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush ?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' Upon the left shoulder the Drug Nasu rushes.'

48 (152). O Maker of the material world, thou

Holy One! When the good waters reach the left shoulder, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right arm-pit the Drug Nasu rushes.'

49 (155). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right arm-pit, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left arm-pit the Drug Nasu rushes.'

50 (158). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left arm-pit, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'In front, upon the chest, the Drug Nasu rushes.'

51 (161). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the chest in front, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the back the Drug Nasu rushes.'

52 (164). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the back, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right nipple the Drug Nasu rushes.'

53 (167). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right nipple, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left nipple the Drug Nasu rushes.'

54 (170). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left nipple, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right rib the Drug Nasu rushes.'

55 (173). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right rib, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left rib the Drug Nasu rushes.'

56 (176). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left rib, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right hip the Drug Nasu rushes.'

57 (179). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right hip, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left hip the Drug Nasu rushes.'

58 (182). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left hip, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the sexual parts the Drug Nasu rushes. If the unclean one be a man, thou shalt sprinkle him first behind, then before; if the unclean one be a woman, thou shalt sprinkle her first before, then behind.'

59 (187). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the sexual parts, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right thigh the Drug Nasu rushes.'

60 (190). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right thigh, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left thigh the Drug Nasu rushes.'

61 (193). O Maker of the material world, thou

Holy One! When the good waters reach the left thigh, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right knee the Drug Nasu rushes.'

62 (196). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right knee, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left knee the Drug Nasu rushes.'

63 (199). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left knee, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right leg the Drug Nasu rushes.'

64 (202). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right leg, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left leg the Drug Nasu rushes.'

65 (205). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left leg, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right ankle the Drug Nasu rushes.'

66 (208). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right ankle, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left ankle the Drug Nasu rushes.'

67 (211). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left ankle, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right instep the Drug Nasu rushes.'

68 (214). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right instep, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left instep the Drug Nasu rushes.'

69 (217). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left instep, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'She turns round under the sole of the foot; it looks like the wing of a fly.'

70 (220). 'He shall press his toes upon the ground, and shall raise up his heels; thou shalt sprinkle his right sole with water; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left sole. Thou shalt sprinkle the left sole with water; then the Drug Nasu turns round under the toes; it looks like the wing of a fly.'

71 (225). 'He shall press his heels upon the ground, and shall raise up his toes; thou shalt sprinkle his right toe with water; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left toe. Thou shalt sprinkle the left toe with water; then the Drug Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, droning without end, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.'

[72. 'And thou shalt say aloud these victorious, most healing words:

"The will of the Lord is the law of holiness," &c.

"What protector hast thou given unto me, O Mazda! while the hate of the wicked encompasses me?" &c.

“Who is the victorious who will protect thy teaching?” &c.¹

“Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Drug! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O creation of the fiend! Perish O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Drug! Rush away, O Drug! Perish away, O Drug! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of Righteousness²!”]

VIII.

73 (229). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If worshippers of Mazda, walking, or running, or riding, or driving, come upon a Nasu-burning fire, whereon Nasu is being burnt or cooked³, what shall they do?

74 (233). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘They shall kill the man that cooks the Nasu; surely they shall kill him⁴. They shall take off the cauldron, they shall take off the tripod.

75 (237). ‘Then they shall kindle wood from that fire; either wood of those trees that have the seed of fire in them, or bundles of the very wood that was prepared for that fire; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner⁵.

¹ As in §§ 19, 20.

² From the Vendîdâd Sâda; cf. § 21.

³ For food. Cf. Farg. VII, 23-24.

⁴ ‘He who burns Nasâ (dead matter) must be killed. Burning or cooking Nasâ from the dead is a capital crime. . . . Four men can be put to death by any one without an order from the Dastur: the Nasâ-burner, the highwayman, the Sodomite, and the criminal taken in the deed’ (Comm.)

⁵ A new fire is kindled from the Nasu-burning fire: this new fire is disposed in such a way that it should die out soon: before it has died out, they kindle a new fire from it and so on for nine times: the ninth fire, derived from the one impure, through seven inter-

76 (242). 'Thus they shall lay a first bundle on the ground¹, a Vitasti² away from the Nasu-burning fire; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

77 (245). 'They shall lay down a second bundle on the ground, a Vitasti away from the Nasu-burning fire; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

'They shall lay down a third bundle on the ground, a Vitasti away from the Nasu-burning fire; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

'They shall lay down a fourth bundle on the ground, a Vitasti away from the Nasu-burning fire; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

'They shall lay down a fifth bundle on the ground, a Vitasti away from the Nasu-burning fire; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

'They shall lay down a sixth bundle on the ground, a Vitasti away from the Nasu-burning fire; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

mediate fires, more and more distant from the original impurity, will represent the fire in its native purity and can enter into the composition of a Bahrām fire.—On the modern process, see Dosabhoy Frāmjī, *History of the Parsis*, II, 213.

¹ In a hole dug for that purpose; such is at least the custom nowadays. The ceremony is thus made an imitation of the Barashnūm. The unclean fire, represented by the nine bundles, passes through the nine holes, as the unclean man does (see above, § 37 seq. and Farg. IX, 12 seq.), and leaves at each of them some of the uncleanness it has contracted.

² A span of twelve fingers.

‘ They shall lay down a seventh bundle on the ground, a Vitasti away from the Nasu-burning fire ; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

‘ They shall lay down an eighth bundle on the ground, a Vitasti away from the Nasu-burning fire ; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

78 (245). ‘ They shall lay down a ninth bundle on the ground, a Vitasti away from the Nasu-burning fire ; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

79 (246). ‘ If a man shall then piously bring unto the fire, O Spitama Zarathustra ! wood of Urvâsna, or Vohû-gaona, or Vohû-kereti, or Hadhâ-naêpata, or any other sweet-smelling wood ;

80 (248). ‘ Wheresoever the wind shall bring the perfume of the fire, thereunto the fire of Ahura Mazda shall go and kill thousands of unseen Daêvas, thousands of fiends, the brood of darkness, thousands of couples of Yâtus and Pairikas ¹.

IX.

81 (251). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One ! If a man bring a Nasu-burning fire to the Dâityô-gâtu², what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body ?

¹ It will have all the power of the Bahrâm fire.

² ‘ The proper abode,’ the Bahrâm fire. The Bahrâm fire is composed of a thousand and one fires belonging to sixteen different classes (ninety-one corpse-burning fires, eighty dyers’ fires, &c.) As the earthly representative of the heavenly fire, it is the sacred centre to which every earthly fire longs to return, in order to be united again, as much as possible, with its native abode. The

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought ten thousand fire-brands to the Dāityô-gātu.'

82 (254). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dāityô-gātu the fire wherein impure liquid has been burnt¹, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought a thousand fire-brands to the Dāityô-gātu.'

83 (257). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dāityô-gātu the fire wherein dung has been burnt², what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought five hundred fire-brands to the Dāityô-gātu.'

84 (258). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dāityô-gātu the fire from the kiln of a potter, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought four hundred fire-brands to the Dāityô-gātu.'

more it has been defiled by worldly uses, the greater is the merit acquired by freeing it from defilement.

¹ The hêhr, that is to say all sort of impurity that comes from the body.

² 'The fire of a bath,' according to Frâmjî; the use of the bath was prohibited; according to Josuah the Stylite (ch. XX, tr. Martin), king Balash (484-488) was overthrown by the Magi for having built bath-houses. The reason of this prohibition was probably that it entailed the defilement of the fire, as they were warmed with cowdung.

85 (259). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire from a glazier's kiln, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought to the Dâityô-gâtu as many fire-brands as there were glasses [brought to that fire]¹.'

86 (260). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire from the aonya parô-bereg ya ², what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought to the Dâityô-gâtu as many fire-brands as there were plants¹.'

87 (261). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire from under the puncheon of a goldsmith, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought a hundred fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

88 (262). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire from under the puncheon of a silversmith, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought ninety fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

¹ Doubtful.

² Meaning unknown. Perhaps a fire for burning weeds.

89 (263). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire from under the puncheon of a blacksmith, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought eighty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

90 (264). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire from under the puncheon of a worker in steel, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought seventy fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

91 (265). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire of an oven¹, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted from his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought sixty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

92 (266). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire from under a cauldron², what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought fifty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

93 (267). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the

¹ A baker's fire.

² The kitchen-fire.

fire from an aonya takhairya¹, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought forty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

94 (268). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring a herdsman's fire to the Dâityô-gâtu, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought thirty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

[95 (269)². O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire of the field³, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought twenty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.']

96 (270). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire of his own hearth⁴, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought ten fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

X.

97 (271). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can a man be made clean, O holy

¹ Meaning unknown.

² From the Vendîdâd Sâda.

³ The hunter's fire, an encampment's fire.

⁴ By which one warms one's self; the fire least exposed to uncleanness.

Ahura Mazda! who has touched a corpse in a distant place in the wilderness¹?

98 (272). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He can, O holy Zarathustra.'

How so?

'If the Nasu has already been expelled by the corpse-eating dogs or the corpse-eating birds, he shall wash his body with gômêz; he shall wash it thirty times, he shall rub it dry with the hand thirty times, beginning every time with the head².

99 (278). 'If the Nasu has not yet been expelled by the corpse-eating dogs or the corpse-eating birds, he shall wash his body with gômêz; he shall wash it fifteen times, he shall rub it dry with the hand fifteen times³.

100 (280). 'Then he shall run a distance of a Hâthra⁴. He shall run until he meets some man on his way, and he shall cry out aloud: "Here am I, one who has touched the corpse of a man, and who is powerless in mind, powerless in tongue, powerless in hand⁵. Do make me clean." Thus shall he run until he overtakes the man. If the man

¹ Where the regular process of purification cannot be performed.—The Pahlavi Commentary to this chapter will be found in West, Pahlavi Texts, II, p. 455.

² Perhaps better: 'this is as good as the chief purification' (that is to say as a regular Barashnûm).—If the Sag-dîd has been performed, the Sî-shû (thirtyfold washing) is enough. Cf. above, §§ 35, 36.

³ If the Sag-dîd has not been performed, he cleanses himself in a summary way till he comes to a place where the Barashnûm can be performed.

⁴ See p. 15, n. 6.

⁵ On account of my uncleanness, I am armêst, excluded from active life and unfit for any work.

will not cleanse him, he remits him the third of his trespass¹.

101 (287). 'Then he shall run another Hâthra, he shall run off again until he overtakes a man; if the man will not cleanse him, he remits him the half of his trespass².

102 (291). 'Then he shall run a third Hâthra, he shall run off a third time until he overtakes a man; if the man will not cleanse him, he remits him the whole of his trespass.

103 (294). 'Thus shall he run forwards until he comes near a house, a borough, a town, an inhabited district, and he shall cry out with a loud voice: "Here am I, one who has touched the corpse of a man, and who is powerless in mind, powerless in tongue, powerless in hand. Do make me clean." If they will not cleanse him, he shall cleanse his body with gômêz and water; thus shall he be clean³.'

104 (300). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If he find water on his way and the water make him subject to a penalty⁴, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

105 (303). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Four hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, four hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

106 (304). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If he find trees⁵ on his way and the

¹ As he takes it upon his own head.

² The half of the remnant, that is the second third.

³ 'He may then attend to his business; he may work and till; some say he must abstain from sacrifice (till he has undergone the Barashnûm)' (Comm.)

⁴ As he defiled it by crossing it.

⁵ 'Trees fit for the fire' (Comm.) If he touches those trees, the fire to which they are brought becomes unclean by his fault.

fire make him subject to a penalty, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Four hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, four hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.

107 (308). 'This is the penalty, this is the atonement which saves the faithful man who submits to it, not him who does not submit to it. Such a one shall surely be an inhabitant in the mansion of the Drug¹.'

FARGARD IX.

The Nine Nights' Barashnûm.

I a (1-11). Description of the place for cleansing the unclean (the Barashnûm-gâh).

I b (12-36). Description of the cleansing.

II (37-44). Fees of the cleanser.

III (47-57). The false cleanser; his punishment.

§§ 45, 46 belong better to the following Fargard.

The ceremony described in this Fargard is known among the Parsis as Barashnûm nû shaba, or 'nine nights' Barashnûm,' because it lasts for nine nights (see § 35)². It is the great purification, the most efficacious of all; it not only makes the defiled man clean, but it opens to him the heavens (see Farg. XIX, 33). So, although it was formerly intended only for the man defiled by the dead, it became, during the Parsi period, a pious work which might be performed without any corpse having been touched; nay, its performance was prescribed, once at least, at the time of the Nû zûdî (at the age of fifteen, when the young Parsi becomes a member of the community), in order to wash away the natural uncleanness that has been contracted in the maternal womb (Saddar 36)³. It must also be undergone by a priest who wants

¹ Hell. Imitated from Yasna XLIX, 11 d. Cf. Farg. XIV, 18.

² On the name Barashnûm, see p. 107, note 5.

³ For the plan of the Barashnûm-gâh, see West, Pahlavi Texts, II, p. 435.

to appear before the Bahrâm fire or perform the Yasna or the Vendidad office.

I a.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! To whom shall they apply here below, who want to cleanse their body defiled by the dead?'

2 (4). Ahura Mazda answered: 'To a pious man', O Spitama Zarathustra! who knows how to speak, who speaks truth, who has learned the Holy Word, who is pious, and knows best the rites of cleansing according to the law of Mazda. That man shall fell the trees off the surface of the ground on a space of nine Vîbâzus² square;

3 (9). 'in that part of the ground where there is least water and where there are fewest trees, the part which is the cleanest and driest, and the least passed through by sheep and oxen, and by the fire of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of Baresma, and by the faithful.'

4 (11). How far from the fire? How far from the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of Baresma? How far from the faithful?

5 (12). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty paces from the fire, thirty paces from the water, thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of Baresma, three paces from the faithful.'

6 (13). 'Then thou shalt dig a hole³, two fingers

¹ A priest.

² Nine ells (?). See Farg. VII, 34.

³ Those holes are intended to receive the liquid trickling from the body. In summer, the air and the earth being dry the hole may be less deep, as it is certain that it will be empty and will have room enough for that liquid.

deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.

7 (14). 'Thou shalt dig a second hole, two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.

'Thou shalt dig a third hole, two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.

'Thou shalt dig a fourth hole, two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.

'Thou shalt dig a fifth hole, two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.

'Thou shalt dig a sixth hole¹, two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.'

8 (14). How far from one another?

'One pace.'

How much is the pace?

'As much as three feet.

9 (16). 'Then thou shalt dig three holes more², two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.'

How far from the former six?

'Three paces.'

What sort of paces?

'Such as are taken in walking.'

How much are those (three) paces?

'As much as nine feet.

10 (22). 'Then thou shalt draw a furrow all around with a metal knife.'

¹ These six holes contain gômêz. 'The holes must be dug from the north to the south' (Comm.)

² The three holes to contain water.

How far from the holes ?

'Three paces.'

What sort of paces ?

'Such as are taken in walking.'

How much are those (three) paces ?

'As much as nine feet.

11 (24). 'Then thou shalt draw twelve furrows¹; three of which thou shalt draw to surround and divide [from the rest] (the first) three holes; three thou shalt draw to surround and divide (the first) six holes; three thou shalt draw to surround and divide the nine holes; three thou shalt draw around the [three] inferior holes, outside the [six other] holes². At each of the three times nine feet³, thou shalt place stones as steps to the holes; or potsherds, or stumps⁴, or clods, or any hard matter⁵.'

¹ 'The furrows must be drawn during the day; they must be drawn with a knife; they must be drawn with recitation of spells. While drawing the furrows the cleanser recites three Ashem-vohus ("holiness is the best of all good," &c.), the Fravarânê ("I declare myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, a foe of the fiend," &c.), the Khshnûman of Serosh, and the Bâg of Serosh; they must be drawn from the north' (Comm. ad § 32). The furrow, or kesh, plays a greater part in the Mazdean liturgy than in any other. By means of the furrow, drawn with proper spells, and according to the laws of spiritual war, man either besieges the fiend or intrenches himself against him (cf. Farg. XVII, 5). In the present case the Drug, being shut up inside the kesh and thus excluded from the world outside, and being driven back, step by step, by the strength of the holy water and spells, finds at last no place of refuge but hell.

² 'The three holes for water, the six holes for gômêz' (Comm.)

³ The nine feet between the holes containing gômêz and those containing water, the nine feet between the first holes and the furrows, and the nine feet between the last hole and the furrows.

⁴ Dâdara.

⁵ That the foot of the unclean one may not touch the earth.

I b.

12 (31). 'Then the man defiled shall walk to the holes; thou, O Zarathustra! shalt stand outside by the furrow, and thou shalt recite, *Nemaskâ yâ ârmaitis tšâkâ*¹; and the man defiled shall repeat, *Nemaskâ yâ ârmaitis tšâkâ*.

13 (35). 'The Drug becomes weaker and weaker at every one of those words which are a weapon to smite the fiend Angra Mainyu, to smite Aêshma of the murderous spear², to smite the Mâzainya fiends³, to smite all the fiends.

14 (40). 'Then thou shalt take for the *gômêz* a spoon of brass or of lead. When thou takest a stick with nine knots⁴, O Spitama Zarathustra! to sprinkle (the *gômêz*) from that spoon, thou shalt fasten the spoon to the end of the stick.

15 (43). 'They shall wash his hands first. If his hands be not washed first, he makes his whole body unclean. When he has washed his hands three times, after his hands have been washed, thou shalt sprinkle the forepart of his skull⁵; then the Drug Nasu rushes in front, between his brows⁶.

16 (50). 'Thou shalt sprinkle him in front between the brows; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the back part of the skull.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the back part of the skull; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the jaws.

¹ Yasna XLIX, 10 c.

² See Farg. X, 13.

³ See Farg. X, 16.

⁴ So long that the cleanser may take *gômêz* or water from the holes and sprinkle the unclean one, without touching him and without going inside the furrows.

⁵ With *gômêz* at the first six holes, with water at the next three.

⁶ Cf. Farg. VIII, 40-71.

‘Thou shalt sprinkle the jaws; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right ear.

17 (56). ‘Thou shalt sprinkle the right ear; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left ear.

‘Thou shalt sprinkle the left ear; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right shoulder.

‘Thou shalt sprinkle the right shoulder; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left shoulder.

‘Thou shalt sprinkle the left shoulder; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right arm-pit.

18 (64). ‘Thou shalt sprinkle the right arm-pit; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left arm-pit.

‘Thou shalt sprinkle the left arm-pit; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the chest.

‘Thou shalt sprinkle the chest; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the back.

19 (70). ‘Thou shalt sprinkle the back; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right nipple.

‘Thou shalt sprinkle the right nipple; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left nipple.

‘Thou shalt sprinkle the left nipple; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right rib.

20 (76). ‘Thou shalt sprinkle the right rib; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left rib.

‘Thou shalt sprinkle the left rib; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right hip.

‘Thou shalt sprinkle the right hip; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left hip.

21 (82). ‘Thou shalt sprinkle the left hip; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the sexual parts.

‘Thou shalt sprinkle the sexual parts. If the unclean one be a man, thou shalt sprinkle him first behind, then before; if the unclean one be a woman, thou shalt sprinkle her first before, then behind;

then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right thigh.

22 (88). 'Thou shalt sprinkle the right thigh; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left thigh.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left thigh; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right knee.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the right knee; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left knee.

23 (94). 'Thou shalt sprinkle the left knee; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right leg.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the right leg; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left leg.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left leg; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right ankle.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the right ankle; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left ankle.

24 (102). 'Thou shalt sprinkle the left ankle; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right instep.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the right instep; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left instep.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left instep; then the Drug Nasu turns round under the sole of the foot; it looks like the wing of a fly.

25 (108). 'He shall press his toes upon the ground and shall raise up his heels; thou shalt sprinkle his right sole; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left sole.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left sole; then the Drug Nasu turns round under the toes; it looks like the wing of a fly.

26 (113). 'He shall press his heels upon the ground and shall raise up his toes; thou shalt sprinkle his right toe; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left toe.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left toe ; then the Drug Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, droning without end, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.

27 (118). 'And thou shalt say these victorious, most healing words:—

"Yathâ ahû vairyô:—The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness.

"The gifts of Vohu-manô to deeds done in this world for Mazda.

"He who relieves the poor makes Ahura king.

"Kēm-nâ mazdâ:—What protector hadst thou given unto me, O Mazda ! while the hate of the wicked encompasses me ? Whom, but thy Âtar and Vohu-manô, through whose work I keep on the world of Righteousness ? Reveal therefore to me thy Religion as thy rule !

"Kē verethrem-gâ:—Who is the victorious who will protect thy teaching ? Make it clear that I am the guide for both worlds. May Sraosha come with Vohu-manô and help whomsoever thou pleasest, O Mazda !

"Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta ! Perish, O fiendish Drug ! Perish, O brood of the fiend ! Perish, O world of the fiend ! Perish away, O Drug ! Rush away, O Drug ! Perish away, O Drug ! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of Righteousness¹ !"

28 (119). 'At the first hole the man becomes freer from the Nasu ; then thou shalt say those victorious, most healing words:—"Yathâ ahû vairyô," &c.²

'At the second hole he becomes freer from the Nasu ; then thou shalt say those victorious, most healing words:—"Yathâ ahû vairyô," &c.

¹ Cf. Farg. VIII, 19-21.

² As in preceding clause.

‘At the third hole he becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those victorious, most healing words:—
“Yathâ ahû vairyô,” &c.

‘At the fourth hole he becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those victorious, most healing words:—
“Yathâ ahû vairyô,” &c.

‘At the fifth hole he becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those victorious, most healing words:—
“Yathâ ahû vairyô,” &c.

‘At the sixth hole he becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those victorious, most healing words:—
“Yathâ ahû vairyô,” &c.

29 (120). ‘Afterwards the man defiled shall sit down, inside the furrows¹, outside the furrows of the six holes, four fingers from those furrows. There he shall cleanse his body with thick handfuls of dust.

30 (123). ‘Fifteen times shall they take up dust from the ground for him to rub his body, and they shall wait there until he is dry even to the last hair on his head.

31 (125). ‘When his body is dry with dust, then he shall step over the holes (containing water). At the first hole he shall wash his body once with water; at the second hole he shall wash his body twice with water; at the third hole he shall wash his body thrice with water.

32 (130). ‘Then he shall perfume (his body) with Urvâsna, or Vohû-gaona, or Vohû-kereti, or Hadhâ-naêpata, or any other sweet-smelling plant; then he shall put on his clothes, and shall go back to his house.

¹ Between the furrows of the six holes containing gômêz and the furrows of the holes containing water.

33 (133). 'He shall sit down there in the place of infirmity¹, inside the house, apart from the other worshippers of Mazda. He shall not go near the fire, nor near the water, nor near the earth, nor near the cow, nor near the trees, nor near the faithful, either man or woman. Thus shall he continue until three nights have passed. When three nights have passed, he shall wash his body, he shall wash his clothes with gômêz and water to make them clean.

34 (137). 'Then he shall sit down again in the place of infirmity, inside the house, apart from the other worshippers of Mazda. He shall not go near the fire, nor near the water, nor near the earth, nor near the cow, nor near the trees, nor near the faithful, either man or woman. Thus shall he continue until six nights have passed. When six nights have passed, he shall wash his body, he shall wash his clothes with gômêz and water to make them clean.

35 (141). 'Then he shall sit down again in the place of infirmity, inside the house, apart from the other worshippers of Mazda. He shall not go near the fire, nor near the water, nor near the earth, nor near the cow, nor near the trees, nor near the faithful, either man or woman. Thus shall he continue, until nine nights have passed. When nine nights have passed, he shall wash his body, he shall wash his clothes with gômêz and water to make them clean.

36 (145). 'He may thenceforth go near the fire, near the water, near the earth, near the cow, near the trees, and near the faithful, either man or woman.

¹ The Armêst-gâh (see Farg. V, 59, note 4).

II.¹

37 (146). 'Thou shalt cleanse a priest for a blessing of the just².

'Thou shalt cleanse the lord of a province for the value of a camel of high value,

'Thou shalt cleanse the lord of a town for the value of a stallion of high value.

'Thou shalt cleanse the lord of a borough for the value of a bull of high value.

'Thou shalt cleanse the master of a house for the value of a cow three years old.

38 (151). 'Thou shalt cleanse the wife of the master of a house for the value of a ploughing³ cow.

'Thou shalt cleanse a menial for the value of a draught cow.

'Thou shalt cleanse a young child for the value of a lamb.

39 (154). 'These are the heads of cattle—flocks or herds—that the worshippers of Mazda shall give to the man who has cleansed them, if they can afford it; if they cannot afford it, they shall give him any other value that may make him leave their houses well pleased with them, and free from anger.

40 (157). 'For if the man who has cleansed them leave their houses displeased with them, and full of anger, then the Drug Nasu enters them from the nose [of the dead], from the eyes, from the tongue, from the jaws, from the sexual organs, from the hinder parts.

¹ Cf. the tariff for the fees of physicians, Farg. VII, 41-43.

² See Farg. VII, 41, note 3.

³ Doubtful.

41 (159). 'And the Drug Nasu rushes upon them even to the end of the nails, and they are unclean thenceforth for ever and ever.

'It grieves the sun indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! to shine upon a man defiled by the dead; it grieves the moon, it grieves the stars.

42 (162). 'That man delights them, O Spitama Zarathustra! who cleanses from the Nasu the man defiled by the dead; he delights the fire, he delights the water, he delights the earth, he delights the cow, he delights the trees, he delights the faithful, both men and women.'

43 (164). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What shall be his reward, after his soul has parted from his body, who has cleansed from the Nasu the man defiled by the dead?'

44 (166). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The welfare of Paradise thou canst promise to that man, for his reward in the other world.'

45² (167). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I fight against that Drug who from the dead rushes upon the living? How shall I fight against that Nasu who from the dead defiles the living?'

46 (169). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Say aloud those words in the Gâthas that are to be said twice³.

¹ Literally, 'the grease.'

² This clause and the following one as far as 'and the Drug shall fly away' are further developed in the following Fargard.

³ The Bis-âmrûta formulas, as enumerated in the following Fargard.

‘Say aloud those words in the Gāthas that are to be said thrice¹.

‘Say aloud those words in the Gāthas that are to be said four times¹.

‘And the Drug shall fly away like the well-darted arrow, like the felt of last year², like the annual garment³ of the earth.’

III.

47 (172). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man who does not know the rites of cleansing according to the law of Mazda, offers to cleanse the unclean, how shall I then fight against that Drug who from the dead rushes upon the living? How shall I fight against that Drug who from the dead defiles the living?

48 (175). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘Then, O Spitama Zarathustra! the Drug Nasu appears to wax stronger than she was before. Stronger then are sickness and death and the working of the fiend than they were before⁴.’

49 (177). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: ‘The worshippers of Mazda shall bind him; they shall bind his hands first; then they shall strip him of his clothes, they shall cut the head off his neck, and they shall give over his corpse unto the greediest of the corpse-

¹ The *Thris-âmrûta* and *Kathrus-âmrûta* formulas, as enumerated in the following Fargard.

² The felt of an oba made for a season (?). Cf. Farg. VIII, 1.

³ The grass.

⁴ The plague and contagion are stronger than ever.

eating creatures made by the beneficent Spirit, unto the vultures, with these words¹ :—

“The man here has repented of all his evil thoughts, words, and deeds.

50 (183). “If he has committed any other evil deed, it is remitted by his repentance; if he has committed no other evil deed, he is absolved by his repentance for ever and ever².”

51 (187). Who is he, O Ahura Mazda! who threatens to take away fulness and increase from the world, and to bring in sickness and death?

52 (188). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘It is the ungodly Ashemaogha³, O Spitama Zarathustra! who in this material world cleanses the unclean without knowing the rites of cleansing according to the law of Mazda.

53 (190). ‘For until then, O Spitama Zarathustra! sweetness and fatness would flow out from that land and from those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass⁴.’

54 (191). O Maker of the material world, thou

¹ ‘The cleanser who has not performed the cleansing according to the rites, shall be taken to a desert place; there they shall nail him with four nails, they shall take off the skin from his body, and cut off his head. If he has performed Patet for his sin, he shall be holy (that is, he shall go to Paradise); if he has not performed Patet, he shall stay in hell till the day of resurrection’ (Fraser Ravâet, p. 398). Cf. Farg. III, 20–21 and note 5.

² See Farg. III, 20 seq.

³ See Farg. V, 35

⁴ Cf. XIII, 52 seq. The false cleanser is punished as would be a man who would introduce an epidemic. He undergoes the same penalty as the êvak-bar, but with none of the mitigation allowed in the case of the latter, on account of the sacrilegious character of his usurpation.

Holy One! When are sweetness and fatness to come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass?

55, 56 (192, 193). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Sweetness and fatness will never come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass, until that ungodly Ashemaogha has been smitten to death on the spot, and the holy Sraosha of that place has been offered up a sacrifice¹, for three days and three nights, with fire blazing, with Baresma tied up, and with Haoma prepared.

57 (196). 'Then sweetness and fatness will come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass.'

FARGARD X.

Nowadays, before laying the dead in the coffin, two priests recite the Ahunavaiti Gâtha (Yasna XXVIII-XXXIV): it is the so-called Gâh sârnâ (chanting of the Gathas: gâthâo srâvayêiti). From the following Fargard it appears that formerly all the five Gâthas and the Yasna Haptanghâiti were recited. Certain stanzas were recited several times and with a certain emphasis (framrava): and they were followed with certain spells. The object of this Fargard is to show which are those stanzas, how many times each was recited, and to give the corresponding spells.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda! most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the ma-

¹ The sadis sacrifice, that is to say, the sacrifice that is offered up to Sraosha for three days and three nights after the death of a man for the salvation of his soul.

terial world, thou Holy One! How shall I fight against that Drug who from the dead rushes upon the living? How shall I fight against that Drug who from the dead defiles the living?’

2 (3). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘Say aloud those words in the Gâthas that are to be said twice¹.

‘Say aloud those words in the Gâthas that are to be said thrice².

‘Say aloud those words in the Gâthas that are to be said four times³.’

3 (7). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which are those words in the Gâthas that are to be said twice?

4 (10). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘These are the words in the Gâthas that are to be said twice, and thou shalt twice say them aloud⁴:—

ahyâ yâsâ . . . urvânem (Yasna XXVIII, 2).

humatenãm . . . mahî (Yas. XXXV, 2),

ashahyâ âad sairê . . . ahubyâ (Yas. XXXV, 8),

yathâ tû i . . . ahurâ (Yas. XXXIX, 4),

humâim thwâ . . . hudustemâ (Yas. XLI, 3),

thwôi staotaraskâ . . . ahurâ (Yas. XLI, 5).

ustâ ahmâi . . . mananghō (Yas. XLIII, 1),

spentâ mainyû . . . ahurō (Yas. XLVII, 1),

vohu khshathrem . . . vareshânê (Yas. LI, 1),

vahistâ istis . . . skyaothanâkâ (Yas. LIII, 1).

5 (10). ‘And after thou hast twice said those Bis-âmrûtas, thou shalt say aloud these victorious, most healing words:—

¹ The so-called Bis-âmrûta.

² The Thris-âmrûta.

³ The Kathrus-âmrûta.

⁴ The Bis-âmrûta are the opening stanzas of the five Gâthas and five stanzas in the Yasna Haptanghâiti.

“ I drive away Angra Mainyu¹ from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land ; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead ; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land ; from the whole of the world of Righteousness.

6 (12). “ I drive away the Nasu², I drive away direct defilement, I drive away indirect defilement, from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land ; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead ; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land ; from the whole of the world of Righteousness.”

7 (13). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One ! Which are those words in the Gâthas that are to be said thrice ?

8 (16). Ahura Mazda answered : ‘ These are the words in the Gâthas that are to be said thrice, and thou shalt thrice say them aloud :—

ashem vohû . . . (Yas. XXVII, 14),

ye sevistô . . . paiti (Yas. XXXIII, 11),

hukhshathrôtemâi . . . vahistâi (Yas. XXXV, 5),

duzvarenâis . . . vahyô (Yas. LIII, 9).

9 (16). ‘ After thou hast thrice said those Thris-âmrûtas, thou shalt say aloud these victorious, most healing words :—

¹ The chief demon, the Daêva of the Daêvas.

² The very demon with whom one has to do in the present case.

“I drive away Indra¹, I drive away Sauru¹, I drive away the daêva Nəunghaithya¹, from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the world of Righteousness.

10 (18). “I drive away Tauru¹, I drive away Zairi¹, from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the holy world.”

11 (19). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which are those words in the Gāthas that are to be said four times?

12 (22). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘These are the words in the Gāthas that are to be said four times, and thou shalt four times say them aloud:—

yathâ ahû vairyo . . .² (Yas. XXVII, 13),

¹ Indra, Sauru, Nəunghaithya, Tauru, and Zairi are (with Akem-manô, here replaced by the Nasu), the six chief demons, and stand to the Amesha Spəntas in the same relation as Angra Mainyu to Spənta Mainyu. Indra opposes Asha Vahista and turns men’s hearts from good works; Sauru opposes Khshathra Vairya, he presides over bad government; Nəunghaithya opposes Spənta Ârmaiti, he is the demon of discontent; Tauru and Zairi oppose Haurvatât and Ameretât and poison the waters and the plants.—Akem-manô, Bad Thought, opposes Vohu-manô, Good Thought.

² Translated Farg. VIII, 19.

mazdâ ad' moi . . . dau ahûm¹ (Yas. XXXIV, 15),
â airyamâ ishyô . . . masatâ mazdau² (Yas. LIV. 1).

13 (22). 'After thou hast said those *Kathrus-âmrûtas* four times, thou shalt say aloud these victorious, most healing words:—

"I drive away *Aêshma*, the fiend of the murderous spear³, I drive away the *daêva Akatasha*⁴, from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the world of Righteousness.

14 (24). "I drive away the *Varenya daêvas*⁵, I drive away the wind-*daêva*, from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the world of Righteousness."

15 (25). 'These are the words in the *Gâthas* that

¹ Translated Farg. XI, 14.

² Translated Farg. XX, 11; cf. XI, 7.

³ *Aêshma*, *Khishm*, the incarnation of anger: he sows quarrel and war. 'He is the chief source of evil for the creatures of Ormazd, and the Kayani heroes mostly perished through him' (Bund. XXVIII, 17).

⁴ The fiend who corrupts and perverts men.

⁵ The fiendish inhabitants of *Varena* (*Gilân*). *Varena*, like the neighbouring *Mâzana* (*Mâzandarân*), was peopled with savage, non-Aryan natives, who were considered men-demons. Cf. Farg. I, 18 and notes.

are to be said twice; these are the words in the Gâthas that are to be said thrice; these are the words in the Gâthas that are to be said four times.

16 (26). 'These are the words that smite down Angra Mainyu; these are the words that smite down Aêshma, the fiend of the murderous spear; these are the words that smite down the daêvas of Mâzana¹; these are the words that smite down all the daêvas.

17 (30). 'These are the words that stand against that Drug, against that Nasu, who from the dead rushes upon the living, who from the dead defiles the living.

18 (32). 'Therefore, O Zarathustra! thou shalt dig nine holes² in the part of the ground where there is least water and where there are fewest trees; where there is nothing that may be food either for man or beast; "for purity is for man, next to life, the greatest good, that purity, O Zarathustra, that is in the Religion of Mazda for him who cleanses his own self with good thoughts, words, and deeds³."

19 (38). 'Make thy own self pure, O righteous man! any one in the world here below can win purity for his own self, namely, when he cleanses his own self with good thoughts, words, and deeds.

20. "Yathâ ahû vairyô:—The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness," &c.⁴

"Kem-nâ mazdâ:—What protector hast thou given

¹ The demoniac races of Mâzandarân; Mâzandarân was known in popular tradition as a land of fiends and sorcerers.

² The nine holes for the Barashnûm; see above, p. 123, § 6 seq.

³ Cf. Farg. V, 21.

⁴ The rest as in Farg. VIII, 19, 20.

unto me, O Mazda ! while the hate of the wicked encompasses me ?" &c.

" *Kē verethrem-gâ* :—Who is the victorious who will protect thy teaching ?" &c.

" Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and *Ârmaiti Spenta* ! Perish, O fiendish Drug ! . . . Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of Righteousness !"

FARGARD XI.

This chapter, like the preceding, is composed of spells intended to drive away the Nasu. But they are of a more special character, as they refer to the particular objects to be cleansed, such as the house, the fire, the water, the earth, the animals, the plants, the man defiled with the dead. Each incantation consists of two parts, a line from the *Gâthas* which alludes, or rather is made to allude, to the particular object (§§ 4, 5, 6, 7), and a general exorcism, in the usual dialect (§§ 8–20), which is the same for all the objects.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda : 'O Ahura Mazda ! most beneficent spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One ! How shall I cleanse the house ? how the fire ? how the water ? how the earth ? how the cow ? how the tree ? how the faithful man and the faithful woman ? how the stars ? how the moon ? how the sun ? how the boundless light ? how all good things, made by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle ?'

2 (4). Ahura Mazda answered : 'Thou shalt chant the cleansing words, and the house shall be clean ; clean shall be the fire, clean the water, clean the earth, clean the cow, clean the tree, clean the faithful man and the faithful woman, clean the stars, clean the moon, clean the sun, clean the boundless

light, clean all good things, made by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle.

3 (7). ['So thou shalt say these victorious, most healing words]; thou shalt chant the Ahuna-Vairya five times: "The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness," &c.

'The Ahuna-Vairya preserves the person of man:

"Yathâ ahû vairyô:—The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness," &c.

"Kəm-nâ mazdâ:—What protector hast thou given unto me, O Mazda! while the hate of the wicked encompasses me?" &c.

"Kē verethrem-gâ:—Who is the victorious who will protect thy teaching?" &c.

"Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta!" &c.¹

4 (9). 'If thou wantest to cleanse the house, say these words aloud: "As long as the sickness lasts my great protector [is he who teaches virtue to the perverse]²."

'If thou wantest to cleanse the fire, say these words aloud: "Thy fire, first of all, do we approach with worship, O Ahura Mazda³!"

5 (13). 'If thou wantest to cleanse the water, say these words aloud: "Waters we worship, the Maê-kaiñti waters, the Hebvaiñti waters, the Fravazah waters⁴."

'If thou wantest to cleanse the earth, say these

¹ As in Farg. VIII, 19, 20.

² Yasna XLIX, 1. The allusion is not quite clear. This line was recited by the Genius of the sky at the moment when Ahriman was invading the sky (Gr. Bd.) Perhaps the small house of man is compared here with that large house, the world.

³ Yasna XXXVI, 1.

⁴ Yasna XXXVIII, 3.

words aloud: "This earth we worship, this earth with the women, this earth which bears us and those women who are thine, O Ahura¹!"

6 (17). 'If thou wantest to cleanse the cow, say these words aloud: "The best of all works we will fulfil while we order both the learned and the unlearned, both masters and servants to secure for the cattle a good resting-place and fodder²."

'If thou wantest to cleanse the trees, say these words aloud: "For him³, as a reward, Mazda made the plants grow up⁴."

7 (21). 'If thou wantest to cleanse the faithful man or the faithful woman, say these words aloud: "May the vow-fulfilling Airyaman come hither, for the men and women of Zarathustra to rejoice, for Vohu-manô to rejoice; with the desirable reward that Religion deserves. I solicit for holiness that boon that is vouchsafed by Ahura⁵!"

8 (25). 'Then thou shalt say these victorious, most healing words. Thou shalt chant the Ahuna-Vairya eight times:—

¹ Yasna XXXVIII, 1. 'Who are thine,' that is, 'who are thy wives.'

² Yasna XXXV, 4. 'Let those excellent deeds be done for the behoof of cattle, that is to say, let stables be made, and water and fodder be given' (Comm.)

³ 'For him,' that is to say, to feed him; also 'out of him;' for it was from the body of the first-born bull that, after his death, grew up all kinds of plants (Bund. IV).

⁴ Yasna XLVIII, 6. Cf. Farg. XVII, 5.

⁵ Yasna LIV, 1. Cf. Farg. XX, 11. There is no special spell for the cleansing of the sun, the moon, the stars, and the boundless light (see §§ 1, 2), because they are not defiled by the unclean one, they are only pained by seeing him (Farg. IX, 41); as soon as he is clean, they are freed from the pain.

“Yathâ ahû vairyô:—The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness,” &c.

“Kəm-nā mazdâ:—Whom hast thou placed to protect me, O Mazda?” &c.

“Kə verethrem-gâ:—What protector hast thou given unto me?” &c.

“Who is the victorious?” &c.

“Keep us from our hater, O Mazda!” &c.¹

9 (26). ‘I drive away Aêshma², I drive away the Nasu, I drive away direct defilement, I drive away indirect defilement.

[‘I drive away Khrû, I drive away Khrûighni³.

‘I drive away Bûidhi, I drive away the offspring of Bûidhi⁴.

‘I drive away Kundi, I drive away the offspring of Kundi⁵.]

‘I drive away the gaunt Bûshyâsta, I drive away the long-handed Bûshyâsta⁶; [I drive away Mûidhi⁷, I drive away Kapasti⁸.]

‘I drive away the Pairika⁹ that comes upon the fire, upon the water, upon the earth, upon the cow, upon the tree. I drive away the uncleanness that

¹ As in Farg. VIII, 19, 20.

² See Farg. X, 13.

³ Khrû and Khrûighni are not met with elsewhere; their names mean, apparently, ‘wound’ and ‘the wounding one.’ They may have been mere names or epithets of Aêshma khrûidru, ‘Aêshma of the murderous spear.’

⁴ Bûidhi may be another pronunciation of Bûiti (see Farg. XIX, 1).

⁵ Kundi is very likely the same as Kunda (Vd. XIX, 41, 138) who is the riding-stock of the sorcerers (Bd. XXVIII, 42).

⁶ See Farg. XVIII, 16.

⁷ A demon unknown. Perhaps Intoxication.

⁸ Unknown. Perhaps Colocynth, the type of the bitter plants

⁹ A female demon, the modern Parî, often associated with Yâtu, ‘the wizard.’

comes upon the fire, upon the water, upon the earth, upon the cow, upon the tree.

10 (32). 'I drive thee away, O mischievous Angra Mainyu! from the fire, from the water, from the earth, from the cow, from the tree, from the faithful man and from the faithful woman, from the stars, from the moon, from the sun, from the boundless light, from all good things, made by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle.

11 (33). 'Then thou shalt say these victorious, most healing words; thou shalt chant four Ahuna-Vairyas:—

"Yathâ ahû vairyô:—The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness," &c.

"Kēm-nâ mazdâ:—What protector hast thou given unto me?" &c.

"Kē verethrem-gâ:—Who is the victorious?" &c.

"Keep us from our hater, O Mazda!" &c.¹

12 (34). 'Aêshma is driven away; away the Nasu; away direct defilement, away indirect defilement.

[Khrû is driven away, away Khrûighni; away Bûidhi, away the offspring of Bûidhi; away Kundi, away the offspring of Kundi.]

'The gaunt Bûshyâsta is driven away; away Bûshyâsta, the long-handed; [away Mûidhi, away Kapasti.]

'The Pairika is driven away that comes upon the fire, upon the water, upon the earth, upon the cow, upon the tree. The uncleanness is driven away that comes upon the fire, upon the water, upon the earth, upon the cow, upon the tree.

¹ As in Farg. VIII, 19, 20.

13 (40). 'Thou art driven away, O mischievous Angra Mainyu! from the fire, from the water, from the earth, from the cow, from the tree, from the faithful man and from the faithful woman, from the stars, from the moon, from the sun, from the boundless light, from all good things, made by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle.

14 (41). 'Then thou shalt say these victorious, most healing words; thou shalt chant "Mazdâ ad mõi" four times: "O Mazda! say unto me the excellent words and the excellent works, that through the good thought and the holiness of him who offers thee the due meed of praise, thou mayest, O Lord! make the world of Resurrection appear, at thy will, under thy sovereign rule¹."

15. 'I drive away Aêshma, I drive away the Nasu,' &c.²

16. 'I drive thee away, O mischievous Angra Mainyu! from the fire, from the water,' &c.³

17. 'Then thou shalt say these victorious, most healing words; thou shalt chant the Airyama Ishyô four times: "May the vow-fulfilling Airyaman come hither!"' &c.⁴

18. 'Aêshma is driven away; away the Nasu,' &c.⁵

19. 'Thou art driven away, O mischievous Angra Mainyu! from the fire, from the water,' &c.⁶

20. 'Then thou shalt say these victorious, most healing words; thou shalt chant five Ahuna-Vairyas:—

"Yathâ ahû vairyô:—The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness," &c.

"Kê m-nâ mazdâ:—Whom hast thou placed to protect me?" &c.

¹ Yasna XXXIV, 15.

² The rest as in § 10.

³ As in § 12.

⁴ The rest as in § 9.

⁵ As in § 7.

⁶ As in § 13.

“*Ke verethrem-gâ*:—Who is he who will smite the fiend?” &c.¹

“Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and *Ârmaiti Spenta*! Perish, O fiendish Drug! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Drug! Rush away, O Drug! Perish away, O Drug! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of Righteousness!”

FARGARD XII.

This chapter is found only in the Vendîdâd Sâda; it is missing in the Zend-Pahlavi Vendîdâd. This is owing, as it seems, only to the accidental loss of some folios in the one manuscript from which all the copies as yet known have been derived; and, in fact, even in the most ancient manuscripts the following Fargard is numbered the thirteenth (Westergaard, *Zend-Avesta*, preface, p. 5).

The directions in the preceding chapter are general, and do not depend on the relationship of the faithful with the deceased person; whereas those in this Fargard are of a special character, and apply only to the near relatives of the dead. Their object is to determine how long the time of ‘staying’ (*upaman*) should last for different relatives. What is meant by this word is not explained; but, as the word *upaman* is usually employed to indicate the staying of the unclean in the *Armêst-gâh*, apart from the faithful and from every clean object, that word *upaman* seems to show a certain period of mourning, marked by abstention from usual avocations.

The length of the *upaman* varies with the degrees of relationship; and at every degree it is double for relations who have died in a state of sin (that is, with a sin not redeemed by the *Patet*: cf. p. 135, note 1). The relative length of the *upaman* is as follows:—

For the head of a family (§ 7): 6 months (or a year).

First degree. { For father or mother (§ 1) }
 { For son or daughter (§ 3) } 30 days (or 60).
 { For brother or sister (§ 5) }

¹ See Farg. VIII, 19, 20.

Second degree.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{For grandfather or grand-} \\ \text{mother (§ 9)} \\ \text{For grandson or grand-} \\ \text{daughter (§ 11)} \end{array} \right\}$	25 days (or 50).
Third degree.	For uncle or aunt (§ 13):	20 days (or 40).
Fourth degree.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{For male cousin or female} \\ \text{cousin (§ 15)} \end{array} \right\}$	15 days (or 30).
Fifth degree.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{For the son or daughter of a} \\ \text{cousin (§ 17)} \end{array} \right\}$	10 days (or 20).
Sixth degree.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{For the grandson or the grand-} \\ \text{daughter of a cousin (§ 19)} \end{array} \right\}$	5 days (or 10).

1. If one's father or mother dies, how long shall they stay [in mourning], the son for his father, the daughter for her mother? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners¹?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay thirty days for the righteous, sixty days for the sinners.'

2 (5). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gâthas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters²; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter³, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

¹ How long if the dead person died in a state of holiness (a dahma)? How long if in the state of a Peshôtanu?

² This refers probably to the sacrifice that is offered on each of the three days that follow the death of a Zoroastrian for the salvation of his soul.

³ All the other objects over which the Amesha-Spentas preside (such as the cow, the metals, &c.)

3 (9). If one's son or daughter dies, how long shall they stay, the father for his son, the mother for her daughter? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay thirty days for the righteous, sixty days for the sinners.'

4 (13). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gāthas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

5 (17). If one's brother or sister dies, how long shall they stay, the brother for his brother, the sister for her sister? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay thirty days for the righteous, sixty days for the sinners.'

6 (21). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gāthas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

7 (25). If the master of the house¹ dies, or if the

¹ The chief of the family, the paterfamilias. The Zoroastrian family is organised on the patriarchal system.

mistress of the house dies, how long shall they stay? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They¹ shall stay six months for the righteous, a year for the sinners.'

8 (28). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gâthas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

9 (31). If one's grandfather or grandmother dies, how long shall they stay, the grandson for his grandfather, the granddaughter for her grandmother? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay twenty-five days for the righteous, fifty days for the sinners.'

10 (34). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gâthas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

¹ All the familia, both relatives and servants.

11 (37). If one's grandson or granddaughter dies, how long shall they stay, the grandfather for his grandson, the grandmother for her granddaughter? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' They shall stay twenty-five days for the righteous, fifty days for the sinners.'

12 (40). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gâthas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra !'

13 (43). If one's uncle or aunt dies, how long shall they stay, the nephew for his uncle, the niece for her aunt? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' They shall stay twenty days for the righteous, forty days for the sinners.'

14 (45). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gâthas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra !'

15 (48). If one's male cousin or female cousin

dies, how long shall they stay? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay fifteen days for the righteous, thirty days for the sinners.'

16 (50). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gâthas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

17 (53). If the son or the daughter of a cousin dies, how long shall they stay? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay ten days for the righteous, twenty days for the sinners.'

18 (55). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gâthas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

19 (58). If the grandson of a cousin or the granddaughter of a cousin dies, how long shall they stay? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' They shall stay five days for the righteous, ten days for the sinners.'

20 (60). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One ! How shall I cleanse the house ? How shall it be clean again ?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gāthas three times ; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters ; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra !'

21 (63). If a man dies, of whatever race he is, who does not belong to the true faith, or the true law¹, what part of the creation of the good spirit does he directly defile ? What part does he indirectly defile ?

22² (65). Ahura Mazda answered : ' No more than a frog does whose venom is dried up, and that has been dead more than a year. Whilst alive, indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra ! such wicked, two-legged ruffian as an ungodly Ashemaogha, directly defiles the creatures of the Good Spirit, and indirectly defiles them.

23 (70). ' Whilst alive he smites the water ; whilst alive he blows out the fire ; whilst alive he carries off the cow ; whilst alive he smites the faithful man with a deadly blow, that parts the soul from the body ; not so will he do when dead.

24 (71). ' Whilst alive, indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra ! such wicked, two-legged ruffian as an

¹ An infidel, whether he is a relation or not.

² §§ 22-24 = Farg. V, 36-38, text and notes.

ungodly Ashemaogha, robs the faithful man of the full possession of his food, of his clothing, of his wood, of his bed, of his vessels; not so will he do when dead.'

FARGARD XIII.

The Dog.

I (1-7). The dog of Ormazd and the dog of Ahriman.

(a. 1-4). Holiness of the dog Vanghâpara ('the hedgehog').

(b. 5-7). Hatefulness of the dog Zairimyangura ('the tortoise').

II (8-16). The several kinds of dogs. Penalties for the murder of a dog.

III (17-19). On the duties of the shepherd's dog and the house-dog.

IV (20-28). On the food due to the dog.

V (29-38). On the mad dog and the dog diseased; how they are to be kept, and cured.

VI (39-40). On the excellence of the dog.

VII (41-43). On the wolf-dog.

VIII (44-48). On the virtues and vices of the dog.

IX (49-50). Praise of the dog.

X (50-54). The water-dog.

This Fargard is the only complete fragment, still in existence, of a large canine literature: a whole section of the Ganbâ-sar-nigat Nask was dedicated to the dog (the so-called Fargard Pasûr-haûrvastân; West, *Dînkard* (Pahlavi Texts, IV), VIII, 23; 24, 5; 33, &c.)

I a.

1. Which is the good creature among the creatures of the Good Spirit that from midnight till the sun is up goes and kills thousands of the creatures of the Evil Spirit?

2 (3). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The dog with the prickly back, with the long and thin muzzle, the

dog Vanghâpara¹, which evil-speaking people call the Duzaka²; this is the good creature among the creatures of the Good Spirit that from midnight till the sun is up goes and kills thousands of the creatures of the Evil Spirit.

3 (6). 'And whosoever, O Zarathustra! shall kill the dog with the prickly back, with the long and thin muzzle, the dog Vanghâpara, which evil-speaking people call the Duzaka, kills his own soul for nine generations, nor shall he find a way over the *Kinvad* bridge³, unless he has, while alive, atoned for his sin⁴.'

4 (10). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man kill the dog with the prickly back, with the long and thin muzzle, the dog Vanghâpara, which evil-speaking people call the Duzaka, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

¹ The hedgehog. 'The hedgehog, according to the Bund. XIX, 28, is created in opposition to the ant that carries off grain, as it says that the hedgehog, every time that it voids urine into an ant's nest, will destroy a thousand ants' (Bund. XIX, 28; cf. Sad-dar 57). When the Arabs conquered Saistan, the inhabitants submitted on the condition that hedgehogs should not be killed nor hunted for, as they got rid of the vipers which swarm in that country. Every house had its hedgehog (Yaqout, Dictionnaire de la Perse, p. 303). Plutarch counts the hedgehog amongst the animals sacred to the Magi (Quaestiones Conviviales, IV, 5, 2: τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ Ζωροάστρου μάγους τιμῆν μὲν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τὸν χερσαῖον ἐχῖνον).

² Duzaka is the popular name of the hedgehog (Pers. *susa*). It is not without importance which name is given to a being: 'When called by its high name, it is powerful' (Comm.); cf. § 6, and Farg. XVIII, 15.

³ The bridge leading to Paradise; see Farg. XIX, 30.

⁴ Cf. § 54. Frâmjî translates: 'He cannot atone for it in his life even by performing a sacrifice to Sraosha' (cf. Farg. IX, 56, text and note).

Ahura Mazda answered: 'A thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

I b.

5 (13). Which is the evil creature among the creatures of the Evil Spirit that from midnight till the sun is up goes and kills thousands of the creatures of the Good Spirit?

6 (15). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The daêva Zairimyangura¹, which evil-speaking people call the Zairimyâka², this is the evil creature among the creatures of the Evil Spirit that from midnight till the sun is up goes and kills thousands of the creatures of the Good Spirit.

7 (18). 'And whosoever, O Zarathustra! shall kill the daêva Zairimyangura, which evil-speaking people call the Zairimyâka, his sins in thought, word, and deed are redeemed as they would be by a Patet; his sins in thought, word, and deed are atoned for³.

II.

8 (21). 'Whosoever shall smite either a shepherd's dog, or a house-dog, or a Vohunazga dog⁴, or a trained dog⁵, his soul when passing to the other world, shall fly⁶ howling louder and more sorely grieved than the sheep does in the lofty forest where the wolf ranges.

¹ The tortoise (Frâmjî and Rivâyats).

² 'When not so called it is less strong' (Comm.) Zairimyâka is a lucky name, and means, as it seems, who lives in verdure; Zairimyangura seems to mean 'the verdure-devourer.'

³ Cf. Farg. XIV, 5.

⁴ See § 19, n. 2.

⁵ A hunting-dog.

⁶ 'From Paradise' (Comm.)

9 (24). 'No soul will come and meet his departing soul and help it, howling and grieved in the other world; nor will the dogs that keep the [*K'invad*] bridge' help his departing soul howling and grieved in the other world.

10 (26). 'If a man shall smite a shepherd's dog so that it becomes unfit for work, if he shall cut off its ear or its paw, and thereupon a thief or a wolf break in and carry away [sheep] from the fold, without the dog giving any warning, the man shall pay for the loss, and he shall pay for the wound of the dog as for wilful wounding².

11 (31). 'If a man shall smite a house-dog so that it becomes unfit for work, if he shall cut off its ear or its paw, and thereupon a thief or a wolf break in and carry away [anything] from the house, without the dog giving any warning, the man shall pay for the loss, and he shall pay for the wound of the dog as for wilful wounding².'

12 (36). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall smite a shepherd's dog, so that it gives up the ghost and the soul parts from the body, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Eight hundred stripes with the *Aspahê-astra*, eight hundred stripes with the *Sraoshô-karana*.'

13 (39). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall smite a house-dog so that it gives up the ghost and the soul parts from the body, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seven hundred stripes

¹ See Farg. XIX, 30.

² *Baodhô-varsta*; see Farg. VII, 38 n.

with the Aspahê-astra, seven hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

14 (42). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall smite a Vohunazga dog so that it gives up the ghost and the soul parts from the body, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Six hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, six hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

15 (45). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall smite a Tauruna dog¹ so that it gives up the ghost and the soul parts from the body, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Five hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, five hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

16 (48). 'This is the penalty for the murder of a Gazu dog, of a Vîzu dog², of a porcupine dog³, of a sharp-toothed weasel⁴, of a swift-running fox; this is the penalty for the murder of any of the creatures of the Good Spirit belonging to the dog kind, except the water-dog⁵.'

III.

17 (49). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the place of the shepherd's dog?

¹ Tauruna seems to be another name of the trained or hunting-dog (cf. § 8 compared with §§ 12-15), though tradition translates it 'a dog not older than four months.'

² Unknown. Cf. V, 31, 32.

³ A porcupine. Cf. V, 31.

⁴ A weasel. Cf. V, 33.

⁵ The otter. 'For the penalty in that case is most heavy' (Comm.) Cf. § 52 seq. and Farg. XIV.

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He comes and goes a Yugyêsti¹ round about the fold, watching for the thief and the wolf.'

18 (51). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the place of the house-dog?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He comes and goes a Hâthra round about the house, watching for the thief and the wolf.'

19 (53). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the place of the Vohunazga dog?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He claims none of those talents, and only seeks for his subsistence².'

IV.

20 (55). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man give bad food to a shepherd's dog, of what sin does he make himself guilty?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He makes himself guilty of the same guilt as though he should serve bad food to a master of a house of the first rank³.'

21 (57). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man give bad food to a house-dog, of what sin does he make himself guilty?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He makes himself

¹ A distance of sixteen Hâthras (16,000 paces).

² 'He cannot do the same as the shepherd's dog and the house-dog do, but he catches Khrafstras and smites the Nasu' (Comm.) It is 'the dog without a master' (gharîb), the vagrant dog; he is held in great esteem (§ 22), and is one of the dogs which can be used for the Sag-dîd.

³ Invited as a guest.

guilty of the same guilt as though he should serve bad food to a master of a house of middle rank.'

22 (59). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man give bad food to a Vohunazga dog, of what sin does he make himself guilty?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He makes himself guilty of the same guilt as though he should serve bad food to a holy man, who should come to his house in the character of a priest¹.'

23 (61). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man give bad food to a Tauruna dog, of what sin does he make himself guilty?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He makes himself guilty of the same guilt as though he should serve bad food to a young man, born of pious parents, and who can already answer for his deeds².'

24 (63). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall give bad food to a shepherd's dog, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana³.'

¹ The Vohunazga dog has no domicile, therefore he is not compared with the master of a house, but with a wandering friar, who lives on charity.

² Probably, 'Who has performed the nû-zûd, fifteen years old.' The young dog enters the community of the faithful at the age of four months, when he is fit for the Sag-dîd and can expel the Nasu.

³ 'I also saw the soul of a man, whom demons, just like dogs, ever tear. That man gives bread to the dogs, and they eat it not; but they ever devour the breast, legs, belly, and thighs of the man. And I asked thus: What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment? Srôsh the pious and Âtarô the angel said thus: This is the soul of that wicked man who, in

25 (66). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall give bad food to a house-dog, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

26 (69). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall give bad food to a Vohunazga dog, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

27 (72). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall give bad food to a Tauruna dog, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

28 (75). 'For in this material world, O Spitama Zarathustra! it is the dog, of all the creatures of the Good Spirit, that most quickly decays into age, while not eating near eating people, and watching goods none of which it receives. Bring ye unto him milk and fat with meat¹; this is the right food for the dog².'

the world, kept back the food of the dogs of shepherds and house-holders; or beat and killed them' (*Arđā Vīrāf* XLVIII, translated by Haug).

¹ The same food as recommended for the dog by Columella (*Ordacea farina cum sero*, VII, 12; cf. Virgil, *Pasce sero pingui*, Georg. III, 406).

² 'Whenever one eats bread one must put aside three mouthfuls and give them to the dog . . . for among all the poor there is none poorer than the dog' (*Saddar* 31).

V.

29 (80). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If there be in the house of a worshipper of Mazda a mad dog that bites without barking, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

30 (82). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall put a wooden collar around his neck, and they shall tie thereto a muzzle, an asti¹ thick if the wood be hard, two astis thick if it be soft. To that collar they shall tie it; by the two sides² of the collar they shall tie it.

31 (86). 'If they shall not do so, and the mad dog that bites without barking, smite a sheep or wound a man, the dog shall pay for the wound of the wounded as for wilful murder³.

32 (88). 'If the dog shall smite a sheep or wound a man, they shall cut off his right ear.

'If he shall smite another sheep or wound another man, they shall cut off his left ear.

33 (90). 'If he shall smite a third sheep or wound a third man, they shall make a cut in his right foot⁴. If he shall smite a fourth sheep or wound a fourth man, they shall make a cut in his left foot.

34 (92). 'If he shall for the fifth time smite a sheep or wound a man, they shall cut off his tail.

¹ A measure of unknown amount. Frâmjî reads isti, 'a brick' thick.

² By the left and the right side of it.

³ According to Solon's law, the dog who had bitten a man was to be delivered to him tied up to a block four cubits long (Plutarchus, Solon 24). The Book of Deuteronomy orders the ox who has killed a man to be put to death.

⁴ 'They only cut off a piece of flesh from the foot' (Brouillons d'Anquetil).

‘Therefore they shall tie a muzzle to the collar; by the two sides of the collar they shall tie it. If they shall not do so, and the mad dog that bites without barking, smite a sheep or wound a man, he shall pay for the wound of the wounded as for wilful murder.’

35 (97). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If there be in the house of a worshipper of Mazda a mad dog, who has no scent, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

Ahura Mazda answered: ‘They shall attend him to heal him, in the same manner as they would do for one of the faithful.’

36 (100). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If they try to heal him and fail, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

37 (102). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘They shall put a wooden collar around his neck, and they shall tie thereto a muzzle, an asti thick if the wood be hard, two astis thick if it be soft. To that collar they shall tie it; by the two sides of the collar they shall tie it.

38 (102). ‘If they shall not do so, the scentless dog may fall into a hole, or a well, or a precipice, or a river, or a canal, and come to grief: if he come to grief so, they shall be therefore Peshôtanus.

VI.

39 (106). ‘The dog, O Spitama Zarathustra! I, Ahura Mazda, have made self-clothed and self-shod; watchful and wakeful; and sharp-toothed; born to take his food from man and to watch over man’s goods. I, Ahura Mazda, have made the dog strong

of body against the evil-doer, when sound of mind and watchful over your goods.

40 (112). 'And whosoever shall awake at his voice, O Spitama Zarathustra! neither shall the thief nor the wolf carry anything from his house, without his being warned; the wolf shall be smitten and torn to pieces; he is driven away, he melts away like snow¹.'

VII.

41 (115). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which of the two wolves deserves more to be killed, the one that a he-dog begets of a she-wolf, or the one that a he-wolf begets of a she-dog?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Of these two wolves, the one that a he-dog begets of a she-wolf deserves more to be killed than the one that a he-wolf begets of a she-dog.

42 (117). 'For the dogs born therefrom fall on the shepherd's dog, on the house-dog, on the Vohunazga dog, on the trained dog, and destroy the folds; such dogs are more murderous, more mischievous, more destructive to the folds than any other dogs².

43 (121). 'And the wolves born therefrom fall on the shepherd's dog, on the house-dog, on the Vohunazga dog, on the trained dog, and destroy the folds; such wolves are more murderous, more

¹ Doubtful.

² 'Utroque gravis succedere tigrim
Ausa canis, majore tulit de sanguine foetum.
Sed praeceps virtus ipsa venabitur aula:
Ille tibi et pecudum multo cum sanguine crescet.'
Gratius Faliscus, *Cyneg.* 165 seq.

mischievous, more destructive to the folds than any other wolves.

Sprüche 4427.

VIII.

44 (124). 'A dog has the characters of eight sorts of people:—

- 'He has the character of a priest,
- 'He has the character of a warrior,
- 'He has the character of a husbandman,
- 'He has the character of a strolling singer,
- 'He has the character of a thief,
- 'He has the character of a disu,
- 'He has the character of a courtezan,
- 'He has the character of a child.

45 (126). 'He eats the refuse, like a priest¹; he is easily satisfied², like a priest; he is patient, like a priest; he wants only a small piece of bread, like a priest; in these things he is like unto a priest.

'He marches in front, like a warrior; he fights for the beneficent cow, like a warrior³; he goes first out of the house, like a warrior⁴; in these things he is like unto a warrior.

46 (135). 'He is watchful and sleeps lightly, like a husbandman; he goes first out of the house, like a husbandman⁵; he returns last into the house, like a husbandman⁶; in these things he is like unto a husbandman.

'He is fond of singing, like a strolling singer⁷;

¹ A wandering priest (see p. 161, n. 1).

² 'Good treatment makes him joyous' (Comm.)

³ 'He keeps away the wolf and the thief' (Comm.)

⁴ This clause is, as it seems, repeated here by mistake from § 46.

⁵ When taking the cattle out of the stables.

⁶ When bringing the cattle back to the stables.

⁷ The so-called *Looris* لوری of nowadays.

he wounds him who gets too near¹, like a strolling singer; he is ill-trained, like a strolling singer; he is changeful, like a strolling singer; in these things he is like unto a strolling singer.

47 (143). 'He is fond of darkness, like a thief; he prowls about in darkness, like a thief; he is a shameless eater, like a thief; he is therefore an unfaithful keeper, like a thief²; in these things he is like unto a thief.

'He is fond of darkness like a disu³; he prowls about in darkness, like a disu; he is a shameless eater, like a disu; he is therefore an unfaithful keeper, like a disu; in these things he is like unto a disu.

48 (153). 'He is fond of singing, like a courtezan; he wounds him who gets too near, like a courtezan; he roams along the roads, like a courtezan; he is ill-trained, like a courtezan; he is changeful, like a courtezan⁴; in these things he is like unto a courtezan.

'He is fond of sleep, like a child; he is tender like snow⁵, like a child; he is full of tongue, like a child; he digs the earth with his paws⁵, like a child; in these things he is like unto a child.

¹ He insults or robs the passer by, like a Loori.—'The Looris wander in the world, seeking their life, bed-fellows and fellow-travellers of the dogs and the wolves, ever on the roads to rob day and night' (Firdausi).

² 'When one trusts him with something, he eats it up' (Comm.)

³ According to Frâmjî, 'a wild beast.'

⁴ The description of the courtezan follows closely that of the singer: in the East a public songstress is generally a prostitute. Loori means both a singer and a prostitute.

⁵ Doubtful.

IX.

49 (163). 'If those two dogs of mine, the shepherd's dog and the house-dog, pass by any of my houses, let them never be kept away from it.

'For no house could subsist on the earth made by Ahura, but for those two dogs of mine, the shepherd's dog and the house-dog¹.'

X.

50 (166). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When a dog dies, with marrow and seed² dried up, whereto does his ghost go?

51 (167). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It passes to the spring of the waters³, O Spitama Zarathustra! and there out of them two water-dogs are formed: out of every thousand dogs and every thousand she-dogs, a couple is formed, a water-dog and a water she-dog⁴.

52 (170). 'He who kills a water-dog brings about a drought that dries up pastures.

'Until then, O Spitama Zarathustra! sweetness and

¹ 'But for the dog not a single head of cattle would remain in existence' (Saddar 31).

² Marrow is the seat of life, the spine is 'the column and the spring of life' (Yt. X, 71); the sperm comes from it (Bundahis XVI). The same theory prevailed in India, where the sperm is called *maggâ-samudbhava*, 'what is born from marrow'; it was followed by Plato (*Timaeus* 74, 91; cf. *Censorinus, De die natali*, 5), and disproved by Aristotle (*De Part. Anim.* III, 7).

³ To the spring of Ardvî Sûra, the goddess of waters.

⁴ There is therefore in a single water-dog as much life and holiness as in a thousand dogs. This accounts for the following.—The water-dog (*udra upâpa*; Persian *sag-fâbî*) is the otter.

fatness would flow out from that land and from those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass.'

53 (171). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When are sweetness and fatness to come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass?

54, 55 (172). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Sweetness and fatness will never come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass, until the murderer of the water-dog has been smitten to death on the spot, and the holy soul of the dog has been offered up a sacrifice, for three days and three nights, with fire blazing, with Baresma tied up, and with Haoma prepared¹.

56 (174). ['Then sweetness and fatness will come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass².']

FARGARD XIV.

This Fargard is nothing more than an appendix to the last clauses in the preceding Fargard (§ 50 seq.) How the murder of a water-dog (an otter) may be atoned for is described in it at full length. The extravagance of the penalties prescribed may well make it doubtful whether the legislation of the Vendîdâd had ever any substantial existence in practice. These exorbitant prescriptions seem to be intended only to impress on the mind of the faithful the heinousness of the offence to be avoided.

¹ See p. 136, n. 1.

² Cf. Farg. IX, 53-57.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda : 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One ! He who smites one of those water-dogs that are born one from a thousand dogs and a thousand she-dogs¹, so that he gives up the ghost and the soul parts from the body, what is the penalty that he shall pay ?'

2 (4). Ahura Mazda answered : 'He shall pay ten thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ten thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana².

'He shall godly and piously bring unto the fire of Ahura Mazda³ ten thousand loads of hard, well dried, well examined⁴ wood, to redeem his own soul.

3 (6). 'He shall godly and piously bring unto the fire of Ahura Mazda ten thousand loads of soft wood, of Urvâsna, Vohû-gaona, Vohû-kereti, Hadhâ-naêpata⁵, or any sweet-scented plant, to redeem his own soul.

4 (7). 'He shall godly and piously tie ten thousand bundles of Baresma, to redeem his own soul.

¹ See preceding Fargard, § 51.

² He shall pay 50 tanâfûhrs (= 15,000 istîrs = 60,000 dirhems). 'If he can afford it, he will atone in the manner stated in the Avesta ; if he cannot afford it, it will be sufficient to perform a complete Izasnê (sacrifice),' (Comm.)

³ To the altar of the Bahrâm fire.

⁴ 'It is forbidden to take any ill-smelling thing to the fire and to kindle it thereon ; it is forbidden to kindle green wood, and even though the wood were hard and dry, one must examine it three times, lest there may be any hair or any unclean matter upon it' (Gr. Rav.) Although the pious Ardâ Virâf had always taken the utmost care never to put on the fire any wood but such as was seven years old, yet, when he entered Paradise, Atar, the genius of fire, showed him reproachfully a large tank full of the water which that wood had exuded (see Ardâ Virâf X).

⁵ See above, p. 96, n. 1.

‘He shall offer up to the Good Waters ten thousand Zaothra libations with the Haoma and the milk, cleanly prepared and well strained, cleanly prepared and well strained by a pious man, and mixed with the roots of the tree known as Hadhâ-naêpata, to redeem his own soul.

5 (9). ‘He shall kill ten thousand snakes of those that go upon the belly. He shall kill ten thousand Kahrpus, who are snakes with the shape of a dog¹. He shall kill ten thousand tortoises². He shall kill ten thousand land-frogs³; he shall kill ten thousand waterfrogs. He shall kill ten thousand corn-carrying ants⁴;

¹ ‘Mâr bânak snakes: they are dog-like, because they sit on their hindparts’ (Comm.) The cat (gurba=Kahrpu) seems to be the animal intended. In a paraphrase of this passage in a Parsi Ravâet, the cat is numbered amongst the Khrafstras which it is enjoined to kill to redeem a sin (India Office Library, VIII, 13); cf. G. du Chinon, p. 462: ‘Les animaux que les Gaures ont en horreur sont les serpents, les couleuvres, les lezars, et autres de cette espece, les crapaux, les grenouilles, les écrevisses, les rats et souris, et sur tout le chat.’

² Cf. Farg. XIII, 6-7.

³ ‘Those that can go out of water and live on the dry ground’ (Comm.) ‘Pour les grenouilles et crapaux, ils disent que ce sont ceux (eux?) qui sont cause de ce que les hommes meurent, gâtans les eaus où ils habitent continuellement, et que d’autant plus qu’il y en a dans le païs, d’autant plus les eaus causent-elles des maladies et enfin la mort,’ G. du Chinon, p. 465.

⁴ Herodotus already mentions the war waged by the Magi against snakes and ants (I, 140).—‘Un jour que j’étois surpris de la guerre qu’ils font aux fourmis, ils me dirent que ces animaux ne faisaient que voler par des amas des grains plus qu’il n’étoit nécessaire pour leur nourriture,’ G. du Chinon, p. 464. Firdausi protested against the proscription: ‘Do no harm to the corn-carrying ant; a living thing it is, and its life is dear to it.’ The celebrated high-priest of the Parsis, the late Mooka Firooz, entered those lines into his Pand Nâmah, which may betoken better days for the wise little creature.

he shall kill ten thousand ants of the small, venomous mischievous kind ¹.

6 (16). 'He shall kill ten thousand worms of those that live on dirt; he shall kill ten thousand raging flies ².

'He shall fill up ten thousand holes for the unclean ³.

'He shall godly and piously give to godly men ⁴ twice the set of seven implements for the fire ⁵, to redeem his own soul, namely:—

7 (20). 'The two answering implements for fire ⁶; a broom ⁷; a pair of tongs; a pair of round bellows extended at the bottom, contracted at the top; a sharp-edged sharp-pointed ⁸ adze; a sharp-toothed sharp-pointed saw; by means of which the worshippers of Mazda procure wood for the fire of Ahura Mazda.

8 (26). 'He shall godly and piously give to godly men a set of the priestly instruments of which the priests make use, to redeem his own soul, namely: The Astra ⁹; the meat-vessel; the Paitidâna ¹⁰; the

¹ Perhaps: 'of the small, venomous kind, with a mischievous track' (Bund. XIX, 28: 'when the grain-carrier travels over the earth, it produces a hollow track: when the hedgehog travels over it, the track goes away from it and it becomes level:' cf. Farg. XIII, 2, note).

² Corpse-flies; cf. Farg. VII, 2.

³ 'The holes at which the unclean are washed' (Comm.; cf. Farg. IX, 6 seq.)

⁴ To priests.

⁵ For the sacred fire.

⁶ Two receptacles, one for the wood, another for the incense.

⁷ To cleanse the Atash-dân or fire-vessel (Yasna IX, 1).

⁸ Literally, 'sharp-kneed.'

⁹ The Aspahê-astra.

¹⁰ As everything that goes out of man is unclean, his breath defiles all that it touches; priests, therefore, while on duty, and even laymen, while praying or eating, must wear a mouth-veil, the

Khrafstraghna¹; the Sraoshô-karana²; the cup for the Myazda³; the cups for mixing and dividing⁴; the regular mortar⁵; the Haoma cups⁶; and the Baresma.

9 (32). 'He shall godly and piously give to godly men a set of all the war implements of which the warriors make use, to redeem his own soul;

'The first being a javelin, the second a sword, the third a club, the fourth a bow, the fifth a saddle with a quiver and thirty brass-headed arrows, the sixth a sling with arm-string and with thirty sling stones';

'The seventh a cuirass, the eighth a hauberk⁸, the ninth a tunic⁹, the tenth a helmet, the eleventh a girdle, the twelfth a pair of greaves.

10 (41). 'He shall godly and piously give to godly men a set of all the implements of which the

Paitidâna (Parsi Penôm), consisting 'of two pieces of white cotton cloth, hanging loosely from the bridge of the nose to, at least, two inches below the mouth, and tied with two strings at the back of the head' (Haug, *Essays*, 2nd ed. p. 243, n. 1; cf. *Comm.* ad Farg. XVIII, 1, and Anquetil II, 530).

¹ The 'Khrafstræ-killer'; an instrument for killing snakes, &c. It is a stick with a leather thong at its end, something like the Indian fly-flap.

² See General Introduction.

³ Doubtful.

⁴ The cup in which the juice of the hôm and of the urvarâm (the twigs of hadhâ-naêpata which are pounded together with the hôm) is received from the mortar (*Comm.*)

⁵ The mortar with its pestle.

⁶ The cup on which twigs of Haoma are laid before being pounded, the so-called tashtah (Anquetil II, 533); 'some say, the hôm-strainer' [a saucer with nine holes], *Comm.*

⁷ These are six offensive arms: the next six are defensive arms.—Cf. W. Jackson: *Herodotus VII*, 61, or the Arms of the Ancient Persians illustrated from Iranian Sources; New York, 1894.

⁸ 'Going from the helm to the cuirass' (*Comm.*)

⁹ 'Under the cuirass' (*Comm.*)

husbandmen make use, to redeem his own soul, namely: A plough with yoke and . . .¹; a goad for ox; a mortar of stone; a round-headed hand-mill for grinding corn;

11 (48). 'A spade for digging and tilling; one measure of silver and one measure of gold.'

O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!
How much silver?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'The price of a stallion.'

O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!
How much gold?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'The price of a he-camel.'

12 (54). 'He shall godly and piously procure a rill of running water² for godly husbandmen, to redeem his own soul.'

O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!
How large is the rill?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'The depth of a dog, and the breadth of a dog³.'

13 (57). 'He shall godly and piously give a piece of arable land to godly men, to redeem his own soul.'

O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!
How large is the piece of land?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'As much as can be watered with such a rill divided into two canals⁴.'

14 (60). 'He shall godly and piously procure for godly men a stable for oxen, with nine hâthras and nine nematas⁵, to redeem his own soul.'

¹ Yuyô-semi ayazhâna pairi-darezâna.

² The most precious of all gifts in such a dry place as Iran. Water is obtained either through canals of derivation or through underground canals (kârêz, kanât).

³ Which is estimated 'a foot deep, a foot broad' (Comm.)

⁴ Doubtful.

⁵ Meaning unknown.

O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One !
How large is the stable ?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' It shall have twelve alleys¹ in the largest part of the house, nine alleys in the middle part, six alleys in the smallest part.

' He shall godly and piously give to godly men goodly beds with sheets and cushions, to redeem his own soul.

15 (64). ' He shall godly and piously give in marriage to a godly man a virgin maid, whom no man has known², to redeem his own soul.'

O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One !
What sort of maid ?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' A sister or a daughter of his, at the age of puberty, with ear-rings in her ears, and past her fifteenth year.

16 (67). ' He shall godly and piously give to holy men twice seven head of small cattle, to redeem his own soul.

' He shall bring up twice seven whelps.

' He shall throw twice seven bridges over canals.

17 (70). ' He shall put into repair twice nine stables that are out of repair.

' He shall cleanse twice nine dogs from stipti, anâiriti, and vyangura³, and all the diseases that are produced on the body of a dog.

' He shall treat twice nine godly men to their fill of meat, bread, strong drink, and wine.

18 (73). ' This is the penalty, this is the atonement which saves the faithful man who submits to it, not him who does not submit to it. Such a

¹ Twelve ranks of stalls (?).

² Match-making is a good work (Farg. IV, 44).

³ Meaning unknown.

one shall surely be an inhabitant in the mansion of the Drug¹.

FARGARD XV.

I (1-8). On five sins the commission of which makes the sinner a Peshôtanu.

II a (9-12). On unlawful unions and attempts to procure mis-carriage.

II b (13-19). On the obligations of the illegitimate father towards the mother and the child.

III (20-45). On the treatment of a bitch big with young.

IV (46-51). On the breeding of dogs.

I.

1. How many are the sins that men commit and that, being committed and not confessed, nor atoned for, make their committer a Peshôtanu²?

2 (4). Ahura Mazda answered: 'There are five such sins, O holy Zarathustra! It is the first of these sins that men commit when a man teaches one of the faithful another faith, another law³, a lower doctrine, and he leads him astray with a full knowledge and conscience of the sin: the man who has done the deed becomes a Peshôtanu.

3 (9). 'It is the second of these sins when a man gives bones too hard or food too hot to a shepherd's dog or to a house-dog;

4 (11). 'If the bones stick in the dog's teeth or stop in his throat; or if the food too hot burn his

¹ Cf. Farg. VIII, 107.

² That is to say: he shall receive two hundred strokes with the Aspahê-astra or the Sraoshê-karana; or pay three hundred istîrs.

³ The Commentary has, 'that is, a creed that is not ours.'

mouth or his tongue, he may come to grief thereby; if he come to grief thereby, the man who has done the deed becomes a Peshôtanu¹.

5 (16). 'It is the third of these sins when a man smites a bitch big with young or affrights her by running after her, or shouting or clapping with the hands;

6 (18). 'If the bitch fall into a hole, or a well, or a precipice, or a river, or a canal, she may come to grief thereby; if she come to grief thereby, the man who has done the deed becomes a Peshôtanu².

7 (22). 'It is the fourth of these sins when a man has intercourse with a woman who has the whites or sees the blood, the man that has done the deed becomes a Peshôtanu³.

8 (25). 'It is the fifth of these sins when a man has intercourse with a woman quick with child⁴, whether the milk has already come to her breasts or has not yet come: she may come to grief thereby; if she come to grief thereby⁵, the man who has done the deed becomes a Peshôtanu.

¹ He who gives too hot food to a dog so as to burn his throat is margarzân (guilty of death); he who gives bones to a dog so as to tear his throat is margarzân (Gr. Rav. 639).

² If a bitch is big with young and a man shouts or throws stones at her, so that the whelps come to mischief and die, he is margarzân (Gr. Rav. 639).

³ See Farg. XVI, 14 seq.

⁴ When she has been pregnant for four months and ten days, as it is then that the child is formed and a soul is added to its body (Anquetil II, 563).

⁵ Or better, 'if the child die.' 'If a man come to his wife [during her pregnancy] so that she is injured and bring forth a still-born child, he is margarzân' (Old Rav. 115 b).

II a.

9 (30). 'If a man come near unto a damsel, either dependent on the chief of the family or not dependent, either delivered [unto a husband] or not delivered¹, and she conceives by him, let her not, being ashamed of the people, produce in herself the menses, against the course of nature, by means of water and plants².

10 (34). 'And if the damsel, being ashamed of the people, shall produce in herself the menses against the course of nature, by means of water and plants, it is a fresh sin as heavy [as the first]³.

11 (36). 'If a man come near unto a damsel, either dependent on the chief of the family or not dependent, either delivered [unto a husband] or not delivered, and she conceives by him, let her not, being ashamed of the people, destroy the fruit in her womb.

12 (38). 'And if the damsel, being ashamed of the people, shall destroy the fruit in her womb, the sin is on both the father and herself, the murder

¹ 'Whether she has a husband in the house of her own parents or has none; whether she has entered from the house of her own parents into the house of a husband [depending on another chief of family] or has not' (Comm.)

² By means of drugs.

³ 'It is a tanâfûhr sin for her: it is sin on sin' (the first sin being to have allowed herself to be seduced), Comm. 'If there has been no sin in her (if she has been forced), and if a man, knowing her shame, wants to take it off her, he shall call together her father, mother, sisters, brothers, husband, the servants, the menials, and the master and the mistress of the house, and he shall say, "This woman is with child by me, and I rejoice in it;" and they shall answer, "We know it, and we are glad that her shame is taken off her;" and he shall support her as a husband does' (Comm.)

is on both the father and herself ; both the father and herself shall pay the penalty for wilful murder ¹.

II b.

13 (40). 'If a man come near unto a damsel, either dependent on the chief of the family or not dependent, either delivered [unto a husband] or not delivered, and she conceives by him, and she says, "I have conceived by thee;" and he replies, "Go then to the old woman² and apply to her for one of her drugs, that she may procure thee miscarriage;"

14 (43). 'And the damsel goes to the old woman and applies to her for one of her drugs, that she may procure her miscarriage; and the old woman brings her some Banga, or Shaêta, a drug that kills in the womb or one that expels out of the womb³, or some other of the drugs that produce miscarriage and [the man says], "Cause thy fruit to perish!" and she causes her fruit to perish; the sin is on the head of all three, the man, the damsel, and the old woman.

15 (49). 'If a man come near unto a damsel, either dependent on the chief of the family or not dependent, either delivered [unto a husband] or not delivered, and she conceives by him, so long shall he support her, until the child be born.

16 (51). 'If he shall not support her, so that the child comes to grief⁴, for want of proper support, he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.'

¹ For baodhê-varsta; cf. VII, 38.

² The nurse (Frâmjî) or the midwife.

³ Banga is bang or mang, a narcotic made from hempseed, shaêta is another sort of narcotic.

⁴ And dies.

17 (54). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If she be near her time, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

18 (56). Ahura Mazda answered: 'If a man come near unto a damsel, either dependent on the chief of the family or not dependent, either delivered [unto a husband] or not delivered, and she conceives by him, so long shall he support her, until the child be born¹.

19 (58). 'If he shall not support her² . . .

'It lies with the faithful to look in the same way after every pregnant female, either two-footed or four-footed, two-footed woman or four-footed bitch.'

III.

20 (61). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If (a bitch³) be near her time, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

21 (63). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He whose house stands nearest, the care of supporting her is his⁴; so long shall he support her, until the whelps be born.

22 (65). 'If he shall not support her, so that the

¹ § 18=§ 15.

² The sentence is left unfinished: Frâmjî fills it with the words in § 16, 'so that the child,' &c. It seems as if §§ 17, 18 were no part of the original text, and as if § 17 were a mere repetition of § 20, which being wrongly interpreted as referring to a woman would have brought about the repetition of § 15 as an answer. See § 20.

³ The subject is wanting in the text: it is supplied from the Commentary and from the sense.

⁴ 'The bitch is lying on the high road: the man whose house has its door nearest shall take care of her. If she dies, he shall carry her off [to dispose of the body according to the law]. One must support her for at least three nights: if one cannot support her any longer, one intrusts her to a richer man' (Comm. and Frâmjî).

whelps come to grief, for want of proper support, he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.'

23 (68). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in a stable for camels, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

24 (70). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who built the stable for camels or whoso holds it¹, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps be born.

25 (76). 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to grief, for want of proper support, he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.'

26 (77). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in a stable for horses, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

27 (78). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who built the stable for horses or whoso holds it, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps be born.

28 (81). 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to grief, for want of proper support, he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.'

29 (84). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in a stable for oxen, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

30 (86). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who built the stable for oxen or whoso holds it, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps be born.

¹ 'In pledge or for rent' (Frámjft).

31 (89). 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to grief, for want of proper support, he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.'

32 (92). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in a sheep-fold, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

33 (94). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who built the sheep-fold or whoso holds it, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps be born.'

34 (97). 'If he shall not support her so that the whelps come to grief, for want of proper support, he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.'

35 (100). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying on the earth-wall¹, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

36 (102). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who erected the wall or whoso holds it, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps be born.'

37 (105). 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to grief, for want of proper support, he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.'

38 (108). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in the moat², which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

39 (110). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who dug the moat or whoso holds it, the care of supporting

¹ The wall around the house.

² The moat before the earth-wall.

her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps be born.

40 (112). 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to grief, for want of proper support, he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.'

41 (113). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in the middle of a pasture-field, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

42 (115). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who sowed the pasture-field or whoso holds it, the care of supporting her is his; [so long shall he support her, until the whelps be born. If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to grief, for want of proper support, he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.]

43 (117). 'He shall take her to rest upon a litter of *nemôvanta* or of any foliage fit for a litter; so long shall he support her, until the young dogs are capable of self-defence and self-subsistence.'

44 (122). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When are the dogs capable of self-defence and self-subsistence?

45 (123). Ahura Mazda answered: 'When they are able to run about in a circuit of twice seven houses around¹. Then they may be let loose, whether it be winter or summer.

'Young dogs ought to be supported for six months², children for seven years³.

¹ Probably the distance of one *yugyêsti*; cf. Farg. XIII, 17.

² *Catulos sex mensibus primis dum corroborentur emitti non oportet . . .* (Columella, *De re agraria*, VII, 12).

³ The age when they are invested with the *Kosti* and *Sadere*, and become members of the Zoroastrian community.

‘Ātar¹, the son of Ahura Mazda, watches as well (over a pregnant bitch) as he does over a woman.’

IV.

46 (127). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If worshippers of Mazda want to have a bitch so covered that the offspring shall be one of a strong nature, what shall they do?

47 (129). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘They shall dig a hole in the earth, in the middle of the fold, half a foot deep if the earth be hard, half the height of a man if the earth be soft

48 (131). ‘They shall first tie up [the bitch] there, far from children and from the Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda², and they shall watch by her until a dog comes there from anywhere; then another again, and then a third again³, each being kept apart from the former, lest they should assail one another.

49 (134)⁴. ‘The bitch being thus covered by

¹ ‘When a woman becomes pregnant in a house, it is necessary to make an endeavour so that there may be a continual fire in that house, and to maintain a good watch over it. And, when the child becomes separate from the mother, it is necessary to burn a lamp for three nights and days—if they burn a fire it would be better—so that the demons and fiends may not be able to do any damage and harm; because, when a child is born, it is exceedingly delicate for those three days’ (Saddar XVI; West, Pahlavi Texts, III, 277).

² ‘From children, lest she shall bite them; from the fire, lest it shall hurt her’ (Comm.)

³ Cf. Justinus III, 4: *maturiorem futuram conceptionem rati, si eam singulae per plures viros experirentur.*

⁴ The text of this and the following clause is corrupt, and the meaning is doubtful.

three dogs, grows big with young, and the milk comes to her teats and she brings forth a young one that is born from several dogs.'

50 (135). If a man smite a bitch who has been covered by three dogs, and who has already milk, and who shall bring forth a young one born from several dogs, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

51 (137). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seven hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seven hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

FARGARD XVI.

I (1-7). On the uncleanness of women during their sickness.

II (8-12). What is to be done if that state lasts too long.

III (13-18). Sundry laws relating to the same matter. See *Introd. V*, 12.

I.

1. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If there be in the house of a worshipper of Mazda a woman who has the whites or sees blood, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

2 (3). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall clear the way¹ of the wood there, both plants and trees²; they shall strew dry dust on the ground³; and they shall isolate a half, or a third, or a fourth, or a fifth

¹ The way to the Dashtânistân.

² Lest the wood shall be touched and defiled by the woman on her way to the Dashtânistân.

³ Lest the earth shall be touched and defiled by her. Cf. *Farg. IX*, 11.

part of the house¹, lest her look should fall upon the fire.'

3 (9). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from the fire? How far from the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of Baresma? How far from the faithful?

4 (10). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fifteen paces from the fire, fifteen paces from the water, fifteen paces from the consecrated bundles of Baresma, three paces from the faithful.'

5 (11). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from her shall he stay, who brings food to a woman who has the whites or sees the blood?

6 (12). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three paces² from her shall he stay, who brings food to a woman who has the whites or sees the blood.'

In what kind of vessels shall he bring her bread? In what kind of vessels shall he bring her barley-drink?

'In vessels of brass, or of lead, or of any common metal³.'

7 (15). How much bread shall he bring to her? How much barley-drink shall he bring?

'Two danares⁴ of dry bread, and one danare of liquor, lest she should get too weak⁵.'

¹ Nowadays a room on the ground-floor is reserved for that use.

² The food is held out to her from a distance in a metal spoon.

³ Earthen vessels, when defiled, cannot be made clean; but metal vessels can (see Farg. VII, 73 seq.)

⁴ A danare is, according to Anquetil, as much as four tolas; a tola is from 105 to 175 grains.

⁵ 'Sôshyô's says: For three nights cooked meat is not allowed to her, lest the issue shall grow stronger.'

‘If a child has just touched her, they shall first wash his hands and then his body¹.

II.

8 (21). ‘If she still see blood after three nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until four nights have passed.

‘If she still see blood after four nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until five nights have passed.

9. ‘If she still see blood after five nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until six nights have passed.

‘If she still see blood after six nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until seven nights have passed.

10. ‘If she still see blood after seven nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until eight nights have passed.

‘If she still see blood after eight nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until nine nights have passed.

11. ‘If she still see blood after nine nights have passed, this is a work of the Daêvas which they have performed for the worship and glorification of the Daêvas².

¹ A child whom she suckles. The meaning is, Even a child, if he has touched her, must undergo the rites of cleansing. The general rule is given in the Commentary: ‘Whoever has touched a Dashtân woman must wash his body and his clothes with gômêz and water.’ The ceremony in question is the simple Ghosel, not the Barashnûm, since the woman herself performs the former only (see below, § 11 seq.)

² Abnormal issues are a creation of Ahriman’s (Farg. I, 18).

‘The worshippers of Mazda shall clear the way¹ of the wood there, both plants and trees²;

12 (26). ‘They shall dig three holes in the earth, and they shall wash the woman with gômêz by two of those holes and with water by the third.

‘They shall kill Khrafstras, to wit: two hundred corn-carrying ants³, if it be summer; two hundred of any other sort of the Khrafstras made by Angra Mainyu, if it be winter.’

III.

13 (30). If a worshipper of Mazda shall suppress the issue of a woman who has the whites or sees blood, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: ‘He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-*karana*.’

14 (33). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall again and again lasciviously touch the body of a woman who has the whites or sees blood, so that the whites turn to the blood or the blood turns to the whites, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

15 (36). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘For the first time he comes near unto her, for the first time he lies by her, thirty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, thirty stripes with the Sraoshô-*karana*.

‘For the second time he comes near unto her, for the second time he lies by her, fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-*karana*.

¹ The way to the Barashnûm-gâh, where the cleansing takes place.

² See Farg. IX, 3 seq.

³ Cf. Farg. XIV, 5.

‘For the third time he comes near unto her, for the third time he lies by her, seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.’

16. For the fourth time he comes near unto her, for the fourth time he lies by her, if he shall press the body under her clothes, if he shall go in between the unclean thighs, but without sexual intercourse, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: ‘Ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.’

17 (39). ‘Whosoever shall lie in sexual intercourse with a woman who has the whites or sees blood, does no better deed than if he should burn the corpse of his own son, born of his own body and dead of naêza¹, and drop its fat into the fire².’

18 (41). ‘All wicked, embodiments of the Drug, are scornors of the judge: all scornors of the judge are rebels against the Sovereign: all rebels against the Sovereign are ungodly men; and all ungodly men are worthy of death³.’

¹ A disease (Farg. VII, 58). There is another word nâeza, ‘a spear,’ so that one may translate also ‘killed by the spear’ (Asp.)

² ‘Not that the two deeds are equal, but neither is good’ (Comm.) The sin in question is a simple tanâfûhr (Farg. XV, 7), and therefore can be atoned for by punishment and repentance, whereas the burning of a corpse is a crime for which there is no atonement (Farg. I, 17; VIII, 73 seq.)

³ Literally, ‘is a Peshôtanu;’ ‘he is a tanâfûhr sinner, that is to say, margarzân (worthy of death),’ Comm.

FARGARD XVII.

Hair and Nails.

Anything that has been separated from the body of man is considered dead matter (*nasu*), and is accordingly unclean. As soon as hair and nails are cut off, the demon takes hold of them and has to be driven away from them by spells, in the same way as he is from the bodies of the dead¹.

I.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the most deadly deed whereby a man offers up a sacrifice to the *Daêvas*²?'

2 (3). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is when a man here below, combing his hair or shaving it off, or paring off his nails, drops them³ in a hole or in a crack⁴.

3 (6). 'Then by this transgression of the rites, *Daêvas* are produced in the earth; by this transgression of the rites, those *Khrafstras* are produced in the earth which men call lice, and which eat up the corn in the corn-field and the clothes in the wardrobe.

4 (10). 'Therefore, thou, O Zarathustra! whenever here below thou shalt comb thy hair or shave

¹ On similar views and customs in different countries, see *Notes and Queries*, 3rd series, X, 146; Aulus Gellius, X, 15, 15; Mélusine, 1878, pp. 79, 549, 583; L. de Rosny, *Histoire des dynasties divines*, 308.

² Any offence to religion is considered an offering to the *Daêvas*, whose strength is thereby increased. Cf. Yt. V, 95.

³ Without performing the requisite ceremonies.

⁴ Doubtful.

it off, or pare off thy nails, thou shalt take them away ten paces from the faithful, twenty paces from the fire, thirty paces from the water, fifty paces from the consecrated bundles of Baresma.

5 (13). 'Then thou shalt dig a hole, a disti¹ deep if the earth be hard, a vîtasti deep if it be soft; thou shalt take the hair down there and thou shalt say aloud these victorious words: "For him, as a reward, Mazda made the plants grow up²."

6 (17). 'Thereupon thou shalt draw three furrows with a knife of metal around the hole, or six furrows or nine, and thou shall chant the Ahuna-Vairya three times, or six, or nine.

II.

7 (19). 'For the nails, thou shalt dig a hole, out of the house, as deep as the top joint of the little finger; thou shalt take the nails down there and thou shalt say aloud these victorious words: "The things that the pure proclaim through Asha and Vohu-manô³."

8 (24). 'Then thou shalt draw three furrows with

¹ A disti=ten fingers. A vîtasti=twelve fingers.

² See above, XI, 6; the choice of this line was determined by the presence of the word plants in it: man was considered a microcosm, and every element in him had its counterpart in nature; the skin is like the sky, the flesh is like the earth, the bones are like the mountains, the veins are like the rivers, the blood in the body is like the water in the sea, the hair is like the plants, the more hairy parts are like the forests (Gr. Bund.) Cf. Rig-veda X, 16, 3; Ilias VII, 99; Empedocles, fr. 378; Epicharmus ap. Plut. Consol. ad Apoll. 15; Edda, Grímnismál, 40.

³ Yasna XXXIII, 7; understood (with a play upon the word sruyê, 'is heard,' and 'nails of both hands') as: 'O Asha, with Vohu-manô, the nails of the pure [are for you].'

a knife of metal around the hole, or six furrows or nine, and thou shalt chant the Ahuna-Vairya three times, or six, or nine.

9 (26). 'And then: "O Ashô-zusta bird¹! these nails I announce and consecrate unto thee. May they be for thee so many spears and knives, so many bows and falcon-winged arrows, and so many sling-stones against the Mâzainya Daêvas²!"

10 (29). 'If those nails have not been consecrated (to the bird), they shall be in the hands of the Mâzainya Daêvas so many spears and knives, so many bows and falcon-winged arrows, and so many sling-stones (against the Mâzainya Daêvas)³.

11 (30). 'All wicked, embodiments of the Drug, are scorers of the judge: all scorers of the judge are rebels against the Sovereign: all rebels against the Sovereign are ungodly men; and all ungodly men are worthy of death⁴.'

¹ 'The owl,' according to modern tradition. The word literally means 'friend of holiness.' 'For the bird Ashô-zusta they recite the Avesta formula; if they recite it, the fiends tremble and do not take up the nails; but if the nails have had no spell uttered over them, the fiends and wizards use them as arrows against the bird Ashô-zusta and kill him. Therefore, when the nails have had a spell uttered over them, the bird takes and eats them up, that the fiends may not do any harm by their means' (Bundahis XIX). The bird Ashô-zusta is also called Bird of Bahman (Saddar 14), both names being taken from the first words of the line quoted above.

² See above, p. 140, n. 5; p. 141, n. 1. The nails are cut in two and the fragments are put in the hole with the point directed towards the north, that is to say, against the breasts of the Dêvs (see above, p. 76, n. 1). See Anquetil, *Zend-Avesta* II, 117; India Office Library, VIII, 80.

³ Repeated by mistake from § 10.

⁴ See preceding Fargard, § 18.

FARGARD XVIII.

I (1-13). On the unworthy priest and enticers to heresy.

II (14-29). The holiness of the cock, the bird of Sraosha, who awakes the world for prayer and for the protection of Atar.

III (30-59). On the four sins that make the Drug pregnant with a brood of fiends.

IV (60-65). On the evil caused by the *Gahi* (the prostitute).

V (66-76). How intercourse with a Dashtân woman is to be atoned for.

I.

1. 'There is many a one, O holy Zarathustra!' said Ahura Mazda, 'who wears a wrong Paitidâna¹, and who has not girded his loins with the Religion²; when such a man says, "I am an Âthravan," he lies; do not call him an Âthravan, O holy Zarathustra!' thus said Ahura Mazda.

2 (5). 'He holds a wrong Khrafstraghna³ in his hand and he has not girded his loins with the Religion; when he says, "I am an Âthravan," he lies; do not call him an Âthravan, O holy Zarathustra!' thus said Ahura Mazda.

3 (7). 'He holds a wrong twig⁴ in his hand and he has not girded his loins with the Religion; when he says, "I am an Âthravan," he lies; do not call him an Âthravan, O holy Zarathustra!' thus said Ahura Mazda.

¹ See above, p. 172, n. 10.

² The word translated girded is the word used of the *Kôstî*, the sacred girdle which the Parsi must never part with (see § 54); the full meaning, therefore, is, 'girded with the law as with a *Kôstî*' (cf. *Yasna* IX, 26 [81]), that is to say, 'never forsaking the law,' or, as the Commentary expresses it, 'one whose thought is all on the law' (cf. § 5).

³ See above, p. 173, n. 1.

⁴ The bundles of Baresma or the *urvarâm* (see p. 22, n. 3; p. 173, n. 4). -

4 (9). 'He wields a wrong *Astra mairya*¹ and he has not girded his loins with the Religion; when he says, "I am an *Âthravan*," he lies; do not call him an *Âthravan*, O holy Zarathustra!' thus said Ahura Mazda.

5 (11). 'He who sleeps on throughout the night, neither performing the *Yasna* nor chanting the hymns, worshipping neither by word nor by deed, neither learning nor teaching, with a longing for (everlasting) life, he lies when he says, "I am an *Âthravan*," do not call him an *Âthravan*, O holy Zarathustra!' thus said Ahura Mazda.

6 (14). 'Him thou shalt call an *Âthravan*, O holy Zarathustra! who throughout the night sits up and demands of the holy Wisdom², which makes man free from anxiety, and wide of heart, and easy of conscience at the head of the *Kinvaŋ* bridge³, and which makes him reach that world, that holy world, that excellent world of Paradise.

7 (18). '(Therefore) demand of me, thou upright one! of me, who am the Maker, the most beneficent of all beings, the best knowing, the most pleased in answering what is asked of me; demand of me, that thou mayst be the better, that thou mayst be the happier.'

8 (21). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is it that brings in the unseen power of Death?'

¹ The *astra* (*Aspahê-astra*) with which the priest, as a *Sraoshâ-varez*, chastises the guilty.

² That is to say, studies the law and learns from those who know it.

³ See *Farg.* XIX, 30. 'It gives him a stout heart, when standing before the *Kinvaŋ* bridge' (*Comm.*)

9 (22). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the man that teaches a wrong Religion¹; it is the man who continues for three springs² without wearing the sacred girdle³, without chanting the Gâthas, without worshipping the Good Waters.

10 (25). 'And he who should set that man at liberty, when bound in prison⁴, does no better deed than if he should cut a man's head off his neck⁵.

¹ 'The deceiver Ashemaogha' (Comm.); the heretic. Cf. Farg. XV, 2.

² 'For three years' (Comm.)

³ The Kôstî, which must be worn by every Parsi, man or woman, from their fifteenth year of age (see below, § 54 seq.); it is the badge of the faithful, the girdle by which he is united both with Ormazd and with his fellow-believers. He who does not wear it must be refused water and bread by the members of the community; he who wears it becomes a participator in the merit of all the good deeds performed all over the Zarathustrian world (Saddar 10 and 46). The Kôstî consists 'of seventy-two interwoven filaments, and should three times circumvent the waist. . . . Each of the threads is equal in value to one of the seventy-two Hâhs of the Izashnê; each of the twelve threads in the six lesser cords is equal in value to the dawâzdih hamâist . . .; each of the lesser cords is equal in value to one of the six Gahanbârs; each of the three circumventions of the loins is equal in value to humat, good thought, hukhat, good speech, huaresta, good work; the binding of each of the four knots upon it confers pleasure on each of the four elements, fire, air, water, and the earth' (Edal Daru, apud Wilson, *The Parsi Religion Unfolded*, p. 163).

Another piece of clothing which every Parsi is enjoined to wear is the Sadara, or sacred shirt, a muslin shirt with short sleeves, that does not reach lower than the hips, with a small pocket at the opening in front of the shirt, the so-called giribân or kissai karfa, 'the pocket for good deeds.' The faithful man must, while putting on his Sadara, look at the giribân and ask himself whether it is full of good deeds.

⁴ See *Intro.* III, 10. Cf. § 12.

⁵ Doubtful. The Commentary seems to understand the sentence as follows: 'He who should free him from hell would thus per-

11 (27). 'For the blessing uttered by a wicked, ungodly Ashemaogha does not go past the mouth (of the blesser); the blessing of two Ashemaoghas¹ does not go past the tongue; the blessing of three¹ is nothing; the blessing of four¹ turns to self-cursing.

12 (29). 'Whosoever should give to a wicked, ungodly Ashemaogha either some Haoma prepared, or some Myazda consecrated with blessings, does no better deed than if he should lead a thousand horse against the boroughs of the worshippers of Mazda, and should slaughter the men thereof, and drive off the cattle as plunder.

13 (32). 'Demand of me, thou upright one! of me, who am the Maker, the most beneficent of all beings, the best knowing, the most pleased in answering what is asked of me; demand of me, that thou mayst be the better, that thou mayst be the happier.'

II.

14 (33). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Who is the Sraoshâ-varez² of Sraosha? the holy, strong Sraosha, who is Obedience incarnate, a Sovereign with an astounding weapon³.'

form no less a feat than if he should cut off the head of a man and then make him alive again.'

¹ Perhaps better: 'The second . . . , the third . . . , the fourth blessing of an Ashemaogha.'

² 'Who is he who sets the world in motion?' (Comm.) Cf. p. 57, n. 3.

³ Sraosha, Srôsh, the Genius of Active Piety. He first tied the Baresma, sacrificed to Ahura, and sang the Gâthas. Thrice in each day and each night he descends upon the earth to smite Angra Mainyu and his crew of demons. With his club uplifted he

15 (34). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the bird named Parôdars¹, which ill-speaking people call Kahrkatâs², O holy Zarathustra! the bird that lifts up his voice against the mighty Ushah³:

16 (37). "Arise, O men! recite the Ashem yad vahistem that smites down the Daêvas⁴. Lo! here is Bûshyâsta, the long-handed⁵, coming upon you, who lulls to sleep again the whole living world, as soon as it has awoken: 'Sleep!' [she says,] 'O poor man! the time⁶ is not yet come.'"

17 (41). "On the three excellent things be never intent, namely, good thoughts, good words, and good deeds; on the three abominable things be ever

protects the world from the demons of the night, and the dead from the terrors of death and from the assaults of Angra Mainyu and Astô-vidôtu. It is through a sacrifice performed by Ormazd, as a Zôîf, and Srôsh, as a Râspî, that at the end of time Ahriman will be for ever vanquished and brought to nought (Yasna LVII; Yt. XI, &c.)

¹ 'He who foreshows the coming dawn; the cock.'

² 'When he is not called so, he is powerful' (Comm.) Cf. Farg. XIII, 2, 6.

³ Ushah, the second half of the night, from midnight to the dawn.

⁴ The cock is 'the drum of the world.' As crowing in the dawn that dazzles away the fiends, he crows away the demons: 'The cock was created to fight against the fiends and wizards; . . . he is with the dog an ally of Srôsh against demons' (Bundahis XIX). 'No demon can enter a house in which there is a cock; and, above all, should this bird come to the residence of a demon, and move his tongue to chaunt the praises of the glorious and exalted Creator, that instant the evil spirit takes to flight' (Mirkhond, History of the Early Kings of Persia, translated by Shea, p. 57; cf. Saddar 32, and J. Ovington, A Voyage to Suratt, 1696, p. 371).

⁵ The demon of sleep, laziness, procrastination. She lulls back to sleep the world as soon as awaked, and makes the faithful forget in slumber the hour of prayer.

⁶ 'To perform thy religious duties' (Comm.)

intent, namely, bad thoughts, bad words, and bad deeds."

18 (43). 'On the first part of the night, Atar, the son of Ahura Mazda, calls the master of the house for help, saying :

19 (43). "'Up! arise, thou master of the house! put on thy girdle on thy clothes, wash thy hands, take wood, bring it unto me, and let me burn bright with the clean wood, carried by thy well-washed hands¹. Here comes Âzi², made by the Daêvas, who consumes me and wants to put me out of the world."

20 (46). 'On the second part of the night, Atar, the son of Ahura Mazda, calls the husbandman for help, saying :

21 (46). "'Up! arise, thou husbandman! Put on thy girdle on thy clothes, wash thy hands, take wood, bring it unto me, and let me burn bright with the clean wood, carried by thy well-washed hands. Here comes Âzi, made by the Daêvas, who consumes me and wants to put me out of the world."

22 (48). 'On the third part of the night, Atar, the son of Ahura Mazda, calls the holy Sraosha for help, saying: "Come thou, holy, well-formed Sraosha, [then he brings unto me some clean wood with his well-washed hands³.] Here comes Âzi, made by the Daêvas, who consumes me and wants to put me out of the world."

¹ The Parsi, as soon as he has risen, must put on the Kôstî, wash his hands, and put wood on the fire.

² Âzi, the demon of avidity; he extinguishes the fire, while he devours the wood.

³ The text seems to be corrupt: it must probably be emended into 'bring into me . . .'

23 (51). 'And then the holy Sraosha wakes up the bird named Parôdars, which ill-speaking people call Kahrkatâs, and the bird lifts up his voice against the mighty Ushah :

24 (52). "' Arise, O men ! recite the Ashem yad vahistem and the Nâismi daêvô¹. Lo ! here is Bûshyâsta, the long-handed, coming upon you, who lulls to sleep again the whole living world as soon as it has awoke : 'Sleep !' [she says,] 'O poor man ! the time is not yet come.'"

25 (52). "' On the three excellent things be never intent, namely, good thoughts, good words, and good deeds ; on the three abominable things be ever intent, namely, bad thoughts, bad words, and bad deeds."

26 (53). 'And then bed-fellows address one another : " Rise up, here is the cock calling me up." Whichever of the two first gets up shall first enter Paradise : whichever of the two shall first, with well-washed hands, bring clean wood unto Atar, the son of Ahura Mazda, Atar, well pleased with him and not angry, and fed as it required, will thus bless him :

27 (58). "' May herds of oxen and sons accrue to thee : may thy mind be master of its vow, may thy soul be master of its vow, and mayst thou live on in the joy of thy soul all the nights of thy life."

' This is the blessing which Atar speaks unto him who brings him dry wood, well examined by the light of the day, well cleansed with godly intent.

¹ The prayer : ' Righteousness is the best of all good . . . ' (the Ashem vohû), and the profession of faith : ' I scorn the Daêvas . . . ' (Yasna XII, 1).

28 (64). 'And whosoever will kindly and piously present one of the faithful with a pair of these my Parôdars birds, a male and a female, O Spitama Zarathustra ! it is as though he had given¹ a house with a hundred columns, a thousand beams, ten thousand large windows, ten thousand small windows.

29 (67). 'And whosoever shall give meat to one of the faithful, as much of it as the body of this Parôdars bird of mine, I, Ahura Mazda, need not interrogate him twice ; he shall directly go to Paradise.'

III.

30 (70). The holy Sraosha, letting his club down upon her, asked the Drug: 'O thou wretched, worthless Drug! Thou then, alone in the material world, dost bear offspring without any male coming unto thee?'

31 (74). The Drug demon answered: 'O holy, well-formed Sraosha! It is not so, nor do I, alone in the material world, bear offspring without any male coming unto me.

32 (77). 'For there are four males of mine ; and they make me conceive progeny as other males make their females conceive by their seed².'

33 (78). The holy Sraosha, letting his club down upon her, asked the Drug: 'O thou wretched, worthless Drug! Who is the first of those males of thine?'

34 (79). The Drug demon answered: 'O holy,

¹ 'In the day of recompense' (Comm.); he shall be rewarded as though he had given a house, &c. . . . he shall receive such a house in Paradise.

² Sin makes the Drug mother of a spontaneous progeny, as the sinner is 'the brood of the Drug' (Yasna LXI, 10).

well-formed Sraosha ! He is the first of my males who, being entreated by one of the faithful, does not give him anything, be it ever so little, of the riches he has treasured up ¹.

35 (82). 'That man makes me conceive progeny as other males make their females conceive by their seed.'

36 (83). The holy Sraosha, letting his club down upon her, asked the Drug: 'O thou wretched, worthless Drug ! What is the thing that can undo that ?'

37 (84). The Drug demon answered: 'O holy, well-formed Sraosha ! This is the thing that undoes it, namely, when a man unasked, kindly and piously, gives to one of the faithful something, be it ever so little, of the riches he has treasured up.

38 (87). 'He does thereby as thoroughly destroy the fruit of my womb as a four-footed wolf does, who tears the child out of a mother's womb.'

39 (88). The holy Sraosha, letting down his club upon her, asked the Drug: 'O thou wretched, worthless Drug ! Who is the second of those males of thine ?'

40 (89). The Drug demon answered: 'O holy, well-formed Sraosha ! He is the second of my males who, making water, lets it fall along the upper fore-part of his foot.

41 (92). 'That man makes me conceive progeny as other males make their females conceive by their seed.'

42 (93). The holy Sraosha, letting his club down upon her, asked the Drug: 'O thou wretched, worthless Drug ! What is the thing that can undo that ?'

¹ Cf. Farg. III, 34.

43 (94). The Drug demon answered: 'O holy, well-formed Sraosha! This is the thing that undoes it, namely, when the man rising up¹ and stepping three steps further off, shall say three Ahuna-Vairya², two humatanām³, three hukhshathrōtemām⁴, and then chant the Ahuna-Vairya⁵ and offer up one Yêñhê hâtām⁶.

44 (98). 'He does thereby as thoroughly destroy the fruit of my womb as a four-footed wolf does, who tears the child out of a mother's womb.'

45 (99). The holy Sraosha, letting his club down upon her, asked the Drug: 'O thou wretched, worthless Drug! Who is the third of those males of thine?'

46 (100). The Drug demon answered: 'O holy, well-formed Sraosha! He is the third of my males who during his sleep emits seed.

47 (102). 'That man makes me conceive progeny as other males make their females conceive progeny by their seed.'

48 (103). The holy Sraosha, letting his club down upon her, asked the Drug: 'O thou wretched, worthless Drug! What is the thing that can undo that?'

¹ 'Nec stando mingens . . . facile visitur Persa' (Amm. Marc. XXIII, 6); *Ardâ Vîrâf* XXIV; *Mainyô-i-khard* II, 39; *Saddar* 56. Cf. *Manu* IV, 47 seq., and Polack, *Persien* I, 67: 'Von einem in Paris weilenden Perser hinterbrachte man dem König, um seine Emancipation und Abtrünnigkeit vom Gesetz zu beweisen, dass er Schweinefleisch esse und stehend die Function verrichte.'

² See *Farg.* VIII, 19.

³ *Yasna* XXXV, 2: one of the *Bis-âmrûta* (*Farg.* X, 4).

⁴ *Yasna* XXXV, 5: one of the *Thris-âmrûta* (*Farg.* X, 8).

⁵ Making four Ahuna-Vairya in all; cf. *Farg.* X, 12.

⁶ See *Yasna* XXI.

49 (104). The Drug demon answered: 'O holy, well-formed Sraosha! this is the thing that undoes it, namely, if the man, when he has risen from sleep, shall say three Ahuna-Vairya, two humatanãm, three hukhshathrôtemãm, and then chant the Ahuna-Vairya and offer up one Yênhê hâtãm¹.

50 (107). 'He does thereby as thoroughly destroy the fruit of my womb as a four-footed wolf does who tears the child out of a mother's womb.'

51 (108). Then he shall speak unto Spenta Ârmaiti², saying: 'O Spenta Ârmaiti, this man do I deliver unto thee³; this man deliver thou back unto me, against the happy day of resurrection; deliver him back as one who knows the Gâthas, who knows the Yasna⁴, and the revealed Law⁵, a wise and clever man, who is Obedience incarnate.

52 (112). 'Then thou shalt call his name "Fire-creature, Fire-seed, Fire-offspring, Fire-land," or any name wherein is the word Fire⁶.'

53 (113). The holy Sraosha, letting his club down upon her, asked the Drug: 'O thou wretched, worthless Drug! Who is the fourth of those males of thine?'

54 (114). The Drug demon answered: 'O holy,

¹ See § 43 and notes.

² The Genius of the Earth (cf. Farg. II, 10).

³ In the same way as she received the seed of the dying Gayomart, from which she let grow, in the shape of a plant, the first human couple, Mashya and Mashyâna (Bund. XV, 1-2).

⁴ The Yasna Haptanhâiti.

⁵ Literally, 'the answers made to the questions (of Zarathustra).'

⁶ Atar, the Fire, is the ideal father of the son to be born, as Spenta Armaiti, the Earth, is his ideal mother. The fire is considered male (Dinkard, apud West, Pahlavi Texts, II, 410) and (as Apâm Napât) has made and shaped man (Yt. XIX, 52).

well-formed Sraosha! This one is my fourth male who, either man or woman, being more than fifteen years of age, walks without wearing the sacred girdle and the sacred shirt¹.

55 (115). 'At the fourth step² we Daêvas, at once, wither him even to the tongue and the marrow, and he goes thenceforth with power to destroy the world of Righteousness, and he destroys it like the Yâtus and the Zandas³.'

56 (117). The holy Sraosha, letting his club down upon her, asked the Drug: 'O thou wretched, worthless Drug, what is the thing that can undo that?'

57 (118). The Drug demon answered: 'O holy, well-formed Sraosha! There is no means of undoing it;

58 (120). 'When a man or a woman, being more than fifteen years of age, walks without wearing the sacred girdle or the sacred shirt.

59 (120). 'At the fourth step we Daêvas, at once, wither him even to the tongue and the marrow, and he goes thenceforth with power to destroy the world of Righteousness, and he destroys it like the Yâtus and the Zandas.'

IV.

60 (122). Demand of me, thou upright one! of me who am the Maker, the most beneficent of all

¹ The Kôstî and the Sadara; see above, p. 195, n. 3. It is the sin known as kushâd duvârisnî (Mainyô-i-khard II, 35; Ardâ Vîrâf XXV, 6).

² 'Going three steps without Kôstî is only a three Sraoshô-karana sin; from the fourth step, it is a tanâfûhr sin' (Comm.)

³ The Yâtu is a sorcerer; the Zanda is an apostle of Ahriman,

beings, the best knowing, the most pleased in answering what is asked of me; demand of me that thou mayst be the better, that thou mayst be the happier.

61 (123). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Who grieves thee with the sorest grief? Who pains thee with the sorest pain?'

62 (124). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the *Gahi*¹, O Spitama Zarathustra! who mixes in her the seed of the faithful and the unfaithful, of the worshippers of Mazda and the worshippers of the *Daêvas*, of the wicked and the righteous².

63 (125). 'Her look dries up one-third of the mighty floods that run from the mountains, O Zarathustra; her look withers one-third of the beautiful, golden-hued, growing plants, O Zarathustra;

64 (127). 'Her look withers one-third of the strength of *Spenta Ârmaiti*³; and her touch withers in the faithful one-third of his good thoughts, of his good words, of his good deeds, one-third of his strength, of his victorious power, and of his holiness⁴.

65 (129). 'Verily I say unto thee, O Spitama Zarathustra! such creatures ought to be killed even

¹ The courtesan, as an incarnation of the female demon *Gahi*.

² '[Whether she gives up her body to the faithful or to the unfaithful], there is no difference; when she has been with three men, she is guilty of death' (Comm.)

³ The earth.

⁴ 'If a *Gahi* (courtesan) look at running waters, they fall; if at trees, they are stunted; if she converse with a pious man, his intelligence and his holiness are withered by it' (Saddar 67). Cf. Manu IV, 40 seq.

more than gliding snakes¹, than howling wolves, than the wild she-wolf that falls upon the fold, or than the she-frog that falls upon the waters with her thousandfold brood.'

V.

66 (133). Demand of me, thou upright one! of me who am the Maker, the most beneficent of all beings, the best knowing, the most pleased in answering what is asked of me; demand of me that thou mayst be the better, that thou mayst be the happier.

67-68 (133). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazdâ: 'If a man shall come unto a woman who has the whites or sees blood, and he does so wittingly and knowingly², and she allows it wilfully, wittingly, and knowingly, what is the atonement for it, what is the penalty that he shall pay to atone for the deed they have done?'

69 (136). Ahura Mazda answered: 'If a man shall come unto a woman who has the whites or sees blood, and he does so wittingly and knowingly, and she allows it wilfully, wittingly, and knowingly;

70 (137). 'He shall slay a thousand head of small cattle; he shall godly and piously offer up to the

¹ It is written in the law (the Avesta): 'O Zartust Isfitamân! with regard to woman, I say to thee that any woman that has given up her body to two men in one day is sooner to be killed than a wolf, a lion, or a snake: any one who kills such a woman will gain as much merit by it as if he had provided with wood a thousand fire-temples, or destroyed the dens of adders, scorpions, lions, wolves, or snakes' (Old Rav. 59 b).

² 'Knowing her state and knowing that it is a sin' (Comm.)

fire¹ the entrails² thereof together with Zaothra-libations³; he shall bring the shoulder bones to the Good Waters⁴.

71 (140). 'He shall godly and piously bring unto the fire a thousand loads of soft wood, of Urvâsna, Vohû-gaona, Vohû-kereti, Hadhâ-naêpata, or of any sweet-scented plant⁵.

72 (142). 'He shall tie and consecrate a thousand bundles of Baresma; he shall godly and piously offer up to the Good Waters a thousand Zaothra-libations, together with the Haoma and the milk, cleanly prepared and well strained,—cleanly prepared and well strained by a pious man, and mixed with the roots of the tree known as Hadhâ-naêpata⁶.

73 (144). 'He shall kill a thousand snakes of those that go upon the belly, two thousand of the other kind; he shall kill a thousand land-frogs and two thousand water-frogs; he shall kill a thousand corn-carrying ants and two thousand of the other kind⁷.

¹ To the Bahrâm fire.

² The *ômentum* (afsmān) or epipleon. Catullus, describing the sacrifice of the Magi, has (LXXXIX):

' Accepto veneretur carmine divos

Omentum in flamma pingue liquefaciens.'

Strabo XV, 13: τοῦ ἐπίπλου τι μικρὸν τιθείασι, ὡς λέγουσί τινες, ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ. 'Ascending six steps they showed me in a Room adjoining to the temple, their Fire which they fed with Wood, and sometimes Burn on it the Fat of the Sheep's Tail.' A Voyage Round the World, Dr. J. F. Gemelli, 1698.

³ The ceremony here described is nearly fallen into desuetude: it is the so-called Zôhr-âdash (zaothra for the fire), which is for the fire what the Zôhr-âb is for the waters.

⁴ This is the Zôhr-âb. According to the Shâyast (XI, 4), when an animal is immolated, the heart is offered to the fire and the shoulder is offered to the waters.

⁵ Cf. Farg. XIV, 3 seq.

⁶ Cf. Farg. XIV, 4, and p. 173, n. 4.

⁷ Cf. Farg. XIV, 5.

74 (147). 'He shall throw thirty bridges over canals; he shall undergo a thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana¹.

75 (149). 'This is the atonement, this is the penalty that he shall pay to atone for the deed that he has done.

76 (150). 'If he shall pay it, he makes himself a viaticum into the world of the holy ones; if he shall not pay it, he makes himself a viaticum into the world of the wicked, into that world, made of darkness, the offspring of darkness, which is Darkness' self².'

FARGARD XIX.

I. Angra Mainyu sends the demon Bûiti to kill Zarathustra: Zarathustra sings aloud the Ahuna-Vairya, and the demon flies away, confounded by the sacred words and by the Glory of Zarathustra (§§ 1-3).

I a. Angra Mainyu himself attacks him and propounds riddles to be solved under pain of death. The Prophet rejects him with heavenly stones, given by Ahura, and announces to him that he will destroy his creation. The demon promises him the empire of the world if he adores him, as his ancestors have done, and abjures the religion of Mazda. Zarathustra rejects his offers scornfully. He announces he will destroy him with the arms given by Ahura, namely, the sacrificial implements and the sacred words. Then he recites the *Tad thwâ peresâ*, that is to say the Gâtha in which he asks Ahura for instruction on all the mysteries of the material and spiritual world (§§ 4-10).

The rest of the Fargard contains specimens of the several questions asked by Zarathustra and the answers given by Ahura. It is an abridgement of the Revelation (cf. Yt. XXIV).

¹ Five tanâfûhrs, that is six thousand dirhems.

² Cf. Farg. V, 62.

II (11-17). How to destroy the uncleanness born from a contact with the dead?—By invoking the Mazdean Religion. A series of invocations taught by Ahura and developed by Zarathustra (15-16).

III (18-19). How to promote the prosperity of the creation?—By the rites of the Baresman.

IV (20-25). How to purify man and clothes defiled by the dead?—With gômêz, water, and perfume.

V (26-34). On the remuneration of deeds after death; on the fate of the wicked and the righteous; the *Kīnvad* bridge.

II a (34-42). Another series of invocations.

VI (43-47). The demons, dismayed by the birth of the Prophet, rush back into hell.

As may be seen from the preceding analysis, the essential part of this Fargard are sections I and VI, the rest being an indefinite development. It appears also from section VI, that the attacks of Bûiti and Angra Mainyu against Zarathustra and the attempt to seduce him are supposed to take place at the moment when he was born, which is confirmed by the testimony of the Nask Varsht-mânsar (West, Pahlavi Texts, IV, 226 seq.)

I.

1. From the region of the north, from the regions of the north¹, forth rushed Angra Mainyu, the deadly, the Daêva of the Daêvas². And thus spake the evil-doer Angra Mainyu, the deadly: 'Drug, rush down and kill him,' O holy Zarathustra! The Drug came rushing along, the demon Bûiti³, who is deceiving, unseen death⁴.

2 (5). Zarathustra chanted aloud the Ahuna-

¹ From hell; cf. p. 76, n. 1.

² 'The fiend of fiends,' the arch-fiend.

³ Bûiti is identified by the Greater Bundahish with the Bût, the idol, worshipped by Bûdâsp (a corruption of Bodhisattva). Bûiti would be therefore a personification of Buddhism, which was flourishing in Eastern Iran in the two centuries before and after Christ. Bûidhi (Farg. XI, 9) may be another and more correct pronunciation of Bodhi.

⁴ Idolatry (cf. note 3) being the death of the soul.

Vairya¹: 'The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness. The gifts of Vohu-manô to the deeds done in this world for Mazda. He who relieves the poor makes Ahura king.'

He offered the sacrifice to the good waters of the good Dâitya²! He recited the profession of the worshippers of Mazda³!

The Drug dismayed, rushed away, the demon Bûiti, who is deceiving, unseen death.

3 (7). And the Drug said unto Angra Mainyu: 'Thou, tormenter, Angra Mainyu! I see no way to kill Spitama Zarathustra, so great is the glory of the holy Zarathustra.'

Zarathustra saw (all this) within his soul: 'The wicked, the evil-doing Daêvas (thought he) take counsel together for my death.'

I a.

4 (11). Up started Zarathustra, forward went Zarathustra, unabated by Akem-manô⁴, by the hardness of his malignant riddles⁵; he went swinging stones in his hand, stones as big as a house⁶, which he obtained from the Maker, Ahura Mazda, he the holy Zarathustra.

¹ See above, p. 100, n. 2.

² The river in Airyana Vaêgô; see Farg. I, 3.

³ The Fravarânê (Yasna XI, 16).

⁴ See Farg. X, 10, n. 1.

⁵ This is a fragment of an old legend in which Zarathustra and Angra Mainyu played respectively the parts of Oedipus and the Sphinx. Cf. Yt. V, 81, where the same legend is told in nearly the same terms of the sorcerer Akhtya and Yôista Fryananâm.

⁶ The Commentary has, 'Some say, those stones are the Ahuna-Vairya.' If one keeps in mind how much the Musulman legend of Ibrahim owes to the legend of Zoroaster, one may easily admit that this passage in our text is the origin of the story of how Iblis tempted Ibrahim, and was pelted away, whence he was named 'the stoned One' (ar-ragimû).

‘Whereat on this wide, round earth, whose ends lie afar, whereat dost thou swing (those stones), thou who standest by the upper bank of the river Darega¹, in the mansion of Pourusaspaspa²?’

5 (16). Thus Zarathustra answered Angra Mainyu: ‘O evil-doer, Angra Mainyu! I will smite the creation of the Daêva; I will smite the Nasu, a creature of the Daêva; I will smite the Pairika Knâthaiti³, till the victorious Saoshyant come up to life⁴ out of the lake Kâsava⁵, from the region of the dawn, from the regions of the dawn.’

6 (20). Again to him said the Maker of the evil world, Angra Mainyu: ‘Do not destroy my creatures, O holy Zarathustra! Thou art the son of Pourusaspaspa⁶; by thy mother I was invoked⁷. Renounce the good Religion of the worshippers of Mazda, and thou shalt gain such a boon as Vadhaghna⁸ gained, the ruler of the nations.’

¹ ‘The Dârâga is the chief of the rivers, because the house of Zartûst’s father stood on its bank and Zartûst was born there’ (Bund. XXIV, 15).

² The father of Zarathustra.

³ The incarnation of idolatry; cf. Farg. I, 10.

⁴ The unborn son of Zoroaster, who, at the end of time, will destroy Ahriman and bring about the resurrection of the dead. See Yt. XIII, 62; XIX, 92, 94 seq.

⁵ The Zarah sea in Saistân. Cf. Yt. XV, 66.

⁶ ‘I know thee’ (Comm.)

⁷ The Commentary has, ‘Some explain thus: Thy forefathers worshipped me: worship me also.’ Zoroaster’s forefathers must naturally have followed a false religion, since he announces the true one.

⁸ Asî Dahâka or Zohâk, who, as a legendary king, is said to have ruled the world for a thousand years. Cf. Mînôkhard LVII, 24–25: ‘Ahriman shouted to Zartûst thus: “If thou desist from this good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, then I will give thee

7 (24). Spitama Zarathustra said in answer: 'No! never will I renounce the good Religion of the worshippers of Mazda, either for body or life, though they should tear away the breath!'

8 (27). Again to him said the Maker of the evil world, Angra Mainyu: 'By whose Word wilt thou strike, by whose Word wilt thou repel, by whose weapon will the good creatures (strike and repel) my creation, who am Angra Mainyu?'

9 (29). Spitama Zarathustra said in answer: 'The sacred mortar, the sacred cups, the Haoma, the Word taught by Mazda, these are my weapons, my best weapons! By this Word will I strike, by this Word will I repel, by this weapon will the good creatures (strike and repel thee), O evil-doer, Angra Mainyu! The Good Spirit made the creation¹; he made it in the boundless Time. The Amesha-Spentas made the creation, the good, the wise Sovereigns.'

10 (35). Zarathustra chanted aloud the Ahuna-Vairya.

The holy Zarathustra said aloud: 'This I ask thee: teach me the truth, O Lord²! . . .'

II.

11 (37). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent spirit, Maker of the

a thousand years' dominion of the worldly existence, as was given to the Vadakân monarch Dahâk''' (West, Pahlavi Texts, III, 103).

¹ The first duty of every good Mazda-worshipper is to think of Ormazd as the creator, and of Ahriman as the destroyer (Minôskhard II, 9).

² This verse is the beginning of the *Tad thwâ peresâ Gâtha* (Yasna XLIV); cf. the Introduction to the Fargard.

material world, thou Holy One! [he was sitting by the upper bank of the Darega¹, before Ahura Mazda, before the good Vohu-manô, before Asha Vahista, Khshathra Vairya, and Spenta Ârmaiti;]

12 (39). 'How shall I free the world from that Drug, from that evil-doer, Angra Mainyu? How shall I drive away direct defilement? How indirect defilement? How shall I drive the Nasu from the house of the worshippers of Mazda? How shall I cleanse the faithful man? How shall I cleanse the faithful woman?'

13 (42). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Invoke, O Zarathustra! the good Religion of Mazda.

'Invoke, O Zarathustra! though thou see them not, the Amesha-Spentas who rule over the seven Karshvares of the earth².

'Invoke, O Zarathustra! the sovereign Heaven, the boundless Time³, and Vayu⁴, whose action is most high.

'Invoke, O Zarathustra! the powerful Wind, made by Mazda; and Spenta [Ârmaiti]⁵, the fair daughter of Ahura Mazda.

14 (46). 'Invoke, O Zarathustra! my Fravashi⁶, who am Ahura Mazda, the greatest, the best, the fairest of all beings, the most solid, the most intelligent, the best shapen, the highest in holiness, and whose soul is the holy Word⁷!

¹ See p. 211, note 1.

² See § 39.

³ By contradistinction to the duration of the world, which is limited to 12,000 years (Bund. XXXIV, 1).

⁴ The Genius of Destiny; cf. Farg. V, 9.

⁵ The fourth Amesha-Spenta, who in her spiritual character is an incarnation of pious humility and in her material character the Genius of the Earth; cf. Farg. II, 10.

⁶ On the Fravashis, see Yt. XIII.

⁷ Cf. Yasna I, 1.

‘Invoke, O Zarathustra! this creation of mine, who am Ahura Mazda.’

15 (50). Zarathustra imitated my words from me, (and said): ‘I invoke the holy creation of Ahura Mazda.

‘I invoke Mithra¹, the lord of the rolling countryside, a god armed with beautiful weapons, with the most glorious of all weapons, with the most victorious of all weapons.

‘I invoke the holy, well-formed Sraosha², who wields a club in his hand, to bear upon the heads of the fiends³.

16 (54). ‘I invoke the most glorious Holy Word.

‘I invoke the sovereign Heaven, the boundless Time, and Vayu, whose action is most high.

‘I invoke the mighty Wind, made by Mazda, and Spenta (Ârmaiti), the fair daughter of Ahura Mazda.

‘I invoke the good Religion of Mazda, the fiend-destroying Law of Zarathustra.’

III.

17 (58). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: ‘O Maker of the good world, Ahura Mazda! With what manner of sacrifice shall I worship, with what manner of sacrifice shall I make people worship this creation of Ahura Mazda⁴?’

18 (60). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘Go, O Spitama

¹ See p. 23, n. 1.

² See Farg. XVIII, 14, note.

³ Cf. Farg. XVIII, 22 seq.; Yasna LVII, 19 seq.; Yasht XI.

⁴ The sacrifice intended is a sacrifice to nature. The Baresman, as representative of the vegetal nature, receives the zaothralibations, which are representative of the fertilizing rains.

Zarathustra! towards the high-growing trees¹, and before one of them that is beautiful, high-growing, and mighty, say thou these words: "Hail to thee! O good, holy tree, made by Mazda! Ashem vohu²!"

19 (63). '[The priest] shall cut off a twig of Baresma, long as an aêsha, thick as a yava³. The faithful one, holding it in his left hand, shall keep his eyes upon it without ceasing⁴, whilst he is offering up to Ahura Mazda and to the Amesha-Spentas, the high and beautiful golden Haomas, and Good Thought and the good Râta⁵, made by Mazda, holy and excellent.'

IV.

20 (67). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O thou, all-knowing Ahura Mazda! thou art never asleep, never intoxicated, thou Ahura Mazda! Vohu-manô⁶

¹ The tree, whatever it is, from which the Baresma is taken. See p. 22, n. 3.

² See § 22.

³ Perhaps: 'long as a ploughshare, thick as a barleycorn.' Cf. the English system of measures, in which three barleycorns=one inch.—Cf. Nîrangistân 90.

⁴ The Parsis are recommended to keep their eyes on the Baresma during the sacrifice: 'A man is offering the Darûn, he has said all the required Avesta, but he has not looked at the Baresma: what is the rule? It would have been better if he had looked at it: however he may proceed to the meal' (Old Rav. 97 b). Cf. Tahmuras' Fragments, XXX-XXXI.

⁵ Râta impersonates the liberalities done by men to God (as offerings) and by God to men (as riches, &c.)

⁶ Vohu-manô is often used as a designation of the faithful one, literally, 'the good-minded'; this is the meaning which is given to it in this passage by the Commentary, and it certainly belongs to it in the second part of § 25; but in the first part of the same clause it is translated 'clothes,' a meaning which is not unlikely

gets directly defiled: Vohu-manô gets indirectly defiled; the Daêvas defile him from the bodies smitten by the Daêvas¹: let Vohu-manô be made clean.'

21 (70). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thou shalt take some gômêz from a bull ungelded and such as the law requires it². Thou shalt take the man who is to be cleansed to the field made by Ahura³, and the man that is to cleanse him shall draw the furrows⁴.

22 (73). 'He shall recite a hundred Ashem vohu: "Holiness is the best of all good: it is also happiness. Happy the man who is holy with perfect holiness!"

'He shall chant two hundred Ahuna-Vairya: "The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness. The gifts of Vohu-manô to the deeds done in this world for Mazda! He who relieves the poor makes Ahura king."

'He shall wash himself four times with the

in itself, as Vohu-manô, being the Amshaspand of cattle, may designate, and in fact did designate, the skins of cattle and leather (Comm. ad Farg. XVIII, 2). On the whole the description in the text applies to the cleansing both of the man and of the clothes, and Vohu-manô sometimes means the one, and sometimes the other.—From the first meaning is derived the modern use of Vâhman, 'Such a one,' 'N.'

¹ From dead bodies.

² The so-called Varasiô; 'it must be of a white colour; if a single hair on its body be found other than white, the animal is rejected as unfit for the purpose' (Sorâbji Kâvasji Khambâtâ, in the Indian Antiquary, VII, 180). On the preparation of the gômêz, see Wilson, *Parsi Religion Unfolded*, pp. 434-435.

³ The place of the cleansing, the Barashnûm-gâh (see Farg. IX, 3).

⁴ See Farg. IX, 10.

gômêz from the ox, and twice with the water made by Mazda¹.

23 (76). 'Thus Vohu-manô shall be made clean, and clean shall be the man. The man shall take up Vohu-manô² with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left : and thou shalt lay down Vohu-manô under the mighty light of the heavens, by the light of the stars made by the gods, until nine nights have passed away³.

24 (80). 'When nine nights have passed away, thou shalt bring libations unto the fire, thou shalt bring hard wood unto the fire, thou shalt bring incense of Vohû-gaona unto the fire, and thou shalt perfume Vohu-manô therewith.

25 (82). 'Thus shall Vohu-manô be made clean, and clean shall be the man⁴. He shall take up Vohu-manô with the right arm and the left, with the left arm and the right, and Vohu-manô⁵ shall say aloud : "Glory be to Ahura Mazda ! Glory be to the Amesha-Spentas ! Glory be to all the other holy beings."'

V.

26 (85). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda : 'O thou all-knowing Ahura Mazda : Should I urge

¹ 'Or better six times with the gômêz and thrice with the water' (Comm.; cf. Farg. VIII, 37 seq.; IX, 28 seq.)

² 'The clothes' (Comm.)

³ The clothes of the unclean shall be exposed to the air for nine nights, all the time while he himself is confined in the Armêst-gâh. The rules for the cleansing of clothes that have been worn by the dead himself are different (see Farg. VII, 12 seq.)

⁴ 'Thus Vohu-manô shall be clean—the clothes; thus the man shall be clean—he who wears those clothes' (Comm.)

⁵ The faithful one.

upon the godly man, should I urge upon the godly woman, should I urge upon the wicked Daêva-worshipper who lives in sin, to give the earth made by Ahura, the water that runs, the corn that grows, and all the rest of their wealth¹?’

Ahura Mazda answered: ‘Thou shouldst, O holy Zarathustra.’

27 (89). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Where are the rewards given? Where does the rewarding take place? Where is the rewarding fulfilled? Whereto do men come to take the reward that, during their life in the material world, they have won for their souls?

28 (90). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘When the man is dead, when his time is over, then the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas cut off his eyesight. On the third night, when the dawn appears and brightens up, when Mithra, the god with beautiful weapons, reaches the all-happy mountains, and the sun is rising:

29 (94). ‘Then the fiend, named Vîzaresha², O Spitama Zarathustra, carries off in bonds³ the souls of the wicked Daêva-worshippers who live in sin. The soul enters the way made by Time, and open both to the wicked and to the righteous. At the head of the *Kinvađ* bridge, the holy bridge

¹ Cf. § 29 end.

² The demon Vîzaresh is he who, during that struggle of three days and three nights with the souls of the departed, carries terror on them and beats them: he sits at the gate of hell (Bund. XXVIII, 18).

³ ‘Every one has a noose cast around his neck: when a man dies, if he has been a righteous man, the noose falls from his neck; if a wicked, they drag him with that noose down into hell’ (Comm.; cf. Farg. V, 8).

made by Mazda¹, they ask for their spirits and souls the reward for the worldly goods which they gave away here below².

30 (98). 'Then comes the beautiful, well-shapen, strong and well-formed maid³, with the dogs at her sides⁴, one who can distinguish⁵, who has many children⁶, happy, and of high understanding.

'She makes the soul of the righteous one go up above the Hara-berezaiti⁷; above the *Kinvað*

¹ The *Kinvað* bridge extends over hell and leads to Paradise; for the souls of the righteous it widens to the length of nine javelins; for the souls of the wicked it narrows to a thread, and they fall down into hell (cf. *Arđâ Virâf* V, 1; *Dinkard* IX, 20, 3). The *Kinvað* bridge has become the Sirath bridge of the Musulmans. Not long ago they sang in Yorkshire of 'the Brig o' Dread, na brader than a thread' (Thoms, *Anecdotes*, 89), and even nowadays the peasant in Nièvre tells of a little board—

'Pas pu longue, pas pu large
Qu'un ch'veu de la Sainte Viarge,'

which was put by Saint Jean d'Archange between the earth and Paradise:

'Ceux qu'saront la raison (=l'oraison?) d'Dieu
Par dessus passeront.
Ceux qu'la sauront pas
Au bout mourront.' (Mélusine, p. 70.)

² Cf. § 26, and Farg. III, 34, 35; XVIII, 33 seq.

³ The soul of the dead, on the fourth day, finds itself in the presence of a maid, of divine beauty or fiendish ugliness, according as he himself was good or bad, and she leads him into heaven or hell: this maid is his own Daêna, his Religion, that is the sum of his religious deeds, good or evil (*Yasht* XXII).

⁴ The dogs that keep the *Kinvað* bridge (see Farg. XIII, 9).

⁵ The good from the wicked.

⁶ Doubtful. Those children would be the righteous, as the sons of the Drug are the wicked (Farg. XVIII, 30 seq.)

⁷ The *Kinvað* bridge rests by one end on the Alborz (Hara-berezaiti) and by the other on the Kikâd Dâitîk in Irân Vêg (Comm. ad § 101 ed. Sp.; *Dinkard* IX, 20, 3).

bridge she places it in the presence of the heavenly gods themselves.

31 (102). 'Up rises Vohu-manô¹ from his golden seat; Vohu-manô exclaims: "How hast thou come to us, thou Holy One, from that decaying world into this undecaying one²?"'

32 (105). 'Gladly pass the souls of the righteous to the golden seat of Ahura Mazda, to the golden seat of the Amesha-Spentas, to the Garô-nmânem³, the abode of Ahura Mazda, the abode of the Amesha-Spentas, the abode of all the other holy beings.

33 (108). 'As to the godly man that has been cleansed⁴, the wicked evil-doing Daêvas tremble at the perfume of his soul after death, as doth a sheep on which a wolf is pouncing⁵.

34 (110). 'The souls of the righteous are gathered together there: Nairyô-sangha⁶ is with them; a messenger of Ahura Mazda is Nairyô-sangha.

II a.

'Invoke, O Zarathustra! this very creation of Ahura Mazda.'

35 (114). Zarathustra imitated those words of

¹ The doorkeeper of Paradise; a Zoroastrian Saint-Pierre.

² Cf. Farg. VII, 52; Yt. XXII, 16.

³ The Garôthmân of the Parsis; literally, 'the house of songs'; it is the highest Paradise.

⁴ That has performed the Barashnûm.

⁵ Ormazd is all perfume, Ahriman is infection and stench (Bundahis I; Eznig, Refutatio Haeresiarum II); the souls of their followers partake of the same qualities, and by the performance of the Barashnûm both the body and the soul are perfumed and sweetened.

⁶ Cf. Farg. XXII, 7.

mine : 'I invoke the holy world, made by Ahura Mazda.

'I invoke the earth made by Ahura, the water made by Mazda, the holy trees.

'I invoke the sea Vouru-kasha¹.

'I invoke the beautiful Heaven².

'I invoke the endless and sovereign Light³.'

36 (120). 'I invoke the bright, blissful Paradise of the Holy Ones.

'I invoke the Garô-nmânem, the abode of Ahura Mazda, the abode of the Amesha-Spentas, the abode of all the other holy beings.

'I invoke the sovereign Place of Eternal Weal⁴, and the *Kînvad* bridge made by Mazda.

37 (123). 'I invoke the good Saoka⁵, who has the good eye.

'I invoke the whole creation of weal.

'I invoke the mighty Fravashis⁶ of the righteous.

'I invoke Verethraghna⁷, made by Ahura, who wears the Glory made by Mazda⁸.

¹ See Farg. V, 15 seq.

² Asman, the highest heaven, as distinguished from the firmament (*thwâsha*) that lies nearer the earth.

³ The endless Light is 'the place of Ormazd' (Bund. I); it is Infinite Space conceived as luminous.

⁴ *Misvâna gâtva*, another name of the heavenly spaces; it designates heaven as the abode and source of all blessings, of all *savah*, or *saoka*.

⁵ A Genius defined, 'Genius of the good eye,' by opposition to 'the bad eye.' *Saoka* (*Sôk*) is an auxiliary to *Mithra* (*Mîhr*); she receives first, from above, all the good destined to man, and transmits it to the lower sky or firmament (which is the seat of Destiny) through the moon and *Ardvîsûr* (Gr. Bund.)

⁶ See Yt. XIII.

⁷ The Genius of Victory (*Bahrâm*). See Yt. XIV.

⁸ The *hwarenô* (*Khurra* or *Farr*) or light of sovereignty. Cf. § 39 and see Yt. XIX.

‘ I invoke Tistrya ¹, the bright and glorious star, in the shape of a golden-horned bull ².

38 (127). ‘ I invoke the holy, beneficent Gâthas ³, who rule over the Ratus ⁴:

‘ I invoke the Ahunavaiti Gâtha ;

‘ I invoke the Ustavaiti Gâtha ;

‘ I invoke the Spenta-mainyu Gâtha ;

‘ I invoke the Vohu-khshathra Gâtha ;

‘ I invoke the Vahistôisti Gâtha.

39 (129). ‘ I invoke the Karshvares of Arzahê and Savahê ;

‘ I invoke the Karshvares of Fradadhafshu and Vidadhafshu ;

‘ I invoke the Karshvares of Vourubaresti and Vouruzaresti ;

‘ I invoke the bright *Hvaniratha* ⁵ ;

‘ I invoke the bright, glorious *Haêtumant* ⁶ ;

‘ I invoke the good *Ashi* ⁷ ;

[‘ I invoke the good *Kisti* ⁸ ;]

¹ Tistrya (Tîr), the star of rain. See Yt. VIII.

² Tistrya appears successively under three forms, during the month named from him (the first month of summer, 21 June–21 July): ten days as a man, ten days as a bull, ten days as a horse. ‘ As a bull he is most to be invoked ’ (Comm.), to prepare his final victory over the demon of Drought, Apaosha.

³ The five collections of hymns which form the oldest and holiest part of the Yasna and of the Avesta (Yasna XXVIII–XXXIV; XLIII–XLVI; XLVII–L; LI; LIII); they are named after their initial words.

⁴ The chiefs of creation ; ‘ they rule over the Ratus inasmuch as it is by their means that these other Ratus are invoked ’ (Comm.)

⁵ The earth is divided into seven Karshvares, of which the central one, *Hvaniratha*, is the finest and contains Iran.

⁶ See Farg. I, 14.

⁷ *Ashi* (*Ashishvang*), the Genius that imparts riches to the righteous : see Yt. XVII.

⁸ An angel of religious knowledge.

‘I invoke the most pure *Kīsta* ¹;

‘I invoke the Glory of the Aryan regions ²;

‘I invoke the Glory of the bright Yima, the good shepherd ³.

40 (133). ‘Let him be worshipped with sacrifice, let him be gladdened, gratified, and satisfied, the holy Sraosha, the well-formed, victorious, holy Sraosha ⁴.

‘Bring libations unto the Fire, bring hard wood unto the Fire, bring incense of Vohû-gaona unto the Fire.

‘Offer up the sacrifice to the Vâzista fire ⁵, which smites the fiend Spengaghra ⁶: bring unto it the cooked meat and full overflowing libations ⁷.

41 (137). ‘Offer up the sacrifice to the holy Sraosha, that the holy Sraosha may smite down the fiend *Kunda* ⁸, who is drunken without drinking ⁹, and throws down into the Hell of the Drug the wicked Daêva-worshippers, who live in sin.

[42 ¹⁰. ‘I invoke the Kara fish ¹¹, who lives beneath waters in the bottom of the deep lakes.

¹ Religious knowledge: invoked with Daêna (Religion; *Sîrôza*, 24).

² The light of sovereignty, *hvarəno*, which if secured by the Aryans makes them rule over their enemies (cf. § 37 and Yt. XIX, 56-93).

³ See Farg. II, 2.

⁴ That he may smite Aêshma and the other fiends.

⁵ The fire of lightning.

⁶ The demon that prevents the fall of rain; a companion in arms of Apaosha.

⁷ Doubtful.

⁸ The same as *Kundi*; see Farg. XI, 9.

⁹ Whereas Aêshma, the other arch-enemy of Sraosha, borrows part of his strength from drunkenness (*Yasna* X, 8).

¹⁰ From the *Vendîdâd Sâda*. The clause may have belonged to the original text; it is preceded by another clause which certainly

¹¹ For this note see next page.

'I invoke the ancient and sovereign Merezu¹², the most warlike of the creatures of the two Spirits¹³.

'I invoke the seven bright Sru¹⁴ . . .'

VI.

43. 'They cried about, their minds wavered to and fro¹⁵, Angra Mainyu the deadly, the Daêva of the Daêvas; Indra the Daêva, Sâuru the Daêva, Naunghaithya the Daêva, Taurvi and Zairi¹⁶; Aêshma of the murderous spear¹⁷; Akatasha the Daêva¹⁸; Winter, made by the Daêvas; the deceiving, unseen Death; Zaurva¹⁹, baneful to the fathers; Bûiti the Daêva²⁰; Driwi²¹ the Daêva; Daiwi²² the Daêva; Kasvi²³ the Daêva; Paitisha²⁴ the most Daêva-like amongst the Daêvas.]

did not belong to it, and part of which is cited in the Commentary ad Farg. VIII, 103, where it would have been more suitably placed: 'When he has been cleansed in the next inhabited place, he may then sow and till the pasture fields, as food for the sheep and as food for the ox.'

¹¹ The Kar-mâhî, the Ratu or chief of the creatures that live in water. Cf. Farg. XX, 4, note; Yt. XIV, 29.

¹² A ἀπαξ λεγόμενον. From its two epithets, 'ancient' and 'sovereign,' it appears that it must designate one of the first principles, that is to say, some form of Heaven, Light, Space, or Time.

¹³ Doubtful.

¹⁴ Hapta sravô bâmya hanzunghô puthrzunghô puszunghô bavainti.

¹⁵ Up and down, in hope and despair.

¹⁶ See Farg. X, 9-10.

¹⁷ See Farg. X, 13.

¹⁸ See Farg. X, 13.

¹⁹ Old age.

²⁰ See above, p. 209, n. 3.

²¹ Malice; see above, Farg. II, 29.

²² Lying; see above, Farg. II, 29.

²³ Spite; see above, Farg. II, 29.

²⁴ Opposition, or counter-action, the same as Paityâra; a personification of the doings of Ahriman and of his marring power.

44 (140). 'And the evil-doing Daêva, Angra Mainyu, the deadly, said: "What! let the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas gather together at the head of Arezûra!"'

45 (141). 'They rush away shouting, the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas; they run away shouting, the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas; they run away casting the Evil Eye, the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas: "Let us gather together at the head of Arezûra!"'

46 (143). '"For he is just born the holy Zarathustra, in the house of Pourusaspa. How can we procure his death? He is the weapon that fells the fiends: he is a counter-fiend to the fiends; he is a Drug to the Drug. Vanished are the Daêva-worshippers, the Nasu made by the Daêva, the false-speaking Lie!"'

47 (147). 'They rush away shouting, the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas, into the depths of the dark, raging world of hell.

'Ashem vohû: Holiness is the best of all good.'

FARGARD XX.

Thrita, the First Healer.

It has already been seen (Farg. VII, 44) that there are three kinds of medicine: one that heals with the knife, one that heals with herbs, and one that heals with sacred spells. The present Fargard deals with the origin of medicine, particularly the herbs-medicine. Its inventor was Thrita, of the Sâma family, to whom Ahura Mazda brought down from heaven ten thousand healing

¹ At the gate of hell; see above, p. 24, n. 1.

plants that had been growing up around the tree of eternal life, the white Hôma or Gaokerena (§ 4).

This Thrīta is mentioned only once again in the Avesta, in Yasna IX, 7, where he appears to have been one of the first priests of Haoma. This accounts for his medical skill; as Haoma is the plant of eternal life, it is but natural that one of his first priests should have been the first healer.

This Fargard has only an allusion to the origin of the knife-medicine, which was, as it seems, revealed by Khshathra Vairya (§ 3). The last paragraphs (§§ 5-12) deal with the spell-medicine.

The functions ascribed here to Thrīta were sometimes conferred on his semi-namesake Thraëtaona¹. Hamza makes Thraëtaona the inventor of medicine²; the Taviḍs³ against sickness are inscribed with his name, and we find in the Avesta itself his Fravashi invoked 'against itch, hot fever, humours, cold fever⁴, incontinence, against the plagues created by the serpent⁵.' We see from the last words of this passage that disease was understood as coming from the serpent; in other words, that it was considered a sort of poisoning⁶, and this is the reason why the killer of the serpent (Aṣi Dahāka) was invoked to act against it.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who was he who first of the healers⁷, of the wise, the happy, the wealthy, the glorious, the strong, the Paradhātas⁸, drove back sickness to sickness, drove back death to death⁹; and first turned away the point of

¹ See the Westergaard Fragments, II.

² Ed. Gottwaldt, p. 23; cf. Mirkhond, *Early Kings of Persia*, tr. by Shea, p. 152.

³ Formulas of exorcism.

⁴ Cf. Farg. VII, 58.

⁵ Yasht XIII, 131.

⁶ This theory, which modern science would not utterly reject, accounts for the great part which the serpent plays in the worship of Asklepios; as sickness comes from him, from him too must or may come the healing.

⁷ 'Those who knew how to take care of their own bodies, like Isfandyâr: some say that no sword could wound him' (Comm.)

⁸ The Paradhāta or Pêshdâd, the kings of the first Iranian dynasty.

⁹ 'That is to say, who kept sickness in bonds, who kept death in bonds' (Comm.)

the sword and the fire of fever from the bodies of mortals ?'

2 (11). Ahura Mazda answered : 'Thrita it was who first of the healers, of the wise, the happy, the wealthy, the glorious, the strong, the Paradhâtas, drove back sickness to sickness, drove back death to death, and first turned away the point of the sword and the fire of fever from the bodies of mortals.

3 (12). 'He asked for a source of remedies ; he obtained it from Khshathra-Vairya¹, to withstand sickness and to withstand death ; to withstand pain and to withstand fever ; to withstand Sârana and to withstand Sârastya² ; to withstand Azana and to withstand Azahva ; to withstand Kurugha and to withstand Azivâka ; to withstand Duruka and to withstand Astairya ; to withstand the evil eye, rottenness, and infection which Angra Mainyu had created against the bodies of mortals.

4 (15). 'And I Ahura Mazda brought down the healing plants that, by many hundreds, by many thousands, by many myriads, grow up all around the one Gaokerena³.

¹ As Khshathra-Vairya presides over metals, it was a knife he received, 'of which the point and the base were set in gold.' He was therefore the first who healed with the knife, as well as the first who healed with herbs. As for the healing with the holy word, see §§ 5 and seq.

² Headache and cold fever.

³ There are two Haomas : one is the yellow or golden Haoma, which is the earthly Haoma, and which, when prepared for the sacrifice, is the king of healing plants ; the other is the white Haoma or Gaokerena, which grows up in the middle of the sea Vouru-Kasha, where it is surrounded by the ten thousand healing

5 (18). 'All this do we achieve; all this do we order; all these prayers do we utter, for the benefit of the bodies of mortals';

6. 'To withstand sickness and to withstand death; to withstand pain and to withstand fever; to withstand Sârana and to withstand Sârastya; to withstand Azana and to withstand Azahva; to withstand Kurugha and to withstand Azivâka; to withstand Duruka and to withstand Astairya; to withstand the evil eye, rottenness, and infection which Angra Mainyu has created against the bodies of mortals.

7 (19). 'To thee, O Sickness, I say avaunt! to thee, O Death, I say avaunt! to thee, O Pain, I say avaunt! to thee, O Fever, I say avaunt! to thee, O Evil Eye, I say avaunt! to thee, O Sârana, I say avaunt! and to thee, O Sârastya, I say avaunt! to thee, O Azana, I say avaunt! and to thee, O Azahva, I say avaunt! to thee, O Kurugha, I say avaunt! and to thee, O Azivâka, I say avaunt! to thee, O Duruka, I say avaunt! and to thee, O Astairya, I say avaunt!

8 (21). 'Give us, O Ahura, that powerful sovereignty, by the strength of which we may smite down the Drug! By its might may we smite the Drug²!

plants, created by Ormazd in order to oppose so many diseases that had been created by Ahriman (Bundahis IX; cf. Farg. XXII, 2). A frog goes swimming around the Gaokerena to gnaw it down: but two Kar Mâhî (Farg. XIX, 42) keep watch and circle around the tree, so that the head of one of them is continually towards the frog (Bund. XVIII).

¹ We do all that is necessary for healing; we give, as Dastobar (Dastûr), the necessary prescriptions; we recite the needed prayers. —This section is a transition to the spell-medicine.

² This clause is borrowed, with some alteration, from Yasna

9 (23). 'I drive away Ishirê and I drive away Aghûirê; I drive away Aghra and I drive away Ughra; I drive away sickness and I drive away death; I drive away pain and I drive away fever; I drive away Sârana and I drive away Sârastya; I drive away Azana and I drive away Azahva; I drive away Kurugha and I drive away Azivâka; I drive away Duruka and I drive away Astairya; I drive away the evil eye, rottenness, and infection which Angra Mainyu has created against the bodies of mortals.

10 (25). 'I drive away all manner of sickness and death, all the Yâtus and Pairikas¹, and all the wicked Gainis².

11 (26). 'Â Airyamâ ishyô. May the vow-fulfilling Airyaman³ come here, for the men and women of Zarathustra to rejoice, for Vohu-manô to rejoice; with the desirable reward that Religion deserves. I solicit for holiness that boon that is vouchsafed by Ahura!

12 (29). 'May the vow-fulfilling Airyaman smite all manner of sickness and death, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and all the wicked Gainis.'

[13. Yathâ ahû vairyô:—The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness.

The gifts of Vohu-manô to the deeds done in this world for Mazda. He who relieves the poor makes Ahura king.

XXXI, 4; the original text is, 'May that strong power come to me, by the might of which we may smite down the Drug!'

¹ See Farg. XI, 9.

² 'Gai' (Comm.), that is Gahi; cf. Farg. XVIII, 62, and Farg. XXII, 2, note.—Clause 10 is imitated from clause 12.

³ On Airyaman, see Farg. XXII. Clauses 11–12 are borrowed from Yasna LIV, 1, and form the prayer known as Airyama-ishyô.

Kem-nâ mazdâ :—What protector hast thou given unto me, O Mazda! while the hate of the wicked encompasses me? Whom but thy Âtar and Vohu-manô, through whose work I keep on the world of Righteousness? Reveal therefore to me thy Religion as thy rule!

Ke verethrem-gâ :—Who is the victorious who will protect thy teaching? Make it clear that I am the guide for both worlds. May Sraosha come with Vohu-manô and help whomsoever thou pleasest, O Mazda!

Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Drug! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Drug! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of Righteousness¹!

FARGARD XXI.

I (1). Praise of the holy bull.

II (2-3). Invocation addressed to rain as a healing power.

III a (4-7). Joint invocation addressed to the waters and to the light of the sun.

III b (8-11). Joint invocation addressed to the waters and to the light of the moon.

III c (12-17). Joint invocation addressed to the waters and to the light of the stars.

IV (18-21). Spells against disease.

The largest part of this Fargard is filled with a uniform spell, intended, as it seems, for the protection of lying-in women (§§ 6-7, 10-11, 14-15), who are under the special care of Ardvî Sûra Anâhita, the great goddess of the waters. That spell is repeated three times, in a joint invocation to the sun, to the moon, and to the stars respectively; that strange association is perhaps owing to the fact that both the light and the waters spring up from the Hara Berezaiti and return there (see p. 232, note 1).

¹ See Farg. VIII, 19-20.

I.

1. Hail, bounteous bull¹! Hail to thee, beneficent bull! Hail to thee, who makest increase! Hail to thee, who makest growth! Hail to thee, who dost bestow his part² upon the righteous faithful, and wilt bestow it on the faithful yet unborn! Hail to thee, whom the *Gahi* kills³, and the ungodly *Ashemaogha*, and the wicked tyrant⁴.

II.

2 (3). 'Come, come on, O clouds, from up above, down on the earth, by thousands of drops, by myriads of drops:' thus say, O holy Zarathustra! 'to destroy sickness, to destroy death, to destroy the sickness that kills⁵, to destroy death that kills, to destroy *Gadha* and *Apagadha*⁶.

3 (9). 'If death come after noon, may healing come at eve!

'If death come at eve, may healing come at night!

'If death come at night, may healing come at dawn!

'And showers shower down new water, new earth, new plants, new healing powers, and new healing.

III a.

4 (15). 'As the sea *Vouru-kasha* is the gathering

¹ The primeval bull who was created by Ormazd and killed by *Ahriman* with the help of the *Gahi*.—Clause 1 is to be recited when one meets an ox or any kind of cattle, Gr. Rav. 386.

² Possibly, 'who dost kill the *Gahi*' (by means of *gômêz*).

³ His daily food.

⁴ The wicked kills animals, out of mere cruelty, beyond his needs (*Yasna* XXIX, 1; XXXII, 12, 14; XLVIII, 7).

⁵ Cf. Bund. III, 3, 6, 4.

⁶ Names of diseases.

place of the waters¹, rising up and going down, up the aerial way and down the earth, down the earth and up the aerial way²: thus rise up and roll along! thou in whose rising and growing Ahura Mazda made the aerial way.

5 (20). 'Up! rise up and roll along! thou swift-horsed Sun, above Hara Berezaiti, and produce light for the world (and mayst thou [O man!] rise up there, if thou art to abide in Garô-nmânem³)⁴, along the path made by Mazda, along the way made by the gods, the watery way they opened.

6 (23). 'And the Holy Word shall keep away the evil⁵: Of thee [O child!] I will cleanse the birth and growth; of thee [O woman!] I will make the body and the strength pure; I make thee rich in children and rich in milk;

¹ Waters and light are believed to flow from the same spring and in the same bed: 'As the light comes in through Alborz (Hara Berezaiti) and goes out through Alborz, so water also comes out through Alborz and goes away through Alborz' (Bund. XX, 4). Every day the sun, moon, and stars rise up from Alborz, and every day all the waters on the earth come back together to the sea Vouru-kasha, and there collected come down again to the earth from the peaks of Alborz (Gr. Rav. 431). As light comes from three different sources (the sun, the moon, and the stars), the waters are invoked three times, first in company with the sun, then with the moon, lastly with the stars, as if there should be three different movements of the rain connected with the three movements of light.

² Waters come down from the sky to the earth and rise back from the earth to the sky (see Farg. V, 15 seq.)

³ 'If thou art a righteous man' (Comm.)

⁴ The translation of this clause is doubtful.

⁵ The spell refers to the cleansing and generative power of the waters; cf. the invocation to Ardvī Sûra, Farg. VII, 16: the waters are supposed to make females fertile as they make the earth. This spell was probably pronounced to facilitate childbirth.

7 (27). 'Rich in seed, in milk¹, in fat, in marrow, and in offspring. I shall bring to thee a thousand pure springs, running towards the pastures that give food to the child.

III b.

8 (30). 'As the sea Vouru-kasha is the gathering place of the waters, rising up and going down, up the aerial way and down the earth, down the earth and up the aerial way :

'Thus rise up and roll along ! thou in whose rising and growing Ahura Mazda made the earth.

9 (31). 'Up ! rise up, thou Moon, that dost keep in thee the seed of the bull² ;

'Rise up above Hara Berezaiti, and produce light for the world (and mayst thou [O man !] rise up there, if thou art to abide in Garô-nmânem), along the path made by Mazda, along the way made by the gods, the watery way they opened.

10 (32). 'And the Holy Word shall keep away the evil : Of thee [O child !] I will cleanse the birth and growth ; of thee [O woman !] I will make the body and the strength pure ; I make thee rich in children and rich in milk ;

11 (32). 'Rich in seed, in milk, in fat, in marrow, and in offspring. I shall bring to thee a thousand pure springs, running towards the pastures that give food to the child.

III c.

12 (32). 'As the sea Vouru-kasha is the gathering place

¹ There are, in the text, two words for 'milk,' the one referring to the milk of women, the other to the milk of cows.

² When the primeval bull died, 'what was bright and strong in his seed was brought to the sphere of the moon, and when it was cleansed there in the light of the astre, two creatures were shaped with it, a male and a female, from which came two hundred and seventy-two kinds of animals' (Bund. IV, X).

of the waters, rising up and going down, up the aerial way and down the earth, down the earth and up the aerial way :

‘ Thus rise up and roll along ! thou in whose rising and growing Ahura Mazda made everything that grows ¹.

13 (33). ‘ Up ! rise up, ye deep Stars, that have in you the seed of waters ² ;

‘ Rise up above Hara Berezaiti, and produce light for the world (and mayst thou [O man !] rise up there, if thou art to abide in Garô-nmânem), along the path made by Mazda, along the way made by the gods, the watery way they opened.

14 (34). ‘ And the Holy Word shall keep away the evil : Of thee [O child !] I will cleanse the birth and growth ; of thee [O woman !] I will make the body and the strength pure ; I make thee rich in children and rich in milk ;

15 (34). ‘ Rich in seed, in milk, in fat, in marrow, and in offspring. I shall bring to thee a thousand pure springs, running towards the pastures that will give food to the child.

16 (34). ‘ As the sea Vouru-kasha is the gathering place of the waters, rising up and going down, up the aerial way and down the earth, down the earth and up the aerial way :

‘ Thus rise up and roll along ! ye in whose rising and growing Ahura Mazda made everything that rises.

17 (35). ‘ In your rising away will the *Kahvuzi* ³ fly and cry, away will the *Ayêhi* ⁴ fly and cry, away will the *Gahi*, who follows the *Yâtu*, fly and cry.

¹ The plants that grow under the action of ‘ those stars that have in them the seed of waters ’ (cf. § 13).

² Cf. Yt. XII, 29.

³ ‘ He who diminishes glory, Ahriman ’ (Comm.)

⁴ ‘ Sterility, Ahriman ’ (Comm.)

IV.

[18¹. 'I drive away Ishirê and I drive away Aghûirê; I drive away Aghra and I drive away Ughra; I drive away sickness and I drive away death; I drive away pain and I drive away fever; I drive away Sârana and I drive away Sârastya. I drive away Azana and I drive away Azahva; I drive away Kurugha and I drive away Azivâka; I drive away Duruka and I drive away Astairya; I drive away the evil eye, rottenness, and infection which Angra Mainyu has created against the bodies of mortals.

19. 'I drive away all manner of sickness and death, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and all the wicked Gainis.

20. 'Â Airyamâ ishyô:—May the vow-fulfilling Airyaman come here, for the men and women of Zarathustra to rejoice, for Vohu-manô to rejoice; with the desirable reward that Religion deserves. I solicit for holiness that boon that is vouchsafed by Ahura!

21. 'May the vow-fulfilling Airyaman smite all manner of sickness and death, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and all the wicked Gainis.

22. 'Yathâ ahû vairyô:—The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness!

'Kem-nâ mazdâ:—What protector hast thou given unto me . . . ?

'Ke verethrem-gâ:—Who is the victorious who will protect thy teaching . . . ?

23. 'Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Drug! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Drug! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of Righteousness!']

¹ §§ 18-23 = Farg. XX, 9-13.

FARGARD XXII.

It has already been seen that of all healers, the most powerful is the one who treats with the Holy Word (*Māthra Spenta*), that is with sacred spells (Farg. VII, 44). Of all sacred spells, the most efficacious is the *Airyamā ishyô*, which forms the fifty-fourth *Hâ* of the *Yasna*. This is expressed under a mythological form in the following Fargard (cf. Westergaard's *Fragments*, IV).

Angra Mainyu having created 99,999 diseases, Ahura applies for remedy to the Holy Word (*Māthra Spenta*; §§ 1-5).—How shall I manage? asks *Māthra Spenta* (§ 16). Ahura sends his messenger to Airyaman with the same request.

This Fargard is unfinished or, more correctly, the end of it is understood. Airyaman comes at once to Ahura's call, and digs nine furrows. It is no doubt in order to perform the *Barashnûm*¹, by the virtue of which the strength of the demon and of the demon's work will be broken. The Fargard ends therefore with spells against sickness and against death, added to the usual spells of the ordinary *Barashnûm*.

I.

1. Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying: 'I, Ahura Mazda, the Maker of all good things, when I made this mansion², the beautiful, the shining, seen afar (there may I go up, there may I arrive!)

2 (5). 'Then the ruffian looked at me³; the ruffian Angra Mainyu, the deadly, wrought against me nine diseases, and ninety, and nine hundred, and nine thousand, and nine times ten thousand diseases. So mayst thou heal me, thou most glorious *Māthra Spenta*!

3 (8). 'Unto thee will I give in return a thou-

¹ See Farg. IX. ² 'The *Garôtmân*' (Comm.), *Paradise*.

³ And cast on me the evil eye; 'it was by casting the evil eye on the good creatures of Ormazd that Ahriman corrupted them' (*Eznig*, *Refutatio Haeresiarum* II). Cf. Farg. XX, 3.

sand fleet, swift-running steeds; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka¹, made by Mazda and holy.

‘Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, high-humped camels; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

4 (12). ‘Unto thee will I give in return a thousand brown oxen that do not push; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

‘Unto thee will I give in return a thousand females big with young, of all species of small cattle; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

5 (16). ‘And I will bless thee with the fair blessing-spell of the righteous, the friendly blessing-spell of the righteous, that makes the empty swell to fulness and the full to overflowing, that comes to help him who was sickening, and makes the sick man sound again.

6 (20). ‘Māthra Spenta, the all-glorious, replied unto me: “How shall I heal thee? How shall I drive away from thee those nine diseases, and those ninety, those nine hundred, those nine thousand, and those nine times ten thousand diseases?”’

II.

7 (22). The Maker Ahura Mazda called for Nairyô-sangha²: Go thou, Nairyô-sangha, the herald, and drive towards the mansion of Airyaman, and speak thus unto him:

¹ The Genius of the good eye; see Farg. XIX, 37, and note.

² The messenger of Ahura Mazda. He is a form of Âtar, the Fire (Yasna XVII, 11 [68]).

8 (23). Thus speaks Ahura Mazda, the Holy One, unto thee :

‘I, Ahura Mazda, the Maker of all good things, when I made this mansion, the beautiful, the shining, seen afar (there may I ascend, there may I arrive !)

9 (24). ‘Then the ruffian looked at me ; the ruffian Angra Mainyu, the deadly, wrought against me nine diseases, and ninety, and nine hundred, and nine thousand, and nine times ten thousand diseases. So mayst thou heal me, O Airyaman, the vow-fulfiller !

10 (26). ‘Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, swift-running steeds ; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

‘Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, high-humped camels ; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

11 (30). ‘Unto thee will I give in return a thousand brown oxen that do not push ; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

‘Unto thee will I give in return a thousand females big with young, of all species of small cattle. I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

12 (34). ‘And I will bless thee with the fair blessing-spell of the righteous, the friendly blessing-spell of the righteous, that makes the empty swell to fulness and the full to overflowing, that comes to help him who was sickening, and makes the sick man sound again.’

III.

13 (38). In obedience to Ahura’s words he went, Nairyô-sangha, the herald ; he drove towards the mansion of Airyaman, he spake unto Airyaman, saying :

14 (38). Thus speaks Ahura Mazda, the Holy One, unto thee : ‘I, Ahura Mazda, the Maker of all good things, when I made this mansion, the

beautiful, the shining, seen afar (there may I go up, there may I arrive!)

15 (39). 'Then the ruffian looked at me; the ruffian Angra Mainyu, the deadly, wrought against me nine diseases, and ninety, and nine hundred, and nine thousand, and nine times ten thousand diseases. So mayst thou heal me, O Airyaman, the vow-fulfiller!

16 (40). 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, swift-running steeds; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, high-humped camels; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

17 (44). 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand brown oxen that do not push; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand females, big with young, of all species of small cattle; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

18 (48). 'And I will bless thee with the fair blessing-spell of the righteous, the friendly blessing-spell of the righteous, that makes the empty swell to fulness and the full to overflowing, that comes to help him who was sickening, and makes the sick man sound again.'

IV.

19 (52). Quickly was it done, nor was it long, eagerly set off the vow-fulfilling Airyaman, towards

the mountain of the holy Questions¹, towards the forest of the holy Questions.

20 (54). Nine kinds of stallions brought he with him, the vow-fulfilling Airyaman².

Nine kinds of camels brought he with him, the vow-fulfilling Airyaman.

Nine kinds of bulls brought he with him, the vow-fulfilling Airyaman.

Nine kinds of small cattle brought he with him, the vow-fulfilling Airyaman.

He brought with him the nine twigs³; he drew along nine furrows⁴.

[21⁵. 'I drive away Ishirê and I drive away Aghûirê; I drive away Aghra and I drive away Ughra; I drive away sickness and I drive away death; I drive away pain and I drive away fever; I drive away Sârana and I drive away Sârastya; I drive away Azana and I drive away Azahva; I drive away Kurugha and I drive away Azivâka; I drive away Duruka and I drive away Astairya. I drive away the evil eye, rottenness, and infection which Angra Mainyu has created against the bodies of mortals.

22. 'I drive away all manner of sickness and death, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and all the wicked Gainis.

23. 'May the vow-fulfilling Airyaman come here, for the men and women of Zarathustra to rejoice, for Vohu-

¹ The mountain where 'the holy conversations' between Ormazd and Zoroaster took place (cf. Farg. XIX, 11).

² According to Frâmjî, 'He brought with him the strength of nine stallions,' to infuse it into the sick man (cf. Yasht VIII, 24).

³ That is to say, 'the nine-knotted stick' (Frâmjî; cf. Farg. IX, 14).

⁴ To perform the Barashnûm, 'the great service of the Nirang-Dîn, through which all evil, moral and natural, including evil passions, disease, and death will be removed' (Wilson, *The Parsi Religion*, p. 341).

⁵ From the Vendidâd Sâda; as Farg. XX, 9-13.

manô to rejoice; with the desirable reward that Religion deserves. I solicit for holiness that boon that is vouchsafed by Ahura.

24. 'May the vow-fulfilling Airyaman smite all manner of sickness and death, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and all the wicked Gainis.

25. 'Yathâ ahû vairyo:—The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness. The gifts of Vohu-manô to the deeds done in this world for Mazda. He who relieves the poor makes Ahura king.

'Kēm-nâ mazdâ:—What protector hast thou given unto me, O Mazda! while the hate of the wicked encompasses me? Whom but thy Âtar and Vohu-manô, through whose work I keep on the world of righteousness? Reveal therefore to me thy Religion as thy rule!

'Kē verethrem-gâ:—Who is the victorious who will protect thy teaching? Make it clear that I am the guide for both worlds. May Sraosha come with Vohu-manô and help whomsoever thou pleasest, O Mazda!

'Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Drug! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Drug! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of Righteousness!']

FRAGMENTS OF THE NASKS.

I.

WESTERGAARD'S FRAGMENTS.

These are the fragments, nine in number, published by Westergaard in his edition of the *Zend-Avesta* (pp. 331-334).

I.

This formula, according to a modern *Ravâyat*, is recited while putting on new clothes.

1. Along with *Vohu Manô*, *Asha Vahista*, and *Khshathra Vairya*, pronounce thou, for the men and women of the holy *Zarathustra*¹, a word of celebration and sacrifice, with a modest(?) voice.

2. Pronounce thou that word, O *Zarathustra*, for sacrifice and prayer unto us, the *Amesha-Spentas*², that thereby sacrifice may accrue unto the Waters and the Plants, and unto the *Fravashis* of the righteous, and unto the *Yazatas* of the spiritual world and of this world, divine creatures, beneficent and holy.

II.

FARÎDÛN YAST.

The following formulas are exactly conceived in the style of the *Yast* formulas. The Iranian Hercules, *Thraêtaona-Farîdûn*, as conqueror of *Azi Dahâka*, is invoked against brigands.—*Azi* being

¹ For the faithful.

² The *Amesha-Spentas*, presiding over the different regions of nature, may be supposed to furnish the substance, of animal or vegetable origin, of which clothes are made. Cf. *Fragments to Vd. XVIII, 2.*

a Serpent, Thraêtaona appeared as well in a medical as in an heroic character: his Fravashi is invoked against itch and other diseases (Yt. XIII, 131), and his name is invoked in Tavtâs (talismans) against illness, fever, and poison.

1. Fravarânê. I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura ;

For sacrifice, prayer, gratification, and glorification [unto Hâvani, &c.]

Khshnaoitra. Gratification unto the Fravashi of the holy Thraêtaona, son of Âthwya.

Yathâ ahû vairyô.—The Râspî: The wish of the Lord . . . (let this Zaothar proclaim it!)

The Zôt: Is the rule of Righteousness. Let the righteous man who knows it proclaim it!

2. We sacrifice unto Thraêtaona, son of Âthwya, holy, master of holiness, to save the pious worshippers from the brigand, from the robber, from the Karapans¹.

3. Yathâ ahû vairyô.

Yasnemka. I bless the sacrifice and prayer and the strength and vigour of the Fravashi of Thraêtaona, son of Âthwya.

Ashem vohû. Ahmâi raêska².

III.

VîSPA HUMATA.

A prayer which it is recommended to recite every morning, after the prayer of the Hâvan-gâh, and every night before going to bed.

1. All good thoughts, all good words, all good deeds I do willingly.

All evil thoughts, all evil words, all evil deeds I do unwillingly.

¹ 'The blind,' those who are blind to the Law of Ahura.

² The same formula as Yast III, 19.

2. All good thoughts, all good words, all good deeds will reach Paradise.

All evil thoughts, all evil words, all evil deeds will reach Hell.

And all good thoughts, all good words, all good deeds are the badge of the righteous for Paradise.

IV.

GLORIFICATION OF THE AIRYAMA ISHYÔ PRAYER.

This fragment is the twenty-third and last Fargard of one of the Gâthic Nasks, the Varshtmânsar, which was a commentary in vulgar Zend on the Gâtha texts. Its Pahlavi translation is found in the Dînkart, IX, 46. See the Airyama Ishyô itself, Yasna LIV, Vendîdâd XX, 11.

1. The Airyama Ishyô I declare, O pure Spitama, the greatest of all words; I created it as the most triumphant of all words. That is the word that the Saosyants¹ will pronounce.

2. Through it, I proclaim it, O Spitama, I become sovereign over my creation, I, Ahura Mazda; and through it Angra Mainyu, of the bad religion, shall lose the sovereignty over his own creation, O Spitama Zarathustra.

3. Angra Mainyu shall hide under the earth; under the earth shall the demons hide. The dead shall rise up, life shall come back to the bodies and they shall keep the breath.

V.

This fragment is composed of two series of invocations which differ only in the same manner as the Lesser Sirôza differs from

¹ The great saints of Mazdeism, whose virtue and merits are to bring about the decisive victory of Ahura over Angra Mainyu and the production of the resurrection.

the Greater one, that is to say, the first is introduced by the word *Khshnaothra*¹, and the second by the word *yazamaidê*². These are two forms of *Khshnûman* for a *Darûn* celebrated on the *Bahrâm* day for the benefit of a member of the family who is travelling.

1. [*Khshnaothra*. Gratification] to Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious;

To the Amesha-Spentas;

To the well-shapen and tall-formed Strength;

To Verethraghna, made by Ahura, and to the crushing Ascendant;

To the Safety of the roads;

To the golden instrument³ and to the Saokenta mount, made by Mazda³;

To all the Gods.

2. We sacrifice (*yazamaidê*) to Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious.

We sacrifice to the Amesha-Spentas;

We sacrifice to the well-shapen and tall-formed Strength;

We sacrifice to Verethraghna, made by Ahura, and to the crushing Ascendant;

We sacrifice to the Safety of the roads;

We sacrifice to the golden instrument and to the Saokenta mount, made by Mazda;

We sacrifice to all the holy [Gods].

VI.

These are the formulas recited in the preparation of the *gîvâm* (the milk that mixed with *urvarâm* and *hôm* makes the *parâ-hôm*). Those formulas are found in the Pahlavi Commentary to the *Nîrangistân*, § 68. The milch-goat which is going to yield the

¹ Not expressed; the object is in the genitive case.

² 'We worship, we sacrifice to' (the object being in the accusative case).

³ See *Khôrshêd Nyâvis*, 8 (*Zend-Avesta*, part ii).

milk, is introduced into the Urvîs-gâh, whereupon the Mobed, after reciting three Khshnaothra and one Ashem vohû, pronounces the Fravarânê in the honour of the present Gâh and of the animal which is milked.

Fravarânê. I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas, and obeys the laws of Ahura; [for sacrifice, prayer, gratification, and glorification unto Hâvani, &c.]

Khshnaothra. Gratification, for sacrifice, prayer, gratification, and glorification,

[If there is only one animal:]

To the Body of the Bull¹, to the Soul of the Bull; to thy soul, to thee (tava), O Beneficent Bull.

Yathâ ahû vairyô. The will of the Lord, &c. . . .

[If there are two of them:]

To the Body of the Bull, to the Soul of the Bull; to the soul of you both (yuvâkem), O Beneficent Bulls.

Yathâ ahû vairyô . . .

[If there are three of them:]

To the Body of the Bull, to the Soul of the Bull; to your soul (yushmâkem), O Beneficent Bulls.

Yathâ ahû vairyô . . .

VII.

These are the formulas pronounced during the preparation of the holy water or Zaothra. They are found in the Pahlavi Commentary to Nirangistân, § 48.

The Mobed, taking in hand the two Zaothra cups, recites a Khshnaothra to the waters.

¹ *Gaur* has become the general name of all animal species. Cf. Vd. XXI, 1, n. 1.

1. Khshnaothra. Gratification, for sacrifice, prayer, gratification, and glorification,

To the Good Waters¹ and to all the waters created by Mazda;

To the great Sovereign Apām Napâd², and to the water created by Mazda;

To thee, O Ahurâni³, [O Water] of Ahura!

Yathâ ahû vairyô.

[He puts the two cups on the surface of the water and says:]

2. We praise thee, O Ahurâni, [Water] of Ahura; we offer unto thee good sacrifices and good prayers, good offerings, offerings of assistance.

[Then he dips them, takes them up and puts them upon the Urvîs-stone while he pronounces the following words:]

Yazatanām, thwâ, ashaonām, kukhshntsha, us-bibarâmi, rathwasêa berezatô, gâthâosêa srâvayôid: 'I take thee up, may'st thou gratify the holy Gods and the great Ratu.—Let him sing the Gâthas!'

VIII.

The following fragment, the text of which is most corrupt and defies translation, seems to be a curse to destroy an enemy.

1. May he perish in the year, in the month!

I, worshipper of Mazda, desire to make him perish by my spells. If a man utter them, the evildoer shall perish thereby quick and soon . . . May none be seized by that Drug!

¹ The waters of the present sacrifice.

² See Yasts and Sîrôzas, p. 6, n. 1.

³ The waters of the bowl from which the priest draws water. Cf. the Guimet Zend-Avesta, i, 409, n. 2; 416.

2. when Mahrkûsha¹ shall perish
and the army of the Drug² shall be thrown down
and broken.

IX.

This fragment is as corrupt as the preceding one. It seems to be meant as a glorification of the Ahuna Vairya.

1. Yathâ ahû vairyô.

Give, O Mazda, the desired reward³,—a royalty befriending what is good³,—the desired reward that Religion deserves⁴.

2. Yathâ ahû vairyô. This is the Word pronounced by Mazda, the lordly Word, the Māthra Spenta, the undestructible and unfailing; the victorious, evil-destroying, healing Word; the victorious Word pronounced by Mazda; which utters and uttered health; victorious amongst all.

3. In it were uttered strength, victory, health, healing, prosperity, waxing and increase, according to that word in the Gāthas: 'all that can be wished for by your loyal servants⁵.'

He who relieves the poor makes Ahura King⁶.

4⁷. Let all the World of the Good Principle listen to this sacrifice, to this prayer, to this gratification, to this glorification!

We sacrifice to the pious Sraosha.

We sacrifice to the Great Master, Ahura Mazda

¹ Mahrkûsha, the demon who is going to send the deathly winters in prevision of which Yima is ordered to build the Var (see Vd. II, 22 and notes).

² From Yasna XXXIV, 14 a.

³ Yasna LI, 1 a.

⁴ Yasna LIV, 1 (Airyama ishyô).

⁵ Yasna LXV, 14 (=L, 11 d).

⁶ The last line of the Ahuna Vairya.

⁷ Yasna LXX, 6-7.

II.

ZEND FRAGMENTS IN THE ZEND-PAHLAVI FARHANG.

The oldest Zend dictionary in existence, the so-called Zend-Pahlavi Farhang or Oyum-yak Farhang¹, contains a number of Zend sentences or fragments of sentences, which are adduced as instances of the Zend words. They amount to the number of seventy, of which forty-eight are new. We thought it necessary to give the translation of these forty-eight fragments only. The indications of pages refer to the printed edition.

1 a (pp. 6-7). aêdha. The skin on the head.

There are two, one greater and one lesser, as it is said in the Nîkâtûm²:

Which is the greater aêdha?—That one which is on the posterior part of the skull.

Which is the lesser one?—That one which is on the anterior part of the skull.

1 b (p. 7). The head (vaghdhanem) of a man.
One bone of the skull.

¹ Haug-Hoshangji, *An Old Zend-Pahlavi Glossary*, Bombay, 1867.

² The Nîkâtûm is the fifteenth Nask, the first of the seven Legal Nasks. It contained thirty Fargards, the third of which, named Rêshistan (a treatise on the wounds), gave an enumeration of the divers members of the body, numbering seventy-six. The fragments 1 a-1 b are very likely taken from that Fargard.—For an analysis of the Nîkâtûm, see Dinkart VIII, ch. 16-20 (in West, *Pahlavi Texts*, IV).

All the strokes that [have pierced] the skull are counted [tanâfûhr]¹.

The others shall pay the *hvara* ² penalty.

2 a (p. 9). With victorious eloquence.

2 b. A fine, well considered, well balanced, obedient ³ speech.

2 c. An honest man who knows how to speak, for instance, a wise man who makes intercession ⁴.

2 d. One whose words are accepted.

3 (p. 11). Sovereign, unopposed.

4 (p. 11). Good renown here below, and long bliss to the soul ⁵.

5 (p. 11). All the bodily world shall become free from old age and death, from corruption and rot, for ever and ever ⁶.

6 (p. 12). A horse of first value, amongst the finest of the country, is as much as four oxen and four cows three years old.

7 (p. 12). As much as this earth.

¹ Which implies a punishment of two hundred Sraoshô-*karana* strokes. The words in brackets are wanting in the text: they are supplied from the Pahlavi translation.

² The *hvara* or *khôr* penalty: thirty strokes with the Sraoshô-*karana* (Vd. IV, 30, 31).

³ In accordance with the instructions of the Ratu or Dastûr.

⁴ Who makes *Gâdangôî*: see Tahmuras' Fragments, XLVII, note.

⁵ Good renown in this world and bliss in the other. Cf. Yasna LXII, 6; Yast XVII, 22, and Tansar's letter to the King of Tabaristan: 'He may be called a great king who takes more to heart the weal of the future than the present time, in order to deserve a good name in this world and a good seat in the next.' (Journal Asiatique, 1894, I, 512-513).

⁶ Cf. Yast XIX, 11, 23, 89; XXIV, 45.

8 (p. 12). The smallest of those stars is as large as the head of a man of middle size ¹.

9 (p. 12). An ashti in front, as much in depth ².

10 (p. 13). There where the sun rises.

11 (p. 13). There where Ahura Mazda will give you prosperity.

12 (p. 14) ³. He who to a plaintiff does not proffer place, ordeal, and time of appointment ⁴;

and all the operations of justice, conformable to the law and the rule, worked out by the Ahu and the Ratu, according to the laws of Asha Vahista . . .

13 (p. 14). He who says to a man : Make amends unto me.

14 (p. 14). When two men appoint a time ⁵ . . .

15 (pp. 14-15). As long as he has life.

16. And the young Gayô-Maratan ⁶.

17. In the time when those men were, O Zarathustra !

¹ 'Amongst the stars (says the Greater Bundahish), the larger ones are as large as a *kaîâf*-house (?); the middle stars are as large as a *cahârakân naptishu* (?); the lesser ones are as large as the head of a domestic ox. The moon is as large as a riding-ground, two *hâsars* long; the sun is as large as *Irân-Vêg*' (thus in Anaxagoras' astronomy the sun has the dimensions of Peloponnesus).—From a comparison between the Greater Bundahish and the Zend passage quoted in the Farhang it appears that the measurement of the stars was discussed several times and not without slight variations in the Avesta (most likely in the cosmological *Dâmdât Nask*).

² Cf. Vd. XIII, 30.

³ This fragment and the two following seem to be taken from the *Nikâtûm Nask*.

⁴ The defendant, if conscious of his innocence, will propose that he should go through the whole process of one of the judicial ordeals.

⁵ For an ordeal.

⁶ *Gayô-Maratan*, *Gayô-mard*, the first man. Cf. Yt. XIII, 87.

18 (p. 15). To the lesser man labour, to the greater one, commandment (?).

19. On went Pourusaspa, on go these sons of Thraêtaona's (?).

20. He makes himself guilty of the yâta sin ¹.

21 a (p. 16). A year's delay for a vîrô-mazô contract ².

21 b. They ³ boiled up, they fell back.

22. yaêtus zaêmanô (?)

23. yaoskîna surahê (?)

24. Let one pluck stems, three stems ⁴.

25. The edge of a razor.

26. If they have come [or have not come].

27. The progeny and son of Ahura Mazda.

28 (p. 17). The several sorts of corn.

29. I offer up the sacrifice to the Frazdânava waters ⁵.

30. Who is the judge who knows the law ?

It is the one who sees the due decision ⁶.

31 (p. 18). And clothes magnificently wrought.

32. Lands fit for tillage.

33 (p. 19). All the agreements in the world.

34 (p. 23). . . . happiness with his eyes ⁷.

35 (p. 30). Goods carried by force.

36 (p. 31). gathwô-stakad.

¹ Yâta, yât: the sin of breaking a man's leg.

² A contract to the amount of a man (valued 150 istirs=500 dirhems).

³ The waters.

⁴ For the Baresman (Yasna LVII, 6).

⁵ A river or lake in Saistan, where Vishtâspa sacrificed to the Goddess of Waters (Yt. V, 108).

⁶ He sees the right and legal decision which results from the facts of the case.—Cf. West, Pahlavi Texts, IV, 64, note.

⁷ This refers to the good eye, to some beneficent being who sends luck with his look: cf. Yt. XIX, 94, and reversely Yasna IX, 29.

37. *thwām khratus* (?)

38. Which, recited to Mazda, protects the end¹.

39 (p. 38). The fire of Ahura Mazda receives food three times in summer, twice in winter²; thus does the fire of the faithful man³.

40 (p. 39). Fifteen sheep, their hind-feet.

41 (p. 40). Anywhere in this world.—Whosoever in the bodily world.—Whatsoever of the world of the good principle.

42 (p. 41). *zvaiti aêtshaya* (K^o. *aêtashaya*).

43. As much as twelve steps *antare thwām* (?)

44. Twice a *Dakhsmaiti* is a *Yugyasti*⁴.

Twice as much as a *Hâthra* is a *Takara*⁵.

45 (p. 42). From the coming of the light⁶ . . .

46 (p. 43). The longest day is the day of twelve *Hâthras*⁷.

47. The shortest *Hâthra* is of three words⁸.

¹ This refers perhaps to the *Ashem Vohû*, which, being recited by a man with his dying breath, saves his soul (Yt. XXI, 15).

² The fire is fed three times a day in summer, at the three *Gâhs* of the day; only twice in winter, as in winter there are only two *Gâhs*, the *Rapithvin* being included in *Hâvan*.

³ There will be two meals in winter, one in the morning, another in the evening. In summer there is a third meal, at noon (cf. *Yasna IX*, 11).—The passage thirty-nine is taken from the *Sakâtûm Nask* (cf. West, *Pahlavi Texts*, IV, 480).

⁴ A *Yugyasti* being 16,000 paces, a *Dakhsmaiti* is 8,000 paces (cf. West, *ibid.* 56, note).

⁵ A *Hâthra* being 1,000 paces, a *Takara* is as much as 2,000 paces.

⁶ The coming of the light (*raokanghām fragati*) is the name of the last watch of the night.

⁷ *Hâthra* is a measure for time as well as for space. 'A summer day (says the *Bundahis*, XXV, 5) is of twelve *hâsars*; a winter day is of six *hâsars*.'

⁸ The uses and values of the *Hâthra* are most diverse: as a measure for short intervals of time, it is the time needed to pronounce three words.

48. Three steps of that sort of steps ¹.
Here is for the judge, here is for the witness ².
Here is for the suit, here is for the suitors.

¹ The complete meaning of the sentence would seem to be :
'The judge and the witness stand in a circle of three steps' (Farhang).

² The Farhang has : 'All the speeches of the suit ought to be held within three steps ; and both pleaders—both defendant and plaintiff—should stand within a circle of three steps ;' so that everybody may hear distinctly the whole of the debate.

III.

ZEND FRAGMENTS QUOTED IN THE PAHLAVI COMMENTARY OF THE YASNA.

YASNA IX, 1, 3¹.

Mithrô zayâd Zarathustrem.

‘Mitra armis (?) Zoroastrem . . .’

These words are found in the Commentary to the beginning of the Hôrn Yast: Haoma approached Zarathustra ‘while he was washing the fire-altar and singing the Gâthas,’ and Zarathustra asked him who he was. The Commentary here observes that Zarathustra had recognised Haoma; ‘as it appears from the passage, Mithrô zayâd Zarathustrem, that he knew him, that he had already had appointments with most of the Izeds and was well acquainted with them.’—That passage, quoted as usual by its first words, is very likely taken from the Spand, the Nask occupied with the legend of Zoroaster.

YASNA IX, 1, 4.

amereza gayêhê stûna.

This quotation refers to the time when everybody will be immortal without a body. It may be translated by conjecture.

‘The column of life² [made] marrowless.’

YASNA IX, 8, 27.

Kô thwām yim Ahurem Mazdām.—‘Quis te, Ahura Mazda . . .?’

This quotation comes after the description of the three-headed

¹ The first Arabic number refers to Geldner’s, the second to Spiegel’s edition.

² The spine.

serpent, *Azi Dahāka*. Its beginning reminds one of a similar and perhaps identical question in *Vendîdād XVIII*, 61: *Kô thwām yim Ahurem Mazdām mazistaya inti inaoti*, 'Who grieves thee, Ahura Mazda, with the sorest grief?'

YASNA IX, 11, 35.

K hshvaêpaya vaênaya baresna (or *barenus*).

The horned serpent, *Azi Srvara*, whom *Keresâspa* killed, had yellow poison, a thumb thick, streaming over its body, *khshvaêpaya vaênaya baresna*, 'by the anus, by the nose, by the head (?)'.

YASNA XVII, 55 (ed. Spiegel).

apagayêhê.—Privation of life . . .

First word of a quotation which appears in passages intended either to prolong life and deprecate the death of a friend (generally under the form: may there be no room for *apagayêhê*, *XLI*, 7; *XLII*, 1), or to wish death to an enemy (*XLV*, 4; *XLVIII*, 10; *LII*, 8; *LXI*, 10; ed. Sp.)

YASNA XXXI, 20 b (ed. Spiegel).

vîshâka (= *vîshâadka*, 'also of poison,' at the end of *XLVIII*, 11 d, in the best MSS.)

Descriptive of the bad food supplied to the wicked in hell, the *vîshayâadka vîsh-gaitayâadka* of *Yt. XXII*, 36.

YASNA LVI, 1, 1 (ed. Spiegel).

barôithrô-taêzem.—See Fragments at *Vd. XVIII*, 14, 33 (Sp.)

YASNA LXIV, 48 (ed. Spiegel).

pâdhavê zâvare gava aza srûma.

A corrupt quotation in the MSS., from *Yt. XVI*, 7.

IV.

ZEND FRAGMENTS QUOTED IN THE PAHLAVI COMMENTARY OF THE VENDÎDÂD.

VENDÎDÂD I, 2¹.

asô râmô-dâitîm nôid aogô-râmistâm.

‘A place that gives pleasure, though not absolute pleasure.’

This refers to the present condition of the countries, marred by Ahriman’s operations; every man finds his own country delightful, however much its charm may have been spoiled by Ahriman.

paoirtm bitîm.—‘Firstly, secondly.’

‘Firstly, the good operation was done for that country; secondly, after the Genius of the Earth had done all its operations in that country, the work of opposition came against it. In other terms, two things: one at the time of creation, the other afterwards.’

âad ahê paityârem.—‘Then to this an opposition.’
mash mâ rava shathâm haitîm.—(?)

VENDÎDÂD I, 4.

It is known that [in the ordinary course of nature] there are seven months of summer and five of winter².

¹ The last five lines in note 2, page 3 above are to be replaced by the following: Clause 2, in the Vendîdâd Sâda, is composed of Zend quotations in the Commentary: for which, see below, Fragments to the Vendîdâd.

² Whereas in Airyana Vaêgô there are ten months of winter and two of summer.

VENDÎDÂD I, 15.

From there¹ they come to kill and strike at heart, and they bring locusts as many as they want.

VENDÎDÂD I, 16.

vaêdhanghō nôid uzôis².—Of knowledge, not of love (?)³.

Refers to 'Ragha of the three races,' the native place of Zoroaster's mother.

VENDÎDÂD I, 19.

'From the Eastern river to the Western one' (= Yt. X, 104).

VENDÎDÂD I, 20.

'And the taozya (?)⁴ oppression of the country.'

VENDÎDÂD II, 6 (see above, p. 12, note 1).

'Although Yima did not teach the law and train pupils, he was nevertheless one of the faithful and a holy man, and rendered men holy too (?)⁵.'

'That he was one of the faithful⁵ appears from this passage:

¹ From the Haêtumant country (Saistân). See above, Vd. I, 15, note 1.

² The word dahâkâi, found only in K³, is probably an unfortunate accretion to uzôis read as azôis.

³ Ragha knows the truth, but does not like it. Unbelief is dominant there (Vd. I, 16).

⁴ According to the greater Bundahis, taozya means tâgîk, 'Arabic.' Arab tribes were established in the basin of the Rangha (the Tigris) long before the Arab conquest.

⁵ vêh-dîn, a member of the Zoroastrian community (though prematurely so).

mrûidhi tad māthwem yad aēmēid yô daēva.—

“ Say that formula which even the Daēvas . . . ”

‘ That he was holy ¹ appears from this passage :

“ We sacrifice to the Fravashi of the holy Yima, son of Vīvanghat ” (Yt. XIII, 130).

‘ That he rendered men holy too (?) ² appears from this passage :

abareshnva pasāēta asāra mashyākaēibyō³.

The Commentary then proceeds to state that Yima lost by his sin the gift of immortality, and remarks that Gim and Kâûs were both created immortal (a-ôsh) and became mortal by their own fault.

‘ For Gim this appears from the following passage :

“ Soon he changed this⁴ to death by the fault of his tongue⁵. ”

‘ For Kâûs it appears from this passage :

“ Thereupon he⁶ let him flee away ; whereupon mortal he became⁷. ”

¹ ahlav, that is, ‘ one of the blessed.’

² Literally, ‘ he put the distinctive character of it in the body of man.’

³ Literally, ‘ without a head, afterwards, without a chief, for men.’

⁴ His immortality.

⁵ ‘ When he took delight in words of falsehood and error’ (Yt. XIX, 34) ; when he claimed the name and the worship of a god.

⁶ Neryosengh, who was in the act of putting Kâûs to death.

⁷ A quotation from the Sûtkar Nask, in which the legend of the greatness and fall of Kai-Kâûs was told in full detail. Kai-Kâûs had become king of the seven Karsvares of the Earth (cf. Yt. V, 46), and all demons and men were obedient to his word ; he built seven palaces in the middle of Alborz, one of gold, two of silver, two of steel, two of crystal ; and if men, broken down by age and on the point of breathing their last, were taken round his palace, they recovered at once strength and youth. But the demons, whom he kept in bonds, took counsel how to get rid of him ; and to achieve

VENDÎDÂD II, 16.

The Commentary infers from the threefold proceeding of Yima towards the South that, on entering upon any new enterprise, one must go three steps southwards and recite an ahuna vairya.

‘ That his creation [of the earth] became more beautiful [towards the South] appears from the passage :

usehistaīd gâus barad danhus.—“ The ox rose up, the land bore [fruits].” ’

‘ That one must recite an Avesta text appears from the passage in the Pa[sû]shûrûn¹ :

srīra ukhdha va^kau sāsanghām.—? ’

‘ That that text is the Ahunvar appears from the passage Ahunô vairyô². ’

his ruin inspired him with a disgust of his earthly sovereignty and a longing for the Kingdom of the Gods. Accordingly he went over Alborz with an army of demons and wicked men, and rushed down to the border of Darkness : there he erected a statue of clay to the Fortune of the Kaianides. Then he entered into a struggle with the Gods, and the Creator recalled to himself the royal Glory of the Kaianides, and Kâûs’ army fell from above down to the earth ; Kâûs himself being carried along the Frâkh-kart Sea (the Caspian Sea). And a man, closely united to him, ran after him, and after that man ran the messenger of Auhrmazd, Neryosengh. And that man, who was the still unborn Kai-Khosrav, cried out : ‘ Kill him not, O Neryosengh ! For if thou killest him, there will be no destroyer of the chief of Tûrân : for to this man Syâvakhsh shall be born, and to Syâvakhsh, I, Kai-Khosrav, shall be born, who am going to destroy Tûrân and its king and its armies.’ Neryosengh, rejoiced by these words, thereupon let Kaî-Kâûs away ; thereupon he became mortal (Dînkart IX, 22, 4-12).

¹ Perhaps the Pasûs-haurvastân Fargard in the Ganbâ-sar-nigat Nask (West, Dînkart VIII, 23, § 19 ?).

² Perhaps the passage meant is Vd. XI, 3 : ‘ The Ahuna Vairya preserves the person of man.’

VENDĪDÂD II, 20 a (Westergaard).

‘Then Yima drew to a close the holy first millennium of years¹.’

VENDĪDÂD II, 20 b.

avaiti bāzô.—‘Of the same thickness . . .’

‘That Gim, three times, made the earth as large as it was before, appears from the passage :

avaiti bāzô.’

VENDĪDÂD II, 20 c.

‘Auhrmazd kept this world for three thousand years in a spiritual shape ; for three thousand years he kept it in a material shape, but without any opposition ; three thousand years elapsed from the coming of the Opposition to the coming of the Religion ; three thousand years will elapse from the coming of the Religion to the resurrection. As follows from the passage :

Kvantem zrvānem mainyava stis ashaoni dāta as.

“How long did the holy creation remain in a spiritual form ?”’

VENDĪDÂD III, 14.

nôid makhshi-beretô.—‘Nor brought by flies’ (= Vd. V, 3 ; see above, p. 50).

yô vīsad aētayām² zaothrām âtareṃ â frabarôid.

‘It appears from this passage that if a man throw his

¹ For three times three hundred years Yima had governed and increased the earth : the last century of his millennial reign was passed in building and organising the Var. (Cf. above, p. 14, note 1.)

² *aētayām* in M¹ and B¹ (West) ; Spiegel has *aēyām*, Westergaard has *aēvām*.

dast-shô¹ into the water, it is as if he had thrown hêhr into the fire.'

yatha narem dusâ zaretēm.—'A righteous man bowed down with age' (see the passage given in full in the Tahmuras Fragments, § 38).

'It appears from this passage that throwing hêhr into water or fire is as bad as casting nasâ (dead matter) on one of the faithful.'

paoiryâ upaiti paoiryâ nishasta.—'For the first time he comes near unto her, for the first time he lies by her' (= Vd. XVI, 15).

VENDÎDÂD III, 15.

yâ nars hvâ-aothremahê yatô.—?

Words inserted in the London manuscript (L⁴) after the word huskô-zemôtememâ, as also in Vd. V, 46.

VENDÎDÂD III, 27.

bâdha idha âfrasâni danhubyô.—?

VENDÎDÂD III, 40.

yôi henti ainhau zemô kanenti.

'Those who bury [corpses] in this earth.'

yô nars ashaonô iririthushô zemê kehrpa nikainti.

'He who buries the corpse of a righteous man who has departed . . .'

This passage is quoted by Vindâd-gûshnasp, as establishing that for every one of the worms that eat up the buried corpse, the man who did the burying is liable to a tanâfûhr penalty.

¹ The water in which he has washed his hands.

VENDÎDÂD III, 42.

spayêiti.—‘It takes away.’

An abridged expression of the principle that the Zoroastrian religion has an atonement for every crime, and that it takes away his sin from the man who confesses and expiates it (see Vd. III, 41 seq.)

parâ kavahmâd nered.—‘Away from any man.’

nôid marâm pairistem.—. . . ?

vanghavê mananghê.—‘To Vohu Manô.’

tûiryanãm dahyunãm.—‘Of the Turanian nations.’

‘Gô-gûshnasp said : “In every religion there are righteous men, as appears from the passage—Of the Turanian nations ;”’ (that is to say, from the passage : ‘We worship the Fravashis of the holy men of the Turanian nations ;’ Yt. XIII, 143).

VENDÎDÂD IV, 1.

yad nâ kasvikâmêina.—‘The man who [entreated by one of the faithful,] does not [give him] anything, be it ever so little,’ [of the riches he has treasured up] (quoted from Vd. XVIII, 34).

yavad vâ aêtê vaka framrvâna maêthemnahê hvai pairi geurvayêiti.

‘While he pronounces these words: “as long as he keep in his house (his neighbour’s property), as though it were his own”’ (Vd. IV, 1).

VENDÎDÂD IV, 10.

nava drugaiti khshathraêibyô.

‘The Mihir-drug (the man who does not keep his word) does harm ; nava drugaiti khshathraêibyô (khshôithraêibyô ?).’

That is to say, the evil consequences of his perjury extend to nine cities around ; he ruins his own city and the neighbouring ones (cf. Mihir Yast, 18).

West proposes to translate *khshathraēibyō* 'guardianships, holdings of property, *sardārīh*.' 'The breach of promise subsists in one's offspring (*zīyāk*, M¹⁹), *nava drugaiti khshathraēibyō*, "it deceives for nine holdings of property," that is to say, for nine generations. West observes this would agree with Neryosengh's definition of *nabānazdista*. It agrees also with the next quotation :

nerebyō hō dādrakhti.—[That sin] 'takes root in men.'

'The sin of perjury subsists in the child born after the perjury : *nerebyō hō dādrakhti*.'

pairi aogastarō zī ahmād.—'It becomes more violent than that (or thereby).'

VENDĪDĀD V, 2, 4.

dāyata dāitya pairisti (read *pairista*).—'Give lawful, well-examined wood¹.'

vitasti-drāgō frârâthni-drāgō.—'On a *Vitasti* all around [if the wood be dry], on a *Frârâthni* all around [if it be wet].—An abridged quotation from Vd. VII, 29.

VENDĪDĀD V, 7.

yēzi vasen mazdayasna zām raodhayen.

'If worshippers of Mazda want to till that piece of ground again' (from Vd. VI, 6).

On the text : 'When a man goes away, it is by the will of Fate he goes' (Vd. V, 9), the Commentary observes :

'The boon that has not been destined for a man never comes to him, as appears from the passage :

¹ Wood perfectly dry and ready for the fire ; cf. Vd. XIV, 2, note 4.

gairi masô anghô aêtahê.—. . . ?

‘The boon that has been destined for him comes to him through his own active merit :

anyô eredvô-zangô hvarenô.—“Another man, of a steady leg¹, [conquers] glory.”

‘He loses it by his own fault² :

âad hvarenô frapiryêiti.—“He loses his Glory.”

‘If evil has been destined for him, he can repel it through his own active merit :

‘[I see no way to kill Spitama Zarathustra], “so great is the glory of the holy Zarathustra” (Vd. XIX, 3).

aêshâm/ka narãm.—“Of these men . . .”

VENDÎDÂD V, 19, 21.

kaiti henti urvaranãm saredha.—‘How many sorts of plants are there?’

anghvãm daênãm.—‘His soul and his religion³.’

VENDÎDÂD V, 34.

‘Let no man alone by himself carry a corpse’ (= Vd. III, 14).

‘[If the Nasu] has [already] been expelled’ (= Vd. VII, 30).

VENDÎDÂD VI, 26.

barô aspô vazô rasô.—barô applies to horse-riding, vazô applies to chariot-driving.

¹ A sign of strength and agility (Yasna LXII, 5 ; Yt. X, 61).

² Like Gim or Kâûs ; see above, p. 262.

³ His life, the whole of his actions, judged from the religious point of view.

VENDÎDÂD VII, 43.

bivakayêhê.

This seems to be the name given in the Rat-dât-ît Nask to two passages in the Vendîdâd on medical examinations and doctors' fees (Vd. VII, 36-40; 41-43), or to a passage in that Nask treating of the same subjects.

stavanô vâ pûiti pâidhi davaisnê vâ.—?

VENDÎDÂD VII, 52.

§§ 53-54 in the Vendîdâd Sâda are composed of quotations in the Pahlavi Commentary in support of §§ 51, 52: 'He who should pull down Dakhmas, even so much thereof as the size of his own body, his sins in thought, word, and deed are remitted as they would be by a Patet (paititem); his sins in thought, word, and deed are atoned for (uzvarstem).'

paititem u vaêô-urvaitis u yaêka (read yavaêka).—

'Patet and right of speech and for ever and ever'.

'Wherever the Avesta has paititem, or vaêô-urvaitis, or yaêka (read yavaêka), it means that the margarzân sinner has a tanâfûhr sin suppressed and a merit (karfak) of the same value substituted for it.'

adhaêa henti paretô-tanunãm syaothnanãm uzvarstayô.—'And these are the ways of undoing deeds that make one peshôtanu.'

yathaêa dim ganaad Spitama Zarathustra yim viptem vâ.—'And if he kill the sodomite, O Spitama Zarathustra!' (cf. p. 113, n. 4).

'From this passage it appears that killing a sodomite is equal to paititem.'

¹ Paititem represents the formula, 'his sins in thought, word, and deed are remitted as they would be by a Patet.'—vaêô-urvaitis appears to stand for some formula meaning that the sinner is henceforth vaêô-urvaitis, that is to say, his word recovers authority (cf. Afrîngân Gâhânâbâr, VIII b).—yaêka (read yavaêka) means that his sin is cancelled for ever.

yaskā dim ganad Spitama Zarathustra vehrkem yim bizangrem daēvayasnem peshō-tanvē.—‘And he who should kill, O Spitama Zarathustra! a two-footed wolf, a Daēva-worshipper, for a peshōtanu deed.’

‘From this passage it appears that killing an infidel (anēr-ē) is as much as yavaēka, that is to say, his sin is rooted out of him [for ever].’

vakō-urvaitis.—‘The right of speech.’

haithīm ashavana bavatem.—‘Both become manifestly holy¹.’

vīspem tad paiti framarezaiti dumatemka.

[The celebration of the Avesta office] ‘cleanses the faithful from every evil thought,’ [word, and deed]² . . .

The following quotations refer to the balance of deeds, the rules of which are stated in the *Arđā Virāf*:

‘For every one whose good works are three *Srōshō-karanām* more than his sin, goes to heaven; they whose sin is more, go to hell; they in whom both are equal, remain among these *Hamēstagān* till the future existence³.’

‘*Gō-gūshnasp* says: during the *sitōsh*⁴, sin and merit are compared:

yad hē avad paourum ubgyâtê.—“If it outweighs so much . . .”

‘If sins outweigh the merits by three *Srōshō-karanām*, [he shall stay] in hell till the day of resurrection:

âtare vanghaud vanad.—?

‘If sins and merits are equal, [he shall stay] in the *hamēstagān*.

¹ Their salvation is assured.

² Cf. *Vd.* III, 42.

³ *Arđā Virāf* VI, 9–11.

⁴ The *sadis*, or the three nights that follow death.

hām-yāsaiti.—[The man in whom falsehood and purity] “meet equally” (= Yasna XXXIII, 1 c).

‘If the merits outweigh the sins by three *Srôshô-karanâm*, [he shall go] to the heavens :

ainhau âtare vanâd.—?

‘If he has offered up a sacrifice, his merits are above his sins by one *tanâfûhr*, and he goes to the *Garôthmân* :

aêtahê thnasad a’bishanguha.—?

‘Afrag says: the words

avavadkid yatha hvô peresahê

show that more than one *tanâfûhr* is needed. Some say four *tanâfûhrs* are needed :

yô tûiryâbis.—“*Qui quartis*.”

tishrâm khshapanãm.—[The tortures] “of the three nights¹.”

VENDÎDÂD VII, 72.

yêzi aêshâm patarô ishare-stâitya.—‘If their fathers at once . . .’

The Pahlavi text is too corrupt for the connection between the quotation and the Zend text to be clear.

VENDÎDÂD VIII, 22, 74.

yatha makhshyau perenem yatha vâ aperenahê.—‘As much as a fly’s wing, or of a wingless . . .’ (?)

74. Burning a corpse is a capital crime. Is it allowable to burn the living?

‘*Gô-gûshnasp* said: If it is for punishment, it must be done

yad ahmi (or hama) ava (avi) nôid aoshem nadhō saosunkâyō.—“In such a way that death should not be produced by burning.”’

¹ Cf. Yt. XXII, 19–36; or Bundahis XXX, 16.

VENDĪDĀD VIII, 80.

The domestic fire smites the demons only at midnight; the Bahrām fire, if called by its name Bahrām (Varahrân, victorious), smites them by thousands at every moment. That appears from the passage:

aogaiti.—‘He calls him . . .’

VENDĪDĀD VIII, 103.

fravairi (r. frakairi) frakerenaod vâstrê verezyôid.
—‘He may then sow and till the pasture fields’ (cf. below, Vd. XIX, 41).

VENDĪDĀD IX, 32.

nava vîbâzva drâgô.—‘A space of nine Vîbâzus square’ (Vd. IX, 2).

pankadasa zemô hankanayen.—‘Fifteen times shall they take up dust from the ground’ [for him to rub his body; Vd. IX, 30]

‘If the man who is being cleansed does not perform the pankadasa, the whole of the operation is null and void.’

VENDĪDĀD XII, 7.

kaininô hvatô puthrem.—‘A young woman [who kills] her own child . . .’

This is very likely a quotation, similar to Vd. XV, 10, which crept from the old Commentary to Vd. XII, now lost, into the Sâda text.

VENDĪDĀD XIII, 9.

If a man kill a dog, the dogs that guard the *Kinvad* bridge will not help him against the demons in his passage from this world to the next. ‘Some mean thereby the divine keepers of the bridge,

yayau asti anyô Rashnus Razistô.—“Of whom one is Rashnu Razista¹.”’

¹ See Yast XII.

VENDÎDÂD XIII, 34.

vaëibya naëmaëibya.—‘By the two sides’ [of the collar they shall tie it; Vd. XIII, 30].

VENDÎDÂD XIII, 48.

spânahê.—‘Of the dog-kind.’

VENDÎDÂD XV, 10.

‘If an unmarried woman bear a child, without fault of her own, and a relation, to save her honour, acknowledges the child, and the members of the family acquiesce in it, from that time they shall protect her,

avavata aogangha yatha yad *panka* narô.—“With as much energy as five men.”’

VENDÎDÂD XVIII, 1.

‘The paitidâna or padâm¹ falls by two fingers below the mouth. That appears from the passage :

baê-erezu-frathanghem. . —“On a length of two fingers.”’

VENDÎDÂD XVIII, 2.

baê-erezu âi ashâum Zarathustra.—‘By two fingers, O holy Zarathustra!’ (see preceding fragment).

‘The serpent-killer (khrafstraghna, mâr-kûn) may be made of any substance; leather is better, as appears from the passage :

Vohu Manangha ganaiti apemêid Angrô Mainyus.—“He repels Angra Mainyu with Vohu Manô².”’

¹ See above, p. 172, note 10.

² Vohu Manô as the Amshaspand of cattle; see above, pp. 215–216, note 6.

VENDÎDÂD XVIII, 14.

barôithrô-taêzem.—‘His sharp-pointed weapon.’

Said of Sraosha, ‘who goes through the bright *Hvaniratha* Karshvare, holding in his hands his sharp-pointed weapon’ (*Yasna* LVII, 31).

*hvtâ*¹ *frashusaiti* *Sraoshô* *ashyô*.—‘The pious, sovereign Sraosha advances’ [over Arezahi and Savahi].

VENDÎDÂD XVIII, 44.

‘As large as the top joint of the little finger’ (*Vd.* VI, 10).

VENDÎDÂD XVIII, 70.

The word *afsmanivau*² is interpreted :

yad antare veredhka marega (*W. asma-rega* ; read *sparega* (?) = Persian *siparz*).—‘What is between the kidneys and the spleen.’

VENDÎDÂD XIX, 41.

nazdistâd *danhâvô* *yaozdâthryâd* *haka* *frakairê* *frakerenaod* *vâstrê* *verezyôid* *pasus-hvarethem* *gavê* *hvarethem*.—‘When he has been cleansed in the next inhabited place, he may then sow and till the pasture fields, as food for the sheep and food for the ox³.’

¹ *hvtâ* is the Pâzand transcription of *khûtâi*, translating *âhûrya*.

² *afsmanivau*, entrails (?) ; see above, p. 207, note 2.

³ Quoted, in an abridged form, in *Farg.* VIII, 103, with reference to the unclean man who finds himself in the country, far from any inhabited place.

V. TAHMURAS' FRAGMENTS.

These fifty-three Zend fragments, of which only ten were already known, are found in a sort of Pahlavi catechism of questions and answers, contained in a manuscript belonging to the well-known Pahlavi scholar, Tahmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria, at Bombay, who most kindly let me have a copy of the Zend texts. These texts are quotations introduced into the answers in support of the dogmatic statements contained in those replies; and sometimes they are not given in full, but only announced by their first or some other typical words. We had not the whole of the treatise at hand, so that the circumstances of which the Zend quotations were explanatory are unknown. However, the Pahlavi translation which accompanies the Zend text, and which, in the cases when the quotation is abridged, is more complete than the fragment given, offers generally sufficient help for a correct understanding of the original.

Tahmuras' manuscript is Irânî (written in Persia): it was finished on the 19th day (Farvardîn) of the 8th month (Âvân) of the year 978 after the 20th year of Yazdgard, that is to say, in 1629, by Frêdûn Marzpân. It was copied from his father's copy of a manuscript written by Gôpatshâh Rustam, who himself transcribed from a manuscript by Kai Khosrav Syâvakhsh, who lived in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. The text is sufficiently correct to allow of the task of translation, as most of the barbarous forms, in which it is not deficient, generally find their explanation in the Pahlavi translation. Though we have already published the text in our French translation of the Avesta, yet as it has not been hitherto incorporated in any general edition of the Avesta, we have thought it useful to have it reprinted here, for the use of those who have not access to the editio princeps. As to the Pahlavi translation, which was our principal and best guide in the interpretation of the text, we beg to refer to the Commentary in our French Avesta, where it is given in full.

V. TAHMURAS' FRAGMENTS.

V.

1. Mazdau avad od ol vakhshad mananghau (Yasna XXXI, 6 c).

VI.

2. Frôtâis vîspâis kanvatô frafrâ peretûm (Yasna XLVI, 10 e).

VII.

3. Vehrkaî hizvâm adadhâiti yô razrazdâi (read azrazdâi) mâthrem kistê.

VIII.

4. Mâ kis ad ve dregvatô mâthrâskâ gûstâ sâs-nauskâ (Yasna XXXI, 18 a).

5. Âzi demânem vîsem vâ shôithrem vâ dahyûm vâ âdâd (ibid., b).

6. Dusitâkâ marekaêkâ athâ is rûstâk sâzdûm snaêthisâ (ibid., c).

¹ The missing paragraphs are those which contain no Zend quotations.

² Mazda reigns in man when Good Thought (Vohu Manô) is predominant in him; that is to say, he reigns in the righteous and through the righteous.

³ 'All those whom I shall impel to address their prayers to you, O Ahura Mazda!' that is to say, all those whom I shall win to Ahura's worship.

⁴ 'The Aharmôk (the heretic): thereby the Aharmôk grows more violent in the world' (Comm.)

V. TAHMURAS' FRAGMENTS.

V¹.

1. For Mazda reigns according as Vohu Manô² waxeth (Yasna XXXI, 6 c).

VI.

2. For all of them³ shall a path be opened across the *K'invaδ* bridge (Yasna XLVI, 10 e).

VII.

3. He gives a tongue to the wolf⁴, who imparteth the Holy Word to the heretic⁵.

VIII.

4. Hearken not to the Law and the Doctrine in the mouth of the unrighteous⁶;

5. He would bring unto the house, the borough, the district, and the country

6. Misfortune and death. Teach him with the thrust of the sword⁷! (Yasna XXXI, 18).

⁵ A quotation from the Nîrangistân, or rather Erpatistân; see below, Nîrang. § 17.

⁶ 'Hear not the Avesta and Zand (the Holy Scripture and its interpretation) from the mouth of the heretic' (Comm.)

⁷ The good old principle of king Saint-Louis: 'Nulz, se il n'est très bon clers, ne doit disputer à aus (the Jews); mais li hom lays, quant il ot mesdire de la loy crestienne, ne doit pas défendre la loy crestienne, ne mais de l'espée, de quoy i doit donner parmi le ventre dedens, tant comme elle y peut entrer' (Joinville). The word *rûstâk*, in the text, must have been a Pahlavi gloss to the Avesta *shôithrem* in § 5.

IX.

7. Paôiryêhê mithôhitahê thrî maêsmã shamãn ashamâd;

8. Bithyêhê khshavash thrityêhê nava tûiryêhê thrî vâ azaiti sraoshô~~k~~aranaya astraya.

X.

9. Nôid marahê nôid gahikayau nôid sônô nôid hukhshathrahê nôid daêvayasnô nôid tanuperethahê.

XI.

10. Hishemnô vâ aunghânô vâ dathânô vâ baremnô vâ vazemnô vâ aiwyâstô atha ratufris (Nîrangistân, § 37).

XII (Nîrangistân, § 109).

11. Vangharetaskid maghneñtaskid srâvayôis,

12. Yêzii istê nôid isti nôid ashavanem ainishtis âstârayêiti.

XIII-XVI.

XIII.—13. Humad (read ahumad) ratumad vahistem vaokatâ Spetama Zarathustra,

14. Kemkid angheus astvatô aôî.

¹ It is not likely that a 'false word' means here a 'lie'; it means more probably a verbal mistake in the recitation or study of the Avesta text, which, when accidental, is atoned for by gômêz; but when repeated, through want of attention, is punished with the Sraoshô-karana.

² The same as gômêz or nîrang-dîn.

³ As long as he wears the Kosti and Sadere (Vd. XVIII, 54).

⁴ § 10 = Nîrangistân 37.

⁵ 'Even if he wear not the Kosti and Sadere, even if stark

IX.

7. At the first false word¹ he shall drink three sips of maêsmâ²;

8. At the second, six; at the third, nine; at the fourth he shall be smitten with three strokes of the Sraoshô-karana or Astra.

X.

9. Neither of a snake, nor of a whore, nor of a hound, nor of a wild boar, nor of a Daêva-worshipper, nor of a Pesôtanu.

XI.

10. Standing, or sitting, or lying down, riding or driving, so as he wears the girdle³, he has gratified the Lord⁴.

XII.

11. Even uncovered and naked he will chant,

12. If he have the means⁵. If he have no means, his poverty shall not be counted for unrighteousness to the godly⁶.

XIII-XVI.

XIII.—13. Declare that the most excellent of all things, O Spitama Zarathustra! is to have an Ahu and a Ratu⁷,

14. For every man of this world here below.

naked, he will chant (that is, he will celebrate the festivity), if he can' (Comm.)

⁶ §§ 11-12 = Nîrangistân 109.

⁷ There is no well-ordered society that does not rest upon the authority of the prince and the priest, the temporal Lord (ahu = khûtâi) and the spiritual Lord (ratu = magûpat, dastôbar).—Sometimes the ratu is also called ahu.—Cf. §§ 72-74.

15. *Marentem verezantem sikhshentem sâkayan-*
tem paiteshentem gaêthâbyô astvaêtibyô ashahê.

XIV.—16. *Anaunghô aratvô akistem ;*

17. *Duzanghavô.*

XV.—18. *Nôid zi kis asraôshyanâm tanunâm*
ashahê urva kithiâi vîdâiti.

19. *Nôid kayadhem handaraitê.*

XVI.—20. *Zad (read yad ?) daênayau mâzda-*
yasnôis sravô.

21. *Srâvayôis staôta yêsnya.*

XVII.

22. *Mâ zi ahmi nmânê mâ anhê visê mâ ahmi*
zantavô mâ anhê danhvô frim vaôkâta mām yim
Ahurem Mazdām,

23. *Yatha mê nôid âtars Ahurahê Mazdau fryô*
anghad nâka ashava frâyô-humatô frâyô-hûkhtô
frâyô-hvarstô.

XVIII.

24. *Tanu-mazô ashayâiti yô tanu-mazô biraoshad*
(read draoshad).

25. *Tanu-mazô zi aêtyâmêid ashayâm pfrê (read*
pafre).

26. *Yau nôid yava mithô mamnê nôid mithô*
vavaka nôid vavareza.

XIX.

27. *Aêibyô yô id atha verezyân yathâ id asti*
(Yasna XXXV, 6 ; Sp. 18).

¹ 'For the man who has no guide, being unable to do good works according to the advice of his Dastôbar, cannot redeem his soul with his holiness ; that is to say, cannot undo his evil deeds with good deeds' (Comm.) Cf. §§ 24-26.

² §§ 22-23=§§ 85-86.

15. (An Ahu and a Ratu) studious and communicant, learning and teaching, loving with a love for ever renewed, in the bodily world of Righteousness.

XIV.—16. (Declare) that the worst of all evils is to have no Ahu and no Ratu ;

17. Or to have an evil Ahu.

XV.—18. For the soul of them who have no guide¹ can never offer up a merit to expiate a sin.

19. XVI. 20, 21. ?

XVII.

22². Say not they treat me friendly, me, Ahura Mazda, in the house, in the borough, in the district, in the country,

23. Where they treat not friendly the Fire of me, Ahura Mazda, and the holy man, rich in good thoughts, rich in good words, rich in good deeds³.

XVIII.

24. He must accomplish an act of merit of the value of a tanu-mazô⁴, he who hath committed a falsehood of the value of a tanu-mazô.

25. For he layeth up the merit of a tanu-mazô,

26. While he never sinneth a sin of a tanu-mazô, in false thoughts, in false words, in false deeds.

XIX.

27⁵. [That which a man or a woman knoweth clearly to be right, let him or her declare as he knoweth it, let him enact it, let him teach it]

¹ Cf. Srôsh Yast 14.

⁴ Tanu-mazô, lit. 'of the value of a tanu-peretha,' means a deed evil or good, which deserves or redeems a tanu-peretha (tanâfûhr) penalty (200 strokes with the Sraoshô-karana).

⁵ §§ 27-28 = Yasna XXXV, 6-7.

28. Ahurâ zi *ad* vi Mazdau yasnemka vahmemka vahistem (ibid. 7 ; Sp. 19, 20).

XX.

29. Imâ âd ukhdhâ vakau Ahura Mazdau ashem manyau vahyau frâvaôkâmau (Yasna XXXV, 9 ; Sp. 24).

30. Thwām *ad* aêshām paityâstâremkâ fradahstâremkâ dademaidê (ibid. 9 ; Sp. 25).

31. [Ashâ] ashâ *adkâ* [read ashâ*adkâ*] hakâ vangheuskâ mananghō vangheuskâ khshathrâd (ibid. 10 ; Sp. 26).

XXI.

32. Niwyêiti zi Spetama Zarathustra âtars Ahurahê Mazdau haka yashtibyô aiwyô.

33. Mānayan ahê yatha nâ snaithis asnê nighmatem paiti-vaênôid,

34. Ishûm vâ arshitim vâ fradakhshantanām vâ avad paiti pâpayamnô,

35. Vidvâ avad hava khrathwa yêzi mâ hâu nâ ava snaithis aôî ava asnavâd vi mām urvaêsayâd astakâ ustânakâ.

XXII.

36. Yaska mê tâyauska hazahiska vivâpauska vîvrauska draoginô-baretauska zaôthrau frabarâd,

¹ §§ 29-31 = Yasna XXXV, 9-10.

² The whole of the sacred words, 'the Religion of Auhrmazd' (Comm.)

³ 'From thee of all the Amshaspands we receive most' (knowledge and truth) (Comm.)

⁴ Ahura is the best and most demonstrative teacher ; (cf. Yasna LI, 3 c).

⁵ The first three Amesha Spentas.

To others who shall perform it in their turn, even as he or she hath declared it.

28. Now, that which we consider as the best of all things, O Ahura Mazda ! is prayer and sacrifice offered to Ahura Mazda.

XX.

29¹. And these words ², O Ahura Mazda ! we utter with the perfect intention of holiness.

30. And amongst them (the Amesha Spentas), we look chiefly unto thee, to grant unto us ³ and to instruct us ⁴;

31. For more than Asha, more than Vohu Manô, more than the righteous Khshathra ⁵ [thy glorification is above all glorification . . .].

XXI.

32. For, O Spitama Zarathustra ! the fire of Ahura Mazda trembles in front of boiling water ⁶;

33. Like a man who seeth a weapon which comes nigh him,

34. Or an arrow or lance, or a stone from a sling, and who avoideth the blow,

35. Saying to himself : ' If that man strike me with his weapon, my body and soul will part asunder.'

XXII.

36. And he who offers me the libations of a thief ⁷, or a robber, or a ravisher, . . . or libations offered by a liar,

⁶ For fear of its boiling over. If it does so and extinguishes the fire, the person in charge is guilty of a tanu-peretha sin (Saddar XLVIII).

⁷ The priest who offers me libations for a thief.

37. *Dizad* zi mām avavata dakhsha y tha ana masyhākā angrahē mainyeus astiskā.

XXIII.

38. Sterenōiti ana avava starem aina yatha narem ashavanem *duskā* zaretem uparād naēmād nasus aōi ava thravid.

39. Naēka paskaēta haō nā ahmad haka gātaod isaēta frashūtōid nōid apashūtōid thrayām kina gāmanām.

XXIV.

40. Aēvayakid aēsmō-bereitē aēvayakid baresmō-stereiti,

41. Barezyō ashava zarahē his drugem.

42. Frādhāiti ashem

43. Vispem ashavanem vahistem ā ahūm ā baraiti

44. (cf. § 74) Shātem dadaiti urvānem ashaonō iriritānahē.

XXV, XXVI.

XXV.—45. Hāuka ithra Spitama Zarathustra takhmanām *tankestō* paiti-gasād yō aēta hiskyāta hiskyānaōtemem paiti-gasād,

46. Arem maiti mata mamnē arem mūkhti (read ūkhti) khūkhti (read hūkhti) arem varsti hvaresta.

¹ 'A man burning with fever' (which is a fire sent by Ahriman).

² This fragment, which refers to the same subject as fragment XXI, is quoted in an abridged form in the Pahlavi Vendīdād III, 14 (see Fragments to the Vendīdād), to show that throwing hēhr (water soiled) into water or fire is as bad as casting nasā (dead matter) on one of the faithful.

³ The old man defiled with the Nasu.

⁴ As he cannot venture into contact with the faithful till he has been purified (cf. Vd. VIII, 35 sq.)

⁵ It looks as if the five quotations of which this fragment is

37. He burneth me with the same burning that burneth a man possessed by Angra Mainyu ¹.

XXIII ².

38. And he sins towards the Fire the same sin as if he cast the Nasu upon a righteous man bowed down with age;

39. And thenceforth from that place, such a one ³ shall not go three steps forwards nor three steps backwards ⁴.

XXIV ⁵.

40. For a single gift of wood, for a single offering of Baresman,

41. The Righteous is exalted and the Drug is weakened.

42. For by such things waxeth the Asha ⁶,

43. And every Righteous man is borne up to Paradise,

44. And joy is given to the soul of the Righteous man who has departed ⁷.

XXV, XXVI ⁸.

XXV.—45. Such a one, O Spitama Zarathustra! shall arrive there as the strongest of the strong, who here below most powerfully impelleth the righteous unto good works,

46. To think perfect thoughts, speak perfect words, and do perfect deeds.

composed did not form a continuous sentence. Only the last three seem to form a coherent whole.

⁶ The Pahlavi translation adds here: 'waxeth the flock, waxeth the fire,' as if the Zend text were incomplete. Cf. Vd. III, 3.

⁷ Cf. § 74.

⁸ The general meaning of these two fragments is that the man who impels his brethren to do good will enter Paradise.

XXVI.—47. Hâu aithra (read ithra) Spetama Zarathustra ukhdhō-vaķām ukhdhō-vaķastemō paiti-gasād drughimķa drivimķa arathwyō-beretē baremnē

48. Hvām *ķid* ahmi hvām *ķid* khshathrē avad *ķōista*.

49. Yēnhē vaķanghō nemanghō spnāthrem (read khshnaothrem).

50. Āhishti (read ākhshti) sahethrem (read sakhethrem).

51. Ārmaitē darethrem.

52. Frârāiti vīdīm.

53. Ainitis aēsō vāhs (read vākhs).

XXVII.

54. Kađ tē asti Ahunahē vairyēhē haithīm ?

55. Paiti-sē ukhtā Ahurō Mazdau manō bā vohu Zarathustra ad aōyemnem ad aōyamnād khrataod ;

56. Zazusu vīspaēsu vanghusō zazusu vīspaēsu ashō-ķithraēsu.

¹ There above, in the heavens.

² 'That is to say, he has made much *gâtakgôbîh* (*gâdangôî*) for the sake of the poor, men and women' (Comm.) Making *gâdangôî* is collecting money for the poor, or for any pious work. If a man come to me and say, 'I have no work to do, give me work,' and I apply to somebody else who gives him work, I have done *gâdangôî*, and the merit is the same as if I had given it myself (Saddar XXII).

³ In his sphere of influence.

⁴ The celebrated Dastûr under Shâhpûhr II, the last editor of the Avesta : cf. General Introduction.

⁵ A treatise lost, in Pahlavi.

⁶ The five following disconnected lines are abridged Zend quotations, answering to the five terms of Âtûrpât's phrase, and refer each to one of the five virtues that are recommended.

XXVI.—47. Such a one, O Spitama Zarathustra ! shall arrive there ¹ as the best of intercessors, who here below intercedeth for the poor man and the poor woman in their distress ² ;

48. Who doeth it himself and teaches it to others in his kingdom ³.

The blessed Âtûrpât, son of Mahraspand ⁴, in his Instruction to a disciple ⁵, says: 'Be a man of prayer; a man of peace, a man of perfect piety, a man of liberality, and without rancour. These are the virtues one must acquire, as it is said in the Scriptures:

49⁶. . . whose words of prayer rejoice [the gods] ⁷.

50. Teaching in peace ⁸.

51. In perfect piety keeping (Religion) ⁹.

52. Science in giving ¹⁰.

53. His word is without rancour ¹¹.'

XXVII.

54. In what fashion is manifest thy Ahuna Vairya ¹² ?

55. Ahura Mazda made answer: By Good Thought in perfect unity with Reason, O Zarathustra !

56. Taking all good things, taking all that is the offspring of the Good Principle ¹³.

⁷ Answering to the words, 'man of prayer,' in Âtûrpât's sentence.

⁸ Answering to the words, 'man of peace.'

⁹ Answering to the words, 'man of perfect piety.' Cf. Vp. II, 5 (Sp. 10).

¹⁰ Answering to the words, 'man of liberality.'

¹¹ Answering to the words, 'and without rancour.'

¹² The Zoroastrian prayer κατ' ἐξοχήν (Vd. VIII, 19, note 2). The question amounts to: 'How does it become clear that a man is devoted to religion?' (Comm.)

¹³ Doubtful.

XXVIII.

57. Mananghas~~ka~~ ahumaiti (read humaiti) hizvas~~ka~~ hûkhta zastayas~~ka~~ varsti arathwyô-varsti (read rathwyô-varsti).

58. Nazdyô ahmi Zarathustra azem yô Ahurô Mazdau vispahê anghêus astvatô mamanaus~~ka~~ vakas~~ka~~ shôthnaka,

59. Yatha aunga (read naunga) haka gaosaêibyô yatha vâ gaosa haka thranghibyô.

XXIX.

60. Garaôis haônem (read haomem) Zarathustra bisarem~~ka~~ thresarem~~ka~~ yatha thresarem nitemem.

XXX, XXXI.

XXX.—61. Vispaê~~ka~~ antare ashem upa haush-tuayau,

62. Fraored frakhni (read frakhshni) aôî manô zarazdâtôid anghuyad haka.

XXXI.—63. Vispau antare vyânts.

XXXII.

64. Yêiti katika Spetama Zarathustra dahmô ash-ava haurvi ratûs dathad,

65. Ad kid dim aiwyâiti yâ dahma vanghi âfritis ustrahê kehrpa aghryêhê aghryô madhi-mastemahê.

¹ This fragment belonged to the Rat-dât-ît Nask, which treated of 'the proximity of Aûhrmazd to the thoughts, words, and deeds of the material world' (Dînkart VIII, viii, 4).

² The Qur'ân (4, 15) has a formula which strangely reminds one of this sentence: 'But we created man, and we know what his soul whispers; for we are nigher to him than his jugular vein.'

³ 'At the third time, take least. The Dastûrs have said: each time take three-fifths' (of what there is). This refers very likely to the tasting of Haoma in the Haoma sacrifice (Yasna XI, 11).

XXVIII.

57. Of the mind, good thoughts ; of the tongue, good words ; of the hand, good works, make the virtuous life.

58¹. I, Ahura Mazda, am closer, O Zarathustra ! to that which all the bodily world thinketh, speaketh, and worketh,

59. Than the nose is to the ears, or than the ears are to the mouth².

XXIX.

60. Take of the Haoma, O Zarathustra ! twice or thrice ; but the third time be sparing³.

XXX, XXXI⁴.

XXX.—61. In the interval⁵, nothing but fair recitations of the Ashem Vohû⁶,

62. Done with a fervent conviction and a devoted soul ;

XXXI.—63. And in the interval do nothing but look on⁷.

XXXII, XXXIII.

XXXII.—64. Each time, O Spitama Zarathustra ! that the righteous, the godly man offers the sacrifice complete ;

65. Then cometh unto him the good, godly Âfriti⁸, in the shape of a camel of price, in full heat⁹.

⁴ These two fragments seem to refer to the plucking of the Baresma twigs.

⁵ While the different twigs are plucked. Cf. Vd. XIX, 18.

⁶ A prayer, next in holiness to the Ahuna Vairya. See its translation, Vd. XIX, 22.

⁷ Cf. Vd. XIX, 19 ; Nfr. 97 seq.

⁸ The Âfrîn Dahmân, a prayer of blessing on the house of the faithful (cf. Yasna LX).

⁹ The camel in heat is strongest (Yt. XIV, 12 seq.) and therefore the best symbol of the strength that the Âfrîn Dahmân brings with it. Cf. Dînkart IX, 22, 2.

XXXIII.—66. *Nôid tê ahmâd drâgôyêitîm fram-raômi Spetama Zarathustra yâm dahmãm vanghîm âfrîitîm,*

67. *Yûnad haka hahi humananghad hvakanghad hushyauthnad hudaênad,*

68. *Yatha paôurvô aêvô savô aêvô armô ranghãm ava nâyêintîm savavau ded (or bed) kis âitê.*

XXXIV.

69. *Kad tê râzarê kad zî Mazda (Yasna XXXIV, 12 a).*

70. *Ad môi ad râtãm ukhdhahyâkâ sraôshem khshathremkâ (Yasna XXXIII, 14).*

71. *Para tê gaôspaunta gaôhudau baôdhaskâ urvâ-nemkâ fraêshyâmahê nazdista upa thwaresta raokau nars kashmanau sûkem.*

XXXV.

72. *Ashâi vahistâi yad huferethwem dâstô-ratô,*

73. *Berezad-varezi haômananghem,*

74. *Yad îlrîthânê ashaonô shâtem dathâiti urvâ-nem.*

XXXVI.

75. *Âviskâ nau antare hentû nemahvaêtis kîthrau râtayô (Yasna XXXIII, 7 c)!*

76. *Tau âvis yau râtayô antare ameshesa spenta saoshyantaskâ ;*

¹ Yasna XXXIV, 12 a, 'A query of Zartusht, asking for wisdom' (Comm.)

² Ahura is supposed to speak of Zarathustra. The quotation is altered from Yasna XXXIII, 14.

³ The primeval Bull, Gaush aêvôdata (Vd. XXI, 1).

⁴ His soul, after his death, was sent to Heaven as *Geush urvan* (Goshûrûn), the deity that takes care of domestic animals.

XXXIII.—66. I declare unto thee, O Spitama Zarathustra! the holy Benediction of the Righteous shall not fail (?) thee more,

67. O youth of good thoughts, of good words, of good works, and the good Religion,

68. Than ?

XXXIV.

69. How hast thou ordained things? How, O Mazda¹!

70. To me he gives obedience to and ruling through the holy Word².

71. Thy sense and thy soul, O Bull beneficent³! giver of good things, we send towards the heavenly luminaries⁴ and thy sight within the eyes of man⁵.

XXXV.

72. Asha Vahista giveth a good passage to whoso hath a spiritual Master⁶,

73. For his noble deeds and for his virtuous thoughts,

74. And he giveth joy to the soul of the righteous man that has departed⁷.

XXXVI.

75. Grant that the gifts we pray for appear before us⁸!

76. The gifts manifest between the Amesha Spentas and the Saoshyants⁹;

¹ Doubtful.

⁶ Cf. §§ 13–19.

⁷ Cf. § 44.

⁸ Yasna XXXIII, 7 c.

⁹ This seems to mean: the gifts which the Amesha Spentas reserve for the Saoshyants (the great saints).

77. Fráráitśka vīdūshaśka antare hvādaēnau
ashaonīs.

XXXVII, XXXVIII.

XXXVII.—78. Āad yō aētahmi anghvō yad as-
tavanti Spetama Zarathustra upairi hunarem manō
barād,

79. Vīspem aētem paiti zrvānem astarem urva
kāsayād.

XXXVIII.—80. Āad yad hē manahē paiti barād,

81. Āad yad hē manahi paiti ava baraitē,

82. Pasāēta azem yō Ahurō Mazdau aōi urunē
urvāsma daēsayēni,

83. Vahistemka ahūm anaghraka raōkau afrasang-
hānka hvāthra,

84. Vīspā yūmka ustatās yā nars sādra dregvatō.

85, 86 = 22, 23.

XXXIX.

87. Para mē aētahmi anghvō yad astvainti Speta-
ma Zarathustra thriskid vahista anghē astvaitē visata :

88. Manaka yasnem yad Ahurahē Mazdau āthra-
śka Ahurahē Mazdau yasnemka vahmemka huberei-
timka usta-bereitimka vanta-bereitimka ;

89. Narska ashaonō khshnūitīmka ā reitīmka vyā-
daska paiti paitizaintyaska frāyō-humatahē frāyō-
hūkhtahē frāyō-hvareshtahē.

¹ Mutual Charity due from and to Mazdeans.

² Literally, 'his soul carries sin.' ³ I will give bliss to his soul.

⁴ No man absolutely deserves bliss. Cf. Yasna LXII, 6: 'O Fire, son of Ahura Mazda ! give me, however unworthy I am, now and for ever, the bright, all-happy Paradise of the righteous.'

⁵ 'The righteous are rewarded, while the wicked are punished' (Comm. ad Visparad XVIII, 2). The line is from Yasna XLV, 7.

⁶ The three best things in the world are respect shown to Ahura, respect shown to the fire, and respect shown to the righteous.

77. The holy liberality and bounteousness that reign between brethren in the Faith ¹.

XXXVII, XXXVIII.

XXXVII.—78. He who in this bodily world, O Spitama Zarathustra! deemeth overweening well of his own merit,

79. All the time that he doeth this, his soul becomes burdened with sin ².

XXXVIII.—80. But if he deemeth justly of his own merit,

81. Or if he rate it lower than the truth,

82. Then I, the Maker Ahura Mazda, will make his soul see Joy ³,

83. And Paradise, boundless Light, undeserved felicity ⁴,

84. And Happiness eternal, while the wicked is in pain ⁵.

85, 86 = 22, 23.

XXXIX.

87. As for me in this bodily world, O Spitama Zarathustra! the three best things of the world are ⁶:

88. The sacrifice offered to me, Ahura Mazda; the sacrifice and prayer, the bounteous free offering, the free offering of pleasure ⁷, the free offering of assistance ⁸ made unto the fire of Ahura Mazda;

89. And the pleasure, the graciousness, the gifts, the deference shown unto the righteous, rich in good thoughts, rich in good words, rich in good works.

⁷ The offering that rejoices the fire (that increases the brightness and gaiety of its light and its sound).

⁸ The offering that feeds him and makes him stronger.

XL, XLI.

XL.—90. *Mâka* tê ithra Spetama Zarathustra astvatahê anghêus didrezvô pîsa manahîm paiti raêkhîsa.

XLI.—91. Yô zi Spetama Zarathustra astvahê anghêus didrezvô pîsa mananghîm ahûm paiti erenâisti,

92. *Nôid* hê gâus *bvad* *nôid* ashem *nôid* raokô *nôid* vahistô anghus yô mana *yad* Ahurahê Mazdau.

93. *Bvad* vîspanâm asha-kithranâm paôishestemka *yad* ereghad daoanghum.

XLII.

94. *Yavad* nû asha *vakaiti* (read *vandaiti*?) Spetama Zarathustra vîspa tarsuka khshudraka vnaiti (read *vandaiti*) anamasnaka vanghunaka thrayanaka.

XLIII.

95. *Nôid* nmânô-bakhtem *nôid* vîspê-bakhtem *noid* zantû-bakhtem *nôid* danhu-bakhtem ;

96. *Nôid* framanîm brâthranâm âztzûstê ;

97. *Nôid* astô htastîm (read *hutastîm*) *nôid* tanvô huraôîm (read *huraoidhîm*).

98. *Tad* zi ashava Zarathustra kinma kahyâkîd anghêus astvatô yô ashahê kinma vastemô anghad.

XLIV.

99. *Nôid* nû aêtahmi anghvô *yad* astvanti Spen-

¹ 'To get treasures of gold and silver' (Comm.)

² The other world, Paradise.

³ He will not see Goshûrûn, who sits in the sphere of the sun (Bundahis IV).

⁴ He will not see Asha Vahishta (Ardibahisht), who is both the second Amshaspand and the impersonation of holiness and subsequent bliss.

⁵ Asha, righteousness, obtains everything ; that is to say, that all the good things of the world are a reward that attends piety.

XL, XLI.

XL.—90. To obtain the treasures of the material world¹, O Spitama Zarathustra ! forego not the world of the Spirit².

XLI.—91. For he who, O Spitama Zarathustra ! to obtain the treasures of the material world destroyeth the world of the Spirit,

92. Such a one shall possess neither the Bull³, nor Asha⁴, neither the Celestial Light, nor the Paradise of me, Ahura Mazda.

93. But he shall possess the filthiest of all things, horrible Hell.

XLII.

94. All these things Asha obtaineth⁵, O Spitama Zarathustra ! it obtaineth everything good, corn and drinks, ever so great, so good, so goodly.

XLIII.

95. One cannot have for the wishing the power of head of the house, head of the borough, head of the district, head of the province⁶ ;

96. Neither authority over brethren⁷ ;

97. Neither a well set up frame and a lofty stature⁸.

98. But there is one thing that every man in this world below may love, O Spitama Zarathustra ! he may love Virtue.

XLIV.

99. [But]⁹ at present in this world below, O Spi-

¹ This is a privilege the possession of which does not depend on our free will, as it depends on heredity or the will of the prince.

² This depends on age.

³ This depends on nature's caprice.

⁴ We add 'but' on the assumption that this fragment is the continuation of the preceding.

tama Zarathustra aêvô nôid dva nôid thrâyô nôid frâyanghô ashahê.

100. Nôid ashayau frâsenti yô nôid drighôš ashô-
dkaêšahê avanghaska thrâthrahska (read thrâthran-
ghaska) pesauntê (read peresauntê).

XLV.

101. Paôurus darena (read karena) apadâta afra-
kikis hôi urunê afravaôkîš hava hizva,

102. Yô nôid mǎthrâd spentau.

XLVI-XLIX.

XLVI.—103. Nôid hâu sûrô Zarathustra nôid
asha sûrô.

XLVII.—104. Nôid hâu tahmô yô nôid ash-
tahmô.

XLVIII.—105. Nôid hâu âš vaozê Zarathustra
nôid ahmâd vashâta,

106. Yô nôid ashahê vahistahê beregi framare-
tahê mayau vaozê.

XLIX.—107. Yô nôid narem ashavanem hvâhva
athâhva jasentem khsnaôsta vâ khsnâvayêitê vâ.

108. Taêka Spitama Zarathustra anghêus vahis-
tahê kithrê paityauntê,

109. Yôi anghê nerebyô ashavabyô ayaptô-dâte-
maska asperezô-dâtemaska.

L.

110. Hô dadhô ashem upa raodhayêitê yô drvaitê
dadhâitê.

111. Gâthwôis tasêid vana :

¹ There are many truths which can be conceived or expressed
only through Revelation.

² 'He has promoted nothing good' (Comm.)

tama Zarathustra ! there is not one just man, not two, nor three, nor several.

100. They seek not after righteousness, they seek not to succour and maintain the poor follower of the Holy Law.

XLV.

101. There be many works of wisdom which the soul may not conceive nor the tongue declare,

102. Without the Holy Word¹.

XLVI-XLIX.

XLVI.—103. He is not mighty, O Zarathustra ! who is not mighty in righteousness.

XLVII.—104. He is not strong, who is not strong in righteousness.

XLVIII.—105. He has promoted nought², O Zarathustra ! and he shall promote nought,

106. Who does not promote the laws of perfect holiness, pondered in his heart³;

XLIX.—107. Who hath not rejoiced, who rejoiceth not the righteous man who cometh within his gates⁴.

108. For they, O Spitama Zarathustra ! shall behold the Paradise,

109. Who are most bounteous to the righteous and least vex their souls.

L.

110. He who giveth to the Ungodly harmeth Asha⁵.

111. Even as it is written in the Gâtha :

¹ ' Who does not undertake to promote religion and good deeds as he ought ' (Comm.)

⁴ Lit. ' on his property.'

⁵ He does harm to virtue, or to the Genius of virtue.

112. Hvô zi drvau ye drvaitê vahistô (Yasna XLVI, 6 c).

LI.

113. Ashem vohû vahistem astî.

LII.

114. Ashâd *kid* ha^{kâ} vangheus dazdâ.

LIII.

115. Apas^{kâ} dâd urvaraus^{kâ} vanghts (Yasna XXXVII, 1).

LIV.

116. Yad *kid* dim dava dâtôis uzrâtis,

117. Nôid aêtahê uzarenô naêda varô avavâitê.

LVI.

118. Nôid hê tahmô anavahtm gayad

119. Nôid adhâitî frârâithyanâ^m urvi^dyêiti

120. Taunghrô daregha dâta ashaonô Zarathustra^{hê}.

LVII.

121. Vîsaiti ainyô usyô nôid ainyô evîsemnô âstryaêitê.

122. Ava vaêsaêtê naêta *kid* âstryêitê.

LVIII.

123, 124. Daresa nâ pairyaokhta^{ka} uzustanau âdareyêitê nyêtê ustanavaitis (124) vîspau frasu-maitis.

¹ Yasna XLVI, 6 c (Gâtha ustavaiti).

² First line of the Ashem vohû.

³ From the Ahuna vairya (see the whole of the prayer, Vd. VIII, 19).

⁴ Yasna XXXVII, 1.

⁵ The var, the ordeal, of which there were thirty-three. The most usual was the one which Âdarbâd Mahraspand underwent

112. 'He is unrighteous who is good to the unrighteous¹.'

LI.

113. Holiness is the best of all good².

LII.

114. [The wish of the Lord is the rule] of Holiness.

The gifts of Vohu Manô . . .³.

LIII.

115. He has made the good waters and the good plants⁴.

LIV.

116. And though he may bribe the judge with presents,

117. He cannot bribe the ordeal⁵ and escape it.

LVI.

118-120. ?

LVII⁶.

121. If the one accept and not the other, he who refuseth is in fault.

122. If both accept, there is no fault.

LVIII.

123, 124. With glance and with speech, a man superintendeth his worldly wealth, inanimate and animate, goods and chattels⁷.

successfully, when he confounded the heretics and manifested the orthodox doctrine by having molten metal poured upon his breast.

⁶ This fragment seems to refer to the proposal made by one of the litigants to have recourse to an ordeal (cf. Fragments in the Farhang, 15).

⁷ He superintends his inanimate property with his look, and his animate property with speech.

VI.

THE ERPATISTÂN AND NÎRANGISTÂN.

Of all the lost Nasks, the one of which the largest fragments have been preserved is the seventeenth one called the Hûspâram. It was composed of sixty-four Fargards, of which two of the first thirty were called Erpatistân, 'the Sacerdotal Code,' and Nîrangistân, 'the Ritual Code;' the former dealing chiefly with clerical organisation, and the latter with a portion of the ritual. Their general contents are known from the analysis of the Nasks given in the Dînkart (VIII, ch. 28, 29; West, Pahlavi Texts, IV, 92-97).

These two Zend treatises were treated like the Vendîdâd, that is to say, were translated and commented on in Pahlavi, at least partially. They have not come to us in any Sâda manuscript, but are to be recovered from their Pahlavi expansion, the so-called Pahlavi Nîrangistân¹, which presents nearly the same aspect as the Pahlavi Vendîdâd, that is to say, it contains the Zend original text with a Pahlavi translation, and a lengthy commentary, in which latter many connected questions are treated and a considerable number of Zend quotations from other Nasks are adduced. The first thing to do is to distinguish what belongs to the principal text, which is the object of the commentary, and what are the Zend quotations adduced from elsewhere by the commentator. The distinction of the two components is easily seen, as the principal text is always accompanied by a translation, whereas the quotations are not. They are either formulas recited during the performance of the ceremonies, or texts adduced as demonstrative or explanatory of such or such statement². These quotations once removed, there remains a continuous text which answers closely to the analysis in the Dînkart. But a comparison with that analysis, as well as internal evidence, shows that only a part of the original text is preserved, and that

¹ It has been long known under that title, but ought to be called 'Erpatistân and Nîrangistân.'

² They are adduced with the uniform words . . . min . . . padtâk yahvûnêt, 'it appears from the passage: . . .'

the Pahlavi manuscript, as it has come to us, is the juxtaposition of portions of two independent books, the Erpatistân and the Nîrangistân proper, the beginning and end of both being lost. In other terms, it contains a part in the middle of the Erpatistân¹ and the greater part of the Nîrangistân, the end of the latter being lost as well as a short passage at its beginning². All the manuscripts of the Nîrangistân, known to be in existence, present the same juxtaposition, as they are descended from one and the same manuscript, of which the copyist, having in his hands a fragment of the Erpatistân and a more complete Nîrangistân, copied the two as one and the same book, which took the name of the larger fragment. This leaves room to hope for the further discovery of older independent manuscripts of either book.

Here is a summary of the matter treated of, with references to the analysis in the Dînkart :—

FARGARD I.

FIRST PART (FRAGMENT OF THE ERPATISTÂN).

I. §§ 1-9. The priest on duty out (Dînkart VIII, ch. 28, § 2 ?).

II. §§ 10-18. The student priest (Dk. *ibid.* § 3 ?).

SECOND PART (NÎRANGISTÂN PROPER).

I. §§ 19-27. The Zôt and the Râspî (Dk. VIII, ch. 29, § 1).

II. § 28. The Darûn (Dk. *ibid.* § 2).

III. §§ 29, 30. Strong drink forbidden during the sacrifice (Dk. § 3).

IV. §§ 31-37. The recitation of the Gâthas (Dk. § 4).

V. §§ 38-40. The sacrifice performed by a Zôt, or a Râspî, in a state of sin (Dk. §§ 5, 6).

FARGARD II.

I. §§ 41-45. The celebration of the Gâhânbârs (Dk. §§ 7, 8).

II. §§ 46-51. The limits of the several Gâhs (§ 46, Gâh

¹ §§ 1-18 belong to the Erpatistân.

² Of the twenty-five paragraphs in the Dînkart analysis, part of § 1, the whole of §§ 2-16, and part of § 17 are represented in the extant Nîrangistân. But one must bear in mind that the analysis in the Dînkart was not based on the Zend Nasks, but on their Pahlavi commentaries, so that it refers occasionally to matter not treated of in the Sâda text.

Ushahin.—§§ 47, 48, Gâh Hâvan.—§ 49, Gâh Rapithwin.—§ 50, Gâh Uzîrin.—§ 51, Gâh Aiwisrûthrem.—Dk. § 9).

III. §§ 52-64. The offerings for the Gâhân bârs (Dk. § 10).

IV. §§ 65-71. The libations (Dk. § 11).

V. §§ 72-84. The functions and place of the Zôt and Râspîs at the sacrifice (Dk. §§ 13, 14).

FARGARD III.

I. §§ 85-87, 91-96. The Kôstî and Sadara (Dk. § 15).

II. §§ 88-90, 97-104. The preparation of the Baresman (Dk. § 16).

III. §§ 105-109. The firewood and the implements for the sacrifice (Dk. § 17).

The interpretation of these texts is beset with no ordinary difficulties, the first being the technical character of the matter treated of, which no amount of philological ingenuity, left to its own devices, can elucidate, then the corrupt state of the text. No standard translation of the Zend can be expected till the whole of the Pahlavi Nîrangistân has been deciphered and translated. However, with the help of the Dînkart analysis and of the Pahlavi Nîrangistân, as far as I could make it out, I believe I have succeeded in presenting a rough partial translation, which may give a correct general idea of the whole, and may help to some extent to clear the ground and be useful even in a further exploration of the Pahlavi Nîrangistân.

All known copies of the Nîrangistân—which are indeed few in number—are descended from two manuscripts. One, belonging to Dr. Hoshangji of Poona (MS. H), was copied in India, in the year 1727, from a manuscript which was brought from Iran in 1720 by Dastur Jâmâsp Vilâyati and seems to have been written in 1471. The other, belonging to Tahmuras D. Anklesaria (MS. T), was written in Iran. Its date is unknown, though it is certainly older than Dr. Hoshangji's manuscript. Both manuscripts belong to the same family, as they both present the same juxtaposition of the Erpatistân and Nîrangistân. Tahmuras' copy has lost several pages at the end; from § 91 onwards, we are dependent only on Hoshangji's copy. But Tahmuras' manuscript, besides being more complete in the rest of the text, is by far more correct; and how far this is the case the reader may judge for himself by a glance at the translation: from § 91 onwards we have been obliged to leave most of the text untranslated as hopelessly corrupt.

In February, 1887, having been asked by the Parsi community

at Bombay to deliver a lecture on the Parsi literature, I took advantage of the approaching Jubilee of the Queen to recommend the creation of a Victoria Jubilee Fund for the publication of the unedited Pahlavi literature. The appeal was readily answered, a fund raised, and it was decided that the publication should begin with the Nîrangistân. Unfortunately, in the realisation of the plan, the scientific experience of the young Parsi school did not prove quite equal to its good will. Instead of printing from the better manuscript, with the various readings of the inferior one in foot-notes, the committee for publication had the less good manuscript phot zincographed. We have not yet in hand the Jubilee edition, but may hope that at least the variants of Tahmuras' manuscript have been annexed to it. We have thought it advisable, meanwhile, to give here for the use of scholars the Zend text, of which only a few manuscript copies are extant in Europe¹.

¹ We have already published it in our French Avesta, but that edition is too scarce and too expensive to be of general use.—The text given represents essentially Tahmuras' copy, corrected here and there from Hoshangji's manuscript. The barbarous forms are many, and a considerable number of them might be easily corrected: however, whenever they did not make the meaning more obscure, we thought it better to let them stand as they were, because in the degenerate stage in which the Zend language presents itself to us, there is no uniform standard from which one may view and to which one may reduce the erring forms.

VI. ERPATISTÂN AND NÎRANGISTÂN.

FARGARD I, FIRST PART.

ERPATISTÂN.

I. The priest officiating out of his house.

1. Knmô (read kemô) nmânahê athaurunem pârayâd?

Yô ashâi beregyâstemô,

Hvôistô vâ yôistô;

Yim vâ ainim hapô-gaêtha (read hadhô-gaêtha);

Hazaosyâ pæungha (read pæungha) kayân (read kayâm).

2. Para paoiryô âiti, para bityô âiti, para thrityô âiti.

Aêta parâyaiti yathâ gaêthâbyô henti (read henti),

Aêsô gaêthanâm irishantinâm (H.—T. irishanta-nâm) raêsê (read raêsê kîkayad)*.

3. Katârem âthravana athaurunem vâ pârayad gaêthanâm vâ asperenô avad?

* Kad dâtahê Zarathustrôis.

Maghnô mâthrô.

Thrikhsaparem hathráknem.

Gaêthanâm vâ asperenô avôid (see § 3).

Yôi avapa aiwyâsti (see § 15).

Â paiti beretîm erekîstem.

Nôid frâurusti.

Mastem âthrnenstem âstâtha.

Paiti beretis (H.—T. beretim) arstistim.

VI. ERPATISTÂN AND NÎRANGISTÂN.

FARGARD I, FIRST PART.

ERPATISTÂN.

I. The priest officiating out of his house.

1. Who is he in the house who shall officiate as priest¹?

—He who longeth most after holiness²,

Be he great, or small;

Or another, his partner³;

By his own will or directed by the brethren.

2. The first goeth forth, the second goeth forth, the third goeth forth.

[If] he goeth forth who is in charge of the estate⁴,

He shall pay for the damage done to the estate.

3. Shall the priest officiate as a priest or shall he see to the good management of the estate?

¹ Out of the house.

² The most zealous.

³ The sacerdotal community forms a religious and commercial association. The profits accruing from the divers ceremonies are divided between the members. These in Nausâri, which is the metropolis of Zoroastrianism, and whose Parsi population is all of sacerdotal origin, are called Bhagarias, 'the partners.'

⁴ Somebody must stay at home to take care of the common estate; he must not go and officiate abroad.

Gaêthanãm asperenô avôid^a.

4. *Kvad* nâ áthrava athaurunem haka gáthâbis
(read gaêthâbis) parayâd?

Yad his thris yâ hmâ (read hamâ) aiwis iti^b.

Kvad aiwistem parayad?

Thrikhsaparem hathrâkem khsvas khsafnô áka
para^c.

Yô baôyô aêtahmâd parâiti

Nôid paskaita anaiwistim ástryanti.

5. Katârô athaurunem parayâd nâirika vâ nmânô-
paitis vâ?

Yêzika vâ gaêthau vlmâkatâr (read katârô) parayâd^d?

Nmânô-paitis gaêthau nâirika parayâd.

Nâirikâi gaêthau vis nmânô-paitis parayâd^e.

6. Yô anyahê nâirika anahakhtô athaurunem
paranghâiti (read paranghakâiti),

Kad hê vâ ashem verezyâd yâ nâirika nmânô-paiti
verezyanti?

Verezyâd usaiti nôid anusaiti.

Ahakhtô paranghakâiti,

Verezyâd usaitika anusaityitika (read anusaitika).

Frôid vare paranghakâitê ákau (H.—T. ákau)
hazanguha anâkausê tâyus^f.

^a *Yêzaka* . . . aêsaya daênê.

Yêzaka vehrkô gaêthanãm (cf. Vd. XIII, 10).

Yêzika aêsa daênê.

Yêzika aêsaya daênê.

Yêzika vehrkô gaêthau (cf. Vd. XIII, 10).

Paoiryãm him varem áderezyôid hê yâhya hê hvanem
áhûk.

^b Athaurunãmka.

^c Thrishûm ásnãm khsafnãmka (Yasna LXII, 5, gloss).

^d Nairyô ratus kara.

Nôid avâkinô dâitim vinâd.

Aêvâkina dâitim vinânthad.

Hakhtô u anahakhtô.

Pan[ka]dayasaya sareide.

Let him see to the good management of the estate¹.

4. How often shall the priest officiate beyond the limits of the estate?

—He may go three times in the year.

How far may he go to teach (the Word)?

—So far as a three nights' journey²: six nights, there and back.

Farther than that

If he refuse to go and teach, he is not guilty.

5. Which of the two shall officiate as priest, the mistress or the master of the house³?

And if either be fit to take charge of the estate, which shall go forth?

If the master of the house take charge of the estate, the woman shall go forth.

If the woman take charge of the estate, the master of the house shall go forth.

6. If a man should take with him as priest⁴ the wife of another, without (her husband's) leave,

May the woman fulfil the holy office?

—Yea, if she is willing; nay, if she is not willing.

If a man take her with him by (the husband's) leave,

¹ The managing priest renders more service to the community by preserving and increasing the common property than by performing his ritual functions. 'Supervising the property is better than officiating as a priest.' (Comm.)

² The Avesta counts by nights instead of days: 'three nights' means 'three times twenty-four hours.' Three nights' distance is valued at thirty farsakhs or parasangs (ninety miles or thirty leagues).

³ Women, in case of need, were allowed, like men, to perform certain ritual ceremonies (cf. § 40) and to act as Râspî (assistant-priest), and even as Zôt (officiating priest) (Anquetil, Zend-Avesta II, 553).

⁴ As assistant-priest.

7. Yô anyêhê aperenâyûkahê anakhtô (read anâh-akhtô) athaurunem parangha^kai (read parangha^kaiti),
Pasca hâra (read yâra ?) tanûm parayêiti.

Yad aêsa yôî aperenâyûkô sraosi vâ anuta^kaitê,
Aokhtô vâ hê aokhtê thwâd pairi anguha (read pairi-angha),

Paska hathra â fra-sruiti (read afrasruiti) sê paiti tanûm parayêitê^a.

8. Ahmi nmânê anghê visê ahmi zantvô anghê danghvô kvad bis ayau vitayau (read vitayau) anghen ?

Yugayastis haka nmâd atha danghoid visad hâthrem zantaod â danghaod,

Yatha dâityâ spasanya,

Yatha para vayêô nmânemka visemka zanteuska dangheuska.

9. Aad yad hê aokhtê aêsa yênhê aperenâyûkô :

Hakanguha mê hana (read ana ?) aperenâyûka,

Yatha vashi atha hakhshaêtê,

Vana paskaiti uzdanguhukid patha hakhtoid,

Kvad anâbdôistem ayanem parangha^kaitê?

Yâ frayarena vâ uzayêirinê vâ avân aiwyâstis anghad.

* Yênhê aokhtô aêsa yênhê aperenâyûkâi.

¹ To have illicit intercourse with her, by force or otherwise.

² By force.

³ Without leave from the parent on whom the child depends.

⁴ As assistant-priest; cf. § 40.

⁵ If the child goes willingly, not by force.

⁶ Or perhaps: 'if [the child] say.'

⁷ A mile.

⁸ 'Without singing' the Gâthas, that is to say, without performing the ceremony for which he has taken the child with him. Taking the child farther would amount to kidnapping.

Willing or unwilling, she shall fulfil the holy office.

If the man take her with him to enjoy her body¹, if he do this openly², he is a highwayman; if in secret, he is a thief.

7. He who, without leave³, taketh away the child of another to officiate as priest⁴, he shall become Peshôtanu for a whole year (?).

If the child obey and go gladly⁵,

Or if [the man] say⁶: 'I go with thee,'

And he goeth a hâthra⁷ without singing⁸, he shall be Peshôtanu.

8. In this house, in this borough, in this district, in this country, how far afield may they go⁹?

—The length of a yugyêsti from the house or the borough¹⁰; the length of a hâthra from the district or the country¹¹, within a sphere of protection,

So that they remain in sight of the house, of the borough, of the district, of the country.

9. But if he who owneth the child shall say:

'Go with him, my child,

The child shall follow at thy will,

He may follow along the roads out of the country,'

—How far away, at most, may one lead him?

So far as one can go in a morning or an afternoon.

⁹ How far can a man take with him a child without proper authorisation?

¹⁰ The length of sixteen hâthras (sixteen thousand steps; see above, p. 160) from the house or the borough, within the limits of the same district.

¹¹ At the distance of one hâthra only, if on the border of the district; otherwise they would enter a strange place where the child is not known, and the danger of his being lost or kidnapped would be greater.

Yô aêtahmâd paranghakâiti,
 Nabânazdistem hê para paskaiti raêsaka adhwa-
 dâityaska âstrâinti.

II. The student priest.

10 a. Âad hvatâm aba aêthrapaitm
 Yênhê nisritem frâra
 Âhi anastritim
 Yêzi âad hê nôid aighsritm frâra
 Nôid ainisritm âstryênti.
 Yathra apereyûkô (read aperenâyûkô)
 Nôid hê anisris
 Atha aiwyanghem [yathra ratus thwayanghem]
 yathra aperenâyûkô.

Âhê aithisritm staryêiti.

Adha yad vâ yathra thwayanghem vâ thwayan-
 ghem vâ.

10 b. Daêvayasnahê vâ tanu-perethahê vâ aperenâ-
 yûka paranghakaitê

Nisritad aêtahê âstryêiti nôid asriti ^a.

11. Kvad nâ aithra-paititim (read aêthrapaitim)
 upaôisâd yâre drâgô ?

Thrizaremaêm khratûm ashavanem aiwyaunghad ^b.

Yêzi antarâd naêmâd aêtahê drengayêiti (H.—
 deregayêiti T.) para paityâiti vîraodhayêiti (H.—
 vîraozayêiti T.),

Hâthrô nuukê (read hathra nû ?) ainem aêthrapaitim
 upôisôid âthra (atha H.) thritm upôisôid aêvatha
 tûirim upôisôid ;

Yêzi avad vaêthad vaênatha antarâd naêmâd
 hâthrahê drengayâadka naêmka paskaiti vîrôidhi ^c.

^a A mat hâd amat nisritad.

Yatha dahmahê frangharezôid.

If the man lead him farther,
He is guilty in sight of the nearest kinsman¹ of
the sin of adhwadâitya².

II. The student priest.

10 a.

10 b.

11. How many years shall the student consult
the aêthrapaiti³?

— Three springtides⁴ shall he gird on Holy
Wisdom⁵.

If, while he learns by heart, he forget and miss
a part,

He shall try again a second time, a third time,
a fourth time;

And when he knows his text, he shall be able to
say it all and miss nothing.

Yavatahê nâfô anvathwaristô.

^b Spayêiti.

Vispaéibyô aperenâyûbyô nôid kahmâi aperenâyunâm...
barô.

Yênhé aêtadha mazdayasnanâm nâirika avayau khsudrau
hâm raêthwayêiti mazdayasnanâmka daêvayasnanâmka.

^c Thrikhsafarem dâzhdhrem.

¹ The nearest kinsman of the child.

² The adhwadâitya or atapdât, literally 'improper journey,' is properly the sin of giving insufficient food to an animal or to a traveller. In this passage it means enforcing upon a child a journey beyond his strength.

³ The aêthrapaiti, the teaching priest; cf. Vd. IV, 45.

⁴ For three years; cf. Vd. XVIII, 9.

⁵ As a Kôstî; cf. Vd. XVIII, 1, note 2. He shall study for three years.

12. Kem aêmad aêthrapaitim upayad apnôtem (H.—apôtem T.) dahmem (H.—dâtem T.) ?

Yêsê tâd apayêiti pârantarem isôid.

Yavad aêtahmya zru staotanãm yêsnyanãm dâd-râgôis,

Yatha tad âfrimari nemô hyâd atha tad âfrimnô âstârayêiti ;

Aêtavada aêsaskid âstârayêitê.

13. Yô hê aperemnâi (read âperemnâi) nôid vtsâiti frâmrrûiti,

Kô hê paôurunãm aêthrapaitinãm afraôkhtê (H.—âf. T.) âstryêiti ? nabânazdistô.

Âad havatãm nana yahmi pareiti ;

[Vlspaêsu parenti] vlspaêsu afrôti (read afraokhti) âstryêiti.

14. Yô asrud-gaosô vâ afravaôkê vâ nôid ôim êinem vâkim aiwyâis,

Nôid paskaiti anaivisti âstryêiti.

Yêziâad ôyum pê vâkim aiwyâis anaiwisti âstryêiti^a.

15. Yô avadha nôid aiwyâsti ashaonê aradusa havayanghem akhtem,

Daretô vâ anangrô tâya vâ,

Ynâ (read snâ ?) vâ aodra vâ tarsnâ vâ aurvas angra vâ aodra vâ tarsna,

^a Ithâ âd yaza. ashêm vôhû.

¹ Who is the best teacher ?

² Until you know by heart the Staota Yêsnya, the Nask that formed the essential part of the Yasna, containing the Gâthas, the Yasna Haptanghâiti, and a few other Hâs (see our French Zend-Avesta, I, lxxxvii).

³ The meaning seems to be that he must teach at least the nemô hyâd (the Nyâyish ?).

⁴ That is the minimum the master is bound in duty to teach him.

12. Who is the aêthrapaiti to whom he shall go as the highest¹?

—Even he who . . .

Until thou hast by heart the Staota Yêsnya²,

.³

In this measure is the master guilty⁴.

13. If one answer not the student's objections⁵,

Which of the many aêthrapaitis is guilty?—He who is nearest of kin⁶.

.

For all objections, for all the answers denied he is guilty.

14. If he whose ear heareth not, or who has no voice, repeat not a word⁷,

He is not guilty for not repeating.

If he can repeat, were it only one word, for not repeating it he is guilty.

15. If he repeat not because he suffers from a wound,

Or for any physical pain, or

Or by reason of drought, or cold, or thirst, or . . .

Or by reason of the hard fare of travel,

If he repeat not, he is not guilty⁸.

¹ The case is when a pupil finding the text obscure or contradictory asks for an explanation.

² If this is the right translation, it would import that not every aêthrapaiti is bound to answer his pupil's objections; he has only to teach him the text, not to interpret it; but from a next-of-kin aêthrapaiti a pupil has a right to exact an answer to his doubts. One must bear in mind that the priesthood is hereditary, and that most priests of a place belong to one, or at least to a very few families. All the Mobeds in India are supposed to be descendants of one common ancestor (see the Guimet Zend-Avesta, I, lvii).

³ The pupils repeat the text, word by word, after the teacher.

⁴ Because he suffers from an overwhelming cause.

Anguha *vâka* tangro-pithwau (read *aungha-vâ ka* tarô-pithwô) ahmâd paiti adhwâ,

Nôid aêavisti (aênavisti H.—read anaivisti) âs tryêiti.

Vâthmaini asayâ *hva*fna vâ anaivisti âstryêitê.

16. Kad vâ daêvayasnâd vâ tanu-perethâd aêth-rapatôid pairi aiwyanghad?

Frasrâvayô ava dâthra yem dim vaênâd evisaêusva vandânem.

Nôid âva yâ vistaêusva.

Nôid hê ashaônê syaothananâm verezyôid.

17. Nâ daêvayasnâi vâ tanuperethâi vâ aêthrayâi kashâiti?

Dahmô niuruzdô adhâityô-draonô,

Dâityêhê draonanghê upa *gan*aungha,

Pairi-gereftayâd paiti zman[a]yau, nôid api-geref-tayâd paiti.

Kvaiti sê aêsa zimâna anghad? yatha gâus fravaiti.

Vehrkâi hizvâm dadhâiti yô azrazdâi méthrem (read mâthrem) kastê.

18. Kad nâ daêvayasnâi vâ tanuperethâi vâ geus adhâitya âstryêiti? nôid âstryêiti,

Anyô ahmâd yô hê gavâ vares daidhtâd aêtahmâi.

NĪRANGISTÂN.

FARGARD I, SECOND PART.

I. The Zôt and the Râspi.

19. Dahmô dahmâi aokhtê:

Frâma neregâ rayôis (read frâ mê nere gârayôis) yad ratus fritôis âsâd.

¹ Because he might and ought to have controlled his weariness.

² A Daêvayasna, a worshipper of the Daêvas, that is to say, a worshipper of false gods (a Brâhman, a Buddhist, a Greek, &c.)

If he repeat not by reason of weariness, sadness, or slumber, he is guilty ¹.

16.

17. Shall he teach a disciple, if he be a heathen ² or a sinner ³?

— The righteous man in his misery, if he have not wherewithal to be fed,

And wants wherewithal to be fed,

(May teach) for a salary, but not without a salary ⁴.

— What shall be the salary?—The price of what an ox ploughs ⁵.

But he gives a tongue to the wolf, who imparteth the Holy Word to the heretic ⁶.

18. He that refuseth food to the heathen and the sinner, is he guilty?—He is not guilty,

Unless he refuse it to the labourer in his service ⁷.

FARGARD I, SECOND PART.

Here begins the Nīrangistân proper.

I. The Zôst and the Râspt.

19. The pious man warns the pious man ⁸;

‘Rouse me, O man! when the festival of the masters arrives ⁹.’

¹ A Peshôtanu, a Zoroastrian in a state of mortal sin.

² He may teach a Daêvayasna or a Peshôtanu, but only to gain his bread, when reduced to starvation; in no case, and on no account whatever, may he teach a heretic.

³ ‘The price of a day’s work’ (Comm.); just enough to live on the day he teaches.

⁴ An Ashemaogha: cf. Tahmuras’ Fragments, § 3.

⁵ His meed is due to the labourer, even if a heathen or a sinner.

⁶ Cf. Vd. XVIII, 26.

⁷ Ratufriti, literally, ‘the blessing of the Ratus’ or the various masters of the year, is applied to the celebration of the Gâhânbârs.

Vtsaiti dem fraghrârayô nôid fraghrâghrâyêiti,
Aêsô ratufris yô gaghâra.

20. *K*vaiti narâm akhtô (read hakhtô) zaota ratu-
fris

Ahunem vairîm frasraôsyêhê ?

Vispaêibyô aêibyô yôi hê madhemyâ *va*ka [*va*ka]
frasrâvayamnahê vâ upa surunvanti *yad* vâ yasnem
yazemnahê ^a.

21. Surunaôiti zaodha (read zaota) upa sraotara-
nâm,

Nôid upa sraotarô zaotarô,

Zaota ratufres;

Aêtavô upa sraotârô yavad framarentem.

Nôid zaota upa sraotaranâm,

Upa sraotârô ratufryô ;

Aêtavatô zaota yavad framaraitê ^b.

22. Sraothrana gâthanâm ratufres,

Paiti-astika yasnashê adha frasôso-mâthrahê ;

Ahê zi nâ sravanghem aframarenti âstryêitê,

Yatha gâthanâm *kêid* ^c.

Gâthau srâvayô yasnem yazentem paitistaiti,

^a Frâmâ nere (cf. § 19, line 2).

Haourvô *pastikê*.

Frastuyê.

Ashem vôhû 3 fravarânê mazdayasnô.

Vispâi.

Ashaya nô paiti *gamyâd* Amesha Spenta.

Ashem vôhû 3 aiwi-garedhmahê apâm vanghinâm.

Ashem vôhû 3 fravarânê mazdayasnô Zarathustres.

^b Ashaya dadhâmi.

^c Manô maretanâm *kâ*.

Vakô maretanâm *kâ*.

¹ Ratufrish, literally, 'he has blessed the masters,' he has done his duty; he is all right.

If one rouse, and the other rise not,
The one who roused is accepted ¹.

20. How many assistants ² can the Zaotar lawfully
have in the recitation of the Ahuna Vairya ?

As many as repeat after him in a hushed voice
while he sings aloud or recites the Yasna.

21. If the Zaotar listen to the assistants,
And his assistants listen not to the Zaotar,
The Zaotar is accepted ;

And so are his assistants for all that they recite
themselves ³.

If the Zaotar listen not to his assistants,
The assistants are accepted ;

And so is the Zaotar for all that he recites him-
self ⁴.

22. The assistant ⁵ is accepted who sings the
Gâthas,

And follows inwardly the Yasna ⁶ and the Fshûshô-
mâthra ⁷ ;

For the man is guilty who does not follow the
(prose) texts ⁸,

Even as the Gâthas.

If he sing the Gâthas and follow inwardly the Yasna,

¹ 'How many Râspîs ?' (Comm.)— One of the offices of the Râspî is to make the responses to the Zôt, and to answer atha ratus in the Ahuna Vairya recited as a dialogue.

² Not for what has been recited by the Zaotar.

³ Not for what has been recited by the Râspîs.

⁴ The Râspî assisting the Zôt in the recitation of the Gâthas. For instance, at the end of each Gathic Hâ, he repeats with the Zôt the initial stanza.

⁵ The Yasna Haptanghâiti.

⁷ The Taḍ sôidhir Hâ (Yasna LVIII).

⁸ Sravanghem ; the prose texts, what is not Gâtha. He must repeat aloud the Gâtha texts and follow the rest inwardly.

Višpanām gāthanām ratufres.

Yasnem yazâiti gāthanām srāvamnām paitisti (read paitistaiti),

Yasnahê aêvahê ratufriš aratufriš gāthanām ^a.

23. Yâ gāthau afsmainya rayatô va ratufriš.

Vakastastivad srâyamnô (read srāvayamnô) aêta-
vatô ktarâkêid ratufriš yavad framarenti ^b.

24. Yâ yasnem yazebenti afsmainyân vâ vakastasti-
vad vâ va fratufrya (read ratufrya).

Hām-srud vâkayâdhi yêzietva (read vâka yêzi
yêzyâd va) aratufrya.

Kad hām-srud vâkimka ?

Yad hakad ârmutô (read âmrûtô) afsmainiivânka
vakasta (read vakastastivat).

Avakyô surunvainti nôid ainyô,

Aêsô ratufriš yô nôid aiwisrunâiti ^c.

25. Yô gāthanām anumaiti vâ anu mainaiti,

Ainyêhê vâ srāvayantô paitistanti,

Anyô vâ hê dahmô srutô-gāthau dadhâiti aratufriš,

Asrutau dadhâiti.

26. Yô gāthau srāvayêiti apô vâ paitis hvainê,

Raodhanghō vâ keresām vâ sadhôtanām (read
gadhôtunām),

Gāthanām vâ vayantanām,

Yêzi hvaêibyô usibyô aiwisrunvaiti ratufriš.

Yêzi âad nôid hvaêibya usibya aiwisurunvaiti
rapayâd (read apayâd);

^a Yâ syaothenâ yâ vaṭanghâ.

Humatanām.

^b Ahyâ yâsâ nemanghâ ustânazastô.

Ahyâ nemanghâ.

^c Hakad.

¹ The Zôt and the Râspî.

² Detached verses (?).

He is accepted for all the Gâthas.

If he recite the Yasna and follow inwardly the Gâthas, he is accepted only for the Yasna, he is not accepted for the Gâthas.

23. If the two priests¹ sing together Gâtha verses², both are accepted.

If they sing stanzas, both are accepted in the proportion that they recite (?).

24. If two priests³ celebrate together the Yasna verse by verse, or stanza by stanza, both are accepted.

If they hear the words of one another, they are not accepted⁴.

What is hearing one another's words ?

It is when they recite together verses or stanzas.

If one listen and the other listen not,

The one who does not listen is accepted.

25. If he think the Gâthas inwardly⁵,

Or listen to another's singing,

Or get another of the faithful to sing them,—he is not accepted, as he does not sing them himself.

26. If he sing the Gâthas near a water-spring⁶,

Or near a river, or among a gang of rioters,

Or during the passing of a caravan,

If he can hear himself with his own ears, he is accepted.

If he cannot hear his own voice, let him try to raise (it above the noise);

¹ Two different Zootars perform at the same time two independent offices. The place for the office, the so-called Izishn-gâh, is arranged in such a way that the celebration of several offices can take place at the same time.

⁴ As they disturb one another, and their attention is not undivided.

⁵ Without singing them himself.

⁶ Which drowns his voice.

Yêzi apôid' âad' nôid' apôî (read apôid') ts,
 Aêtadha mamdhyā (read madhmya) vakô frama-
 remnô ratufris^a.

27. *Kvad' nâ netema vakā gāthau srāvayô ratufris ?*
 Yêzi hê nazdistô dahmô vî surunvaiti yavad' vâ
 aêm aêm havaêibya usibya.

II. The Darûn.

28. *Gantumô yavanām ratufres^b.*

III. Strong drink forbidden during the sacrifice.

29. Yôî aêtêê (read aêtê) maidhyānām parô
hvarêtôid' pāthau (read *gāthau*) nôid' srāvayêiti,
 Paoithya (read paoirya) varista aêsām syaothanemka
 akithôiristem.

30. *Tad hvarenô bādha asti :*

Dahmô hurām *hvaraiti* madhō aspyā payanghō,
 Dāityā draonau *hvarô* madhō *hvaraiti*,

^a Aêtadha madhmya vakā.

^b Ashaya dadhāmi *hvarethem* myazdem : haurvata amere-
 retāta.

Ahurahê mazdau.

Ashaya nô paiti *gamyād*.

Hvarata narô.

Ashaya nô paiti *gamyād*.

Aêtām âyâtāmnahê.

Nemô Ahurâi ashem vohû 3.

Khsnaothra khsnaothra Amesha Spenta.

Ithâ âd yazamaidê *hvarethem* myazdem.

Haurvata ameretâta gâus hudhau âpê.

Urvara haurvata ameretâta.

Aêsmi baoidhi *hvarethem* myazdem.

Ama humatâkâ hûkhtâkâ ithâ.

Nôid' his barôid' upa kashem.

9 Ashem vohû ithâ ashem vohû ashem ithâ.

If he can raise (it so, all well) ; if he cannot,
He shall recite with a medium voice and will be
accepted.

27. How loud at the least shall he sing the Gâthas
in order to be accepted ?

Loud enough for the nearest of the faithful, for
this one or that one, to hear him with his own ears.

II. The Darûn.

28. Amongst grains, (the draonô¹) made with corn
is accepted².

III. Strong drink forbidden during the sacrifice³.

29. Those who, from drinking too much strong
drink, have not sung the Gâthas⁴,

On the first time it happens⁵, have not to atone
for it.

30. This is thy way of feeding :

When a pious man drinks strong drink, wine or
mare's milk, and eating with moderation drinks with

¹ The draonô, darûn, is a consecrated round little cake which is
tasted by the Zôt at the end of the Srôsh darûn (Yasna VIII, 4):
it is a sort of Zoroastrian host.

² This sentence does not really belong to the Zend Nîrangistân ;
it is a quotation from some other Fargard, inserted in the Pahlavi
commentary, though the analysis in the Dînkart, being based upon
the Pahlavi text, mentions it among the matters treated in the
Nîrangistân (Dînkart VIII, 29, 2 : 'concerning the darûn, &c.').

³ 'About abstaining from drinking strong wine during the sacri-
fice' (Dînkart VIII, 29, 3).

⁴ 'They drink wine, get drunk, and do not celebrate the Gâ-
hânâbâr.' (Comm.)

⁵ The first time they did not know the consequences of their in-
temperance, and are not considered responsible for them.

Nôid gâthanãm asruiti âstryêti.
 Fradhau-draonô hvârô madhaitê,
 Nâ gâthanãm asruiti.

IV. The recitation of the Gâthas.

31. Yô bis hastarem srâvayêiti ratufryô.

Thris hastrem srâvayenti (read srâvayenti aratuftris).

Kvad nitemem hastrem anghad ratufryeê ? thris^a.

32. Yô gâthau pairi ukhshayêiti srâvayanti

Yêzi arastrem pairi [akhta (read aokhta) pairi]
 âdha

Vâ vakad apayanta aratufrya

Paskâ vâ parô vâ pairi âdha [a]ratufryô.

33. Katha zaotha gâthau frâsrâvayâiti ? naêmô
 vakastasti madhimya vakâ Zarathustri mana ;

Yêzika aêtêê vakô apayaêiti yôi henti gâthâhva
 bisâmârûta thrisâmârûtakâ kâthrusâmârûtakâ,

Daêvanãm kereta,

Aêtaêsãm vakâm aratufryô.

34. Kaya panti (read hanti) vakâ bisâmârûta?

Ahyâ yâsâ—humatanãm—ashahyâ âad—yathâ tû
 i — humâim thwâ izem — thwôi staotaraskâ — ustâ

^a *Sad* vâstrahê Zarathustrôis nemô :—‘Homage to Isad-
 vâstra, son of Zarathustra.’

Vispau gaêthau.

Ahurahê Mazdau raêvatô hvarenanghatô ashâunãm.

Ahurahê Mazdau gâthabyô ashâunãm. gâthâbyô.

Ahurahê Mazdau ashâunãm yau visâdha âvayanti.

Ahurahê Mazdau Mithrahê vispaêsãm ashaonãm.

Ahurahê Mazdau Mithrahê vispaêsãm gâthâbyô ashao-
 nãm.

moderation too, if he sing not the Gâthas¹, he is not guilty.

If he eat too much and get drunk, for not singing the Gâthas [he is guilty].

IV. The recitation of the Gâthas².

31. If the priest sing for two assemblies, he is accepted.

If he sing for three assemblies, he is not accepted.

Which is the smallest assembly for which singing is accepted? Three (of the faithful).

32.

33. How will the Zaotar sing the Gâthas? He will sing half a stanza³ in a moderate voice with Zarathustra's rhythm;

And if he omit⁴ those words in the Gâthas which are twice, thrice, or four times to be said⁵,

Those words that cut the demons to pieces,

For those words he is not accepted.

34. Which are the words twice to be said?

Ahyâ yâsâ;

Yathâ tû î;

Humatanãm;

Humâim thwâ tîzem;

Ashahyâ âad;

Thwôi staotaraskê;

¹ 'If in spite of his moderation, the little he drank makes him tipsy so that he does not celebrate the Gâhân-bâr, he is not in a state of sin' (Comm.)

² 'Concerning the quality (sâmân) of the voice in reciting the Avesta in a ceremonial, and the Avesta which is twice recited and thrice or four times recited' (West, Dînkart, l. l. § 4).

³ The first half of the stanza.

⁴ If he omit to recite them the due number of times.

⁵ The so-called Bis-âmrûtas, Thris-âmrûtas, Kathrus-âmrûtas; cf. Vd. X.

ahmâi—Spentâ mainyû—Vohû khsathrem vairîm—
Vahistâ îstis.

35. Kaya thrîsâm-rûta ?

Ashem vohû—ye sevistô—hukhsathrôtemâi—duz-
varenâis.

36. Kaya kâthrusâm-rûta ?

Yathâ ahû vairîyô—Mazdâ ad moi vahistâ—â
airyemâ.

37. Kanghâm [H.—T. sanghâm] nâ gâthanâm
srutanâm aratufriš ?

Yâ yaêzô (read maêzô) vâ fravashâimnô (read fra-
vâ shâimnô) srâyêiti (read srâvayêiti),

Aêtaêšâm vaêšâm aratufriš.

Adhaêka uiti yatha kathaêka dahmô staota y[ê]snya
haurva dadhaiti,

Paurvâd vâ naêmâd aparâd vâ,

Myô (read ayô) vâ takâ vâ histanemnô (read
histemnô) vâ aungânô vâ dathânô vâ baremnô vâ
vazemnô vâ aiwyâstô athâ ratufriš^a.

V. The sacrifice performed by a Zôt or a Râspt
in a state of sin.

38. Dahmô zaota tanuperetha upasraotârô,

Yêzi dis tanuperethô vaêdha,

Aêvatô ratufriš yavad framaraiti.

Yêzi âad dis nôid tanuperethô vaêdha,

Vîspanâm gâthanâm ratufriš.

^a Barô aspô vazô rathô (Fragment Vd. VI, 26).

Fravarânê—âthrô Ahurahê Mazdau puthra tava âtars
puthra Ahurahê Mazdau khsnaothra—ashem vohû 3, fra-
varânê—yathâ ahû vairîyô yô zaotâ, yathâ ahû vairîyô yô
âtravakhsô athâ ratus—yathâ ahû vairîyô yô âtravakhsô yô
zaotâ athâ ratus—yô bityô zaotâ.

Ashem vohû—yathâ ahû vairîyô—fravarânê—frastuyê.

Ustâ ahmâi ; Vohû khsathrem vairîm ;
Spentâ mainyû ; Vahistâ istis ¹.

35. Which are the words thrice to be said ?

Ashem vohû ; Hukhsathrôtemâi ;
Yē sevistô ; Duzvarenâis ².

36. Which are the words four times to be said ?

Yathâ ahû vairyô ; Â airymâ ³.

Mazdâ aš moi vahistâ ;

37. When is it that the Gâthas which a priest sings are not accepted ?

The words he sings while doing the necessities of nature,

These words are not accepted.

Otherwise, in whatever fashion the pious man may offer the Staota yēsnya ⁴,

In the earlier part of the office or in the latter part of it (?),

Whether walking or running ; standing, sitting, or lying ; riding or driving ; as long as he has his girdle on ⁵, he is accepted.

V. The sacrifice performed by a Zôt or a Râspi in a state of sin ⁶.

38. If the Zaotar be righteous and his assistants be in a state of sin,

If he know that they are in a state of sin,

What he recites himself is accepted.

If he know not that they are in a state of sin, the whole of the Gâthas is accepted.

¹ Vd. X, 4.

² Vd. X, 8.

³ Vd. X, 12.

⁴ See above, page 312, note 2.

⁵ His Kôstî ; cf. Vd. XVIII, 1 (note 2), 54.

⁶ Dînkart, l. l. § 5.

39. Tanuperetha zaota dahma upasraotârô,
 Yêzi dim tanuperethem vlvare (read vldare),
 Aêtavatô ratufris yavað framerenti.
 Yêzi âað dim nôid tanuperethem vlvare,
 Vlsanãm gâthanãm ratufris.
 Dahmô zaota dahmô upasraotârô vlspe ratufryô.
 Tanuperethô zaota tanuperethô upasraotârô vlspe
 aratufryô.
40. Kayâkîð nâ dahmanãm zaotherâdha ratufris,
 Nâirikauskîð aperenâyûkahêka,
 Yêzi vaêtha hâthanãm (read hâitinãm?) thware-
 seska frataurunauska,
 Antare hâitisu yasnem frâizis^a.

NÎRANGISTÂN.

FARGARD II.

I. The celebration of the Gâhânbârs.

41. Yô gâthau asrâvayô âstâ vâ tarômaiti vâ
 tanûm pereyêiti.
 Kô âstâ katârô maiti (read kê tarômaiti) ?
 Yâ haêâ daênayâð mâzdayasnôid apastûitis^b.
42. Yô gâthau asrâvayô yâre drâgô apa tanûm
 pairyêiti.

^a Nôid tâ nâirika kasu-khrathwa.

Ashem vohû vahistem astî, ustâ astî ustâ ahmâi.

Hyad ashâi vahistâi ashem.

^b Yô haêâ daênayâð mâzdayasnôid apastôid,

Thris vaghsibis hakarað vipaitikîð.

¹ 'Concerning the functions of a Zôt performed by a woman or a child' (Dînkart, l. l. § 6).

² See above, §§ 5-9 and notes.

39. If the Zaotar be in a state of sin and the assistants be righteous,

If they know that he is in a state of sin,

What they recite themselves is accepted.

If they know not that he is in a state of sin, the whole of the Gâthas is accepted.

If the Zaotar be righteous and the assistants be righteous, the whole is accepted.

If the Zaotar be in a state of sin and the assistants be also in a state of sin, neither the one nor the other is accepted.

40¹. Any one of the faithful is accepted as a Zaotar,

Even a woman² or a child,

If he know the ends and the heads of the chapters³,

And know how to perform the acts of ritual between the chapters.

NÎRANGISTÂN.

FARGARD II.

I. The celebration of the Gâhânbârs.

41. He who does not sing the Gâthas, either out of unbelief, or out of impiety, becomes a Peshôtanu.

What is unbelief⁴? What is impiety⁵?

It is renouncing the Religion of Mazda.

42⁶. He who stays the year through without singing the Gâthas becomes a Peshôtanu.

¹ As there are certain repetitions of stanzas and certain ceremonial acts at the end of most of the Hâs.

⁴ âsta: 'negation; when he says, there is no such thing as Religion' (Comm.)

⁵ tarômaiti: 'when he says, it exists, but it is no good.'

⁶ 'On the sin of him who does not celebrate the Gâhânbârs, and how they are to be celebrated' (Dînkart, l. i. § 8).

Yêzi *aunghâm ôyâm pêvâkim* framaraiti,
 Pairi sê hô paretô-tanunâm *staunghaiti* (H.—T.
staonghaiti),

Yahmad *haka* tem ava raodhenti ^a.

Yô gâthanâm ôyem vâkim apayâiti aêvâm vâ
vakastastim,

Thri vâ azâiti ayare drâgô vâ vâstryâd’;

Atha bityau atha thrityau,

Atha vîspem â ahmâd yad hê *hangasanta* yatha
kathrusem yau gâthau asrâvayô hyad aradusa hê
syaothanem.

Thrishûm tarô *hvaraya* naêmem tarô bâzugataya
 vîspem tarô yâre drâgê hê him yâtem âstryêiti.

Yadkid *paskaiti* aêvâm ratufritim ava raodhayêiti
 tanûm pairyêiti.

43. Yô gâthanâm aêvâm ratufritim ava raodhayêiti
 thri vâ âzaiti ayare drâgô vâ vâstryâd’;

Atha vîspem â ahmâd yad hê *hangasaiti* yatha
 thrishûm yau gaêthau asrâvayô od tanûm pairyêiti.

44. Yô gâthau asrâvayô naêmem yâre drâgô,

Tad paiti aênem dahmem gâthanâm sraothrau
 pairistayêiti,

Yadhôid naêm yau gaêthau (read gâthau) asrâvayô
 hyad atha u âstryêiti ;

^a Sârahê.

Panka tîsrô dasa u rathwâm.

Hazangrem maêsanâm (Âfrîngân Gâhânâbâr, 7).

Hazangrem gavaâm (ibid. 8).

Rathwâm.

¹ According to the commentator Sôshyans : ‘If he recite the whole in *bâg* and only one word aloud.’

² If he has passed the fourth part of the year without celebrating the Gâhânâbâr, any verbal fault he may afterwards commit shall be punished as an Aredus, that is to say, with fifteen strokes of the Sraoshô-karana (Vd. IV, 26).

If he recite, were it only a word of them ¹,
 He escapes being in the number of the Peshô-
 tanus,—

.

He who shall omit a word of the Gâthas or a stanza,
 Shall pay with three strokes (of the Sraoshô-
 karana) or a day's work ;

The same on the second omission, the same on
 the third,

And so on until he let a fourth part of the year
 go without singing the Gâthas, when it becomes an
 areduš sin ².

If he let a third part of the year go, his guilt is
 a *hvara* ³; if he let a half go, his guilt is a *bâzu* ⁴;
 if he let a whole year go, his guilt is a *yâta* ⁵.

If afterwards he miss a *ratufriti* ⁶, he becomes a
 Peshôtanu.

43. If a man miss a *ratufriti* of the Gâthas, he
 shall pay for it with three (strokes) or a day's work ;

And so on until he let a third part of the year go
 without singing the Gâthas ⁷ he
 becomes a Peshôtanu.

44. If a man stay a half year without singing the
 Gâthas ⁸,

And also prevents another of the faithful from
 singing the Gâthas,

For the half year when he did not sing the
 Gâthas, he shall be in a state of sin ;

¹ Punished with thirty strokes.

² The sin of breaking an arm : fifty strokes.

³ The sin of breaking a leg : seventy strokes.

⁴ One of the formulas of glorification to any of the *ratus* (?).

⁵ To be filled up as in § 42.

⁶ ' Without celebrating the *Gâhânârs* ' (Comm.)

Paourum vâ naêmem yâ aparem vâ pairyastayêiti
pisotanus^a.

45. Yô gâthau asrâvayô naêmem yau
Tad paiti aênem dahmem gainti
Ardus vâ aghryô [staorem] vâ bistaorem yâ yad
mazanghem vâ hvarem
Hvarôidⁱ hê anghad kithayaêka upa-beretayaêka.

II. The limits of the several Gâhs.

II a. Gâh Ushahin.

46. Kahmâd haka ushahinanâm gâthanâm ratufris
fragasaiti ?

Haka maidhyâyâi khsapad huvakhsâi pairi-sakaiti ;
Atha aiwigâmi.

Âad hama yêzi para huvakhsad ahunavadka
gâthâm srâvayêiti,

Yasnemka haptanghâitîm ustavaitîm hâitîmka,

Anâsteretô paskaita avau yau anyau srâvayôidⁱ
âmaêidhyâd fr. yârad (read frayârad)^b.

^a Pairâu arstau khed.

^b Ashem vohû 3, fravarânê Mazdayasnô—Ahurahê Mazdau
raêvatô hvarenanghatô khsnaothra od frasastayaêka.—
ashem vohû—khsnaothra Ahurahê Mazdau—humatanâm
hûkhtanam hvarestanâm—nâ yasta.

Naratô kerethen.

Ashem vohû—yathâ ahû vairyô—ashem vohû 3 fravarânê
mazdayasnô—haomahê ashavazanghê khsnaothra od fra-
sastayaêka—ashem vohû 3 fravarânê—Zarathustrahê Spen-
tamahê ashaonô fravasheê khsnaothra od frasastayaêka—
ahurâi mazdâi—imem haomem yaunghâmka—Y. A. V.
—A. V.—haoma pairi hareshyanti—syaothananâm—khsa-
thremkâ—khsathremkâ—âdâi kahyâkiâ paiti—Y. A. V.—
A. V.—A. V. 3, Fr.—tava âtars puthra Ahurahê Mazdau
khsnaothra (âthrô Ahurahê Mazdau puthra tava Atars

And for the half of the year, whether earlier or later, when he prevents (their being sung), he becomes a Peshôtanu.

45.

II. The limits of the several Gâhs¹.

II a. The Ushahin Gâh.

46. At what hour does the celebration of the Ushahina Gâthas begin?

It continues from midnight to sunrise; thus in winter time.

In summer time, if one sing the Ahunavaiti Gâtha before sunrise,

As well as the Yasna Haptanghâiti and the Ustavaiti Hâ,

He may, without guilt, sing the rest of the Gâthas till the middle of the forenoon.

puthra Ahurahê Mazdau khsnaothra)—A. V.—frastuyê—staomî ashem—staomî—A. V.—staomî ashem—vasasêa te Ahura Mazda.

Amesha Spenta—ima*d* Baresma hadhazaothrem min

¹ On the limits of the five Gâhs of the day and night, and the ceremonies of the same (Dînkart, l. i. § 9). The five Gâhs (asnya), it will be remembered, are—

1. Ushahina (Ushahin), from midnight to the extinction of the stars, or Dawn.

2. Hâvani (Hâvan), the morning Gâh, beginning at dawn.

3. Rapithwina (Rapithwin), the midday Gâh.

4. Uzayêirina (Uzîrin), the afternoon Gâh, from Rapithwin to the appearance of the stars.

5. Aiwisrûthrima (Aipisrûsrim), from the appearance of the stars to midnight.

In winter there are only four Gâhs, Hâvani and Rapithwina being united.

II b. Gâh Hâvan.

47. Kahmâd havanem gâthanâm ratufris fragasaiti ?

Haka hû-vakhsad maidhyâi frayarâi pairi-sakaiti ;
Hamatha itha.

Âad aiwi-gâmi maidhyâi uzayarâi

Yad vâ yatha uzarem yad yatha khsaparem ^a.

Ahurâi Mazdâi od dathusô aêtað dim od vanghuþa vanghausþa.

Aêthraya varestâm—imad baresma—frastuyê—Y. A. V.
—ashaya nô paiti gamyâd—hvarata narô—nadatum.

Gâm.

Nemô Haomâi mazdadhâtâi vanghus Haomô hudhâtô.

Hâvanânem âstâya—azem visâi—yô nô aêvô ad tû.

Pairi tê Haoma ashem vohû—A. V. — vanghuþa vanghausþa—yênhê mê ashâd haka—syaothananâm.

Sastika—Ahurâi Mazdâi—Ameshâ Spentâ—imem hao-
mem—yaunghâmka.

—Khsathremka—âthretim khsathrô kereta hê gaosô
berezô us shâvayôid.

Ashem vohû—yênhê mê ashâd haka—haomanâmka hare-
syamnanâm — arukhdhanâmka vakanghâm — athâ zî nô
humâyôtara anghen—syaothananâm—âdâi kahyâkid paiti
—us môi uzâresvâ Ahurâ Ârmaiti tevishim dasvâ—ashaya
dadhâmi imâm zaotrâm haomavaitim gaomavaitim ha-
dhânaêpatavaitim od tava Ahurânê Ahurahê vahistâbyô
zaotrâbyô—tava Ahurânê adhi.

^a Vohû ukhshyâ mananghâ imau raokau barezistem bare-
zimanâm yahmi Spentâ thwâ mainyû urvaêsê gasô.

Ravaska hvâthremka âfrinâmi vispayau ashaonô stôis
âzaska dusâthremka âfrinâmi vispayau drvatô stôis. A. V.
3 vayôis uparôkairyêhê taradhâtô anyâis dâmân aêtað tê
vayô yad tê asti spentô khsnaothra—yazâi apemka ba-
ghâmka.

Haurvatâtô rathwô yâiryayau husitôis saredhaêibyô
ashahê ratubyô ayananâmka asnyanâmka mâhyanâmka yâ-

II b. The Hâvan Gâh.

47. At what hour does the celebration of the Hâvani Gâthas begin?

It continues from sunrise to the middle of the forenoon;

Thus in summer time.

In winter time till the middle of the afternoon.

.

iryanāmka saredhanāmka vîspaêsâm yazatanâm pun yaza-
maidê ayara ashahe rathwô ratufretis yaz. asnya ashahe
rathwô ratufretis yaz. mâhya ashahe rathwô ratufretis yaz.

Yâirya ashahe rathwô ratufretis yaz.

Saredha ashava ashahe rathwô ratufretis yaz.

Âzât-mart guft havâ-t : ayara ashavana ashahe rath-
wô ratufretis yaz.

Âthrô Ahurahê Mazdau puthra.

Khsathrô nafedhrô Nairyô-sanghahê.

Mad vîspaëibyô âterebyô.

Âthrô Ahurahê Mazdau puthra amat dû âthrô Ahurahê
Mazdau mad vîspaëibyô âterebyô.

Âthrô Ahurahê Mazdau puthra.

Khsnûmainê maunghahê [gao od] khsnûmainê dathusô.

Âpâm vakhdûnîsn aspô karp âm (read aspô-kehrpâm)
pun minîsn yakhsûnêt.

Tîr yôm khsnûmainê danâ Tistryêhê stârô raêvatô
hvarenanghatô Satavisahê frâpahê sûrahê mazdadhâtahê.

Tistryêhê—Vanantô.

Tistryêhê—Tistryêhê vâtahê ashâunâm.

Âthrô Ahurahê Mazdau puthra mad vîspaëibyô âterebyô
Tistryêhê Vanantô geus tasni vîspaêsâm.

Khsnûmainê amahê.

Pathayau hvâsty[au] zarenumantô sûrahê Saokantahê-
ka garôis mazdadhâtahê pathâm hvâstâitîm yaz.

Zarenumantem sûrem yaz. Saokantem gairîm mazda-
dhâtem yaz.

Râmanô hvâstrahê—thwâsahê.

48. *Kahmâd ahêka* (read *haka*) *apâm vanghînãm frâtis fragasaiti* ?

Haka hû-vakhsâd â hu-frâshmô-dâitôid pairi-sakaiti ;

Tad hama tad aiwêgâma.

Yô âpê zaotrâm frabaraitê,

Pasêka hû-frâshmô-dâim para hû-vakhsâd,

Nôid vanghô ahmâd syaothanãm verezyêiti,

Yatha yad hîm azôis vishâpahê vastrem (read *astrem* ?) *paityâpta karsôid*^a.

II c. Gâh Rapithwin.

49. *Kahmâd haka rapithwanãm* (H.—ratufrithwanãm T.) *gâthanãm ratufris fragasaiti* ?

Haka rapithwayâd maidhyâi uzayarâi pairi-sakaiti^b.

II d. Gâh Uzîrin.

50. *Kahmâd haka uzayairanãm gâthanãm ratufris fragasaiti* ?

Haka maidhyâi uzaryarâd hu-frâshmô-dâiteê pairi-sakaiti ;

Hama itha.

Âad aiwigâmi yêzi para hû-frâshmô-dâtôid ahu-nâska vairyâ frasrâvayêiti,

Tistryêhê—Vanantô.

Khsmûmainê ashôis vanghuyau kistôis vanghuyau erethe vanghuyau.

Vispaêšãm—2 berezatô, 2 dathusô.

^a *Apâm vispaêšãm.*

Vispaêšãm—haomyãm.

A. V. 3, *fravarânê* : *mâ gâs yakhsûnêt. aiwyô vanghi-byô vispanâmêka apâm Mazdadhâtanãm berezatô Ahurahê nafedhrô apâm apasêka mazdadhâtayau tava Ahurânê*

48. From what hour may the sacrifice to the Good Waters¹ be offered?

It continues from sunrise to sunset;

Thus both in summer time and in winter time.

He who offers libations to the Good Waters,

After sunset and before sunrise,

Does no better deed

Than if he should throw them downright into the jaws of a venomous snake².

II c. The Rapithwin Gâh.

49. At what hour does the celebration of the Rapithwina Gâthas begin?

From Rapithwa to the middle of the afternoon.

II d. The Uzîrin Gâh.

50. At what hour does the celebration of the Uzayêirina Gâthas begin?

From the middle of the afternoon to sunset;

Thus it is in summer.

In winter, if, before sunset, one sing the Ahuna Vairya,

Ahurahê khsnaothra [yasnâika] od frasastayaêka apash vâg vakhdûnisn.

Frâ te staomaidê Ahurâne Ahurahê vangheus yasnâska vahmâska huberetiska usta-beretiska vanta-beretiska yaza-tanâm, thwâ ashaonâm kukhsnîra us bî barâmi, rathwaska berezatô, gâthauska srâvayôid frâ te staomaidi.

Miâ î razâgâda.

^b Ashahê vahistahê âthraska Ahurahê Mazdau vîspaêsâm.
Ashahê vahistahê âthraska Ahurahê Mazdau puthra.

¹ The so-called âp-zôhr (Yasna LXIII seq.; see the Guimet Zend-Avesta, I, 392-425).

² Cf. Vd. VII, 79.

Apas~~k~~a frâitê,
Spentâ Mainyûm~~k~~a va~~k~~astastem khsvas vahistem
srâvayti;

Anâsteretô paskaita avau (H.—ava~~d~~ T.) yau
anyau srâvayôid â maidhyâ~~d~~ khsapad^a.

II e. Gâh Aiwisrûthrem.

51. Kahmâ~~d~~ aiwisrûthremananâm gâthanâm ratu-
fris fragasaiti?

Ha~~k~~a hû-vakhâ~~d~~-frâshmô-dâitêê (read hû-frâshmô-
dâitêê) maidhyâi khsapê pairi-sa~~k~~aiti:

Tad hama tad aiwi-gâmi ^b.

III. The offerings for the Gâhân bârs.

52. Yôî dâitya yaona (H.—yôna T.) hvarenta
(read ~~k~~arenta),

Gavâstra~~k~~a varesnau verezantô khratûm~~k~~a asha-
vanem aiwishantô,

Adhâityô-draonanghas~~k~~a henta,

Dâitîm geus draonô upa isemnô ava apangha-
bidenti;

Framarentem aêsâm,

Nôid aêtaêsâm ratufris ratufraitîm thweresâiti;

Yadhôid aêtê framarenti yadhôid ratufryô ^c.

53. Âad aêtaya (read aêta ya) fra~~k~~arenti keresâs~~k~~a
gadhôitls~~k~~a,

Daêvis~~k~~a handaramana upa mraodes~~k~~a vispô-
khsapô,

^a Y. A.V.—ad tâ vakhsyâ.

^b Aêdha aiwyast~~k~~id paiti apathrestemem~~k~~ad ptarenta.

^c Hazangrem maêsanâm dânunâm paiti-puthranâm narâm
ashaonâm ashaya vanghuya urunê kithîm nisirinuyâ~~d~~
(Âfring. Gâhân. 7).

And offer the libations to the Waters,
And sing the six stanzas of the Gâtha Spentâ-
mainyu ;

He may, without guilt, sing the rest of the Gâthas
after sunset.

II e. The Aiwisrûthrim Gâh.

51. From what hour does the celebration of the
Aiwisrûthrima Gâthas proceed ?

It continues from sunset to midnight ;

Thus both in summer time and in winter time.

III. The offerings for the Gâhânbars.

52. If an honest man,

Working hard and teaching the Holy Wisdom ¹,

Have no sufficient living,

And dream of getting sufficient meat ² ;

If such a one only ³ recite (the prayers),

He who celebrates the festival ⁴ cannot charge
him with non-celebration ;

For as far as he recites (the prayers), he has
celebrated the festival ⁵.

53. But men who live like robbers and highway-
men,

In knavery, brigandage, and debauchery every
night,

¹ A profession which brings no great income to those who exercise it.

² 'They have bread, they have no meat,' and cannot therefore offer any meat for the Gâhânbar.

³ Without making any offering.

⁴ The rich man who provides the offerings.

⁵ 'He has as much merit as if he had presented pious people with a thousand goats big with kids' (Comm.), which is the reward promised for the celebration of the first Gâhânbar (Afrîngân Gâhân. § 7).

Dâityô-draonanghaska hantô,
Fradhâitlm dâitlm gaus draonô upôisemnô adha
avanghabdemnô ;

Aframarentem aêsâm,
Aêtaêsâm ratufris ratufritlm thwiresaitl.

54. Kâhya âg[a]va ratufris ?

Yau avangha avau yau nâiryau yau puthrahê
aperenâyôis.

Yau tanu-perethahê aparaothemnahê aghaurvaya
ratufres.

Yau haka daêvayasnaêibyô ava urvaitya apa bara
aya ratufris ;

Tadha yad paiti barenti yâ aredusâd apaiti tad'
(read apaititad') âgaghaurva ;

Yâhu varanghana ;

Yâ adhâiti fravaityanâm (read fraraityanâm) frapa

Yâ nôid' vlstem drvatô

Yad paiti baraunti

Nôid' apaita nôid' paiti kaya ratufres.

55. Ratufris apaityânô kâhya (H.—T. dâhya)

Ratufris havâ yâ nmânahê paiti rikyêihê

Yêzi vis hvâvôis dazdê ratufris *

Hvaretha yêzi aratufris.

56. Nôid' pasuska bazda nôid' irista anazdya ratufris.

Abanta airista anadya pairistanghara ratufris.

57. Ratufris pasuyebis hvâstâiska ahvâstâiska
zâyeska azâyêska (H. zyâiska azyâiska).

Ratufris patus (read pitus) hvâstâis nôid' [anastâ-
iska azyâis nôid'] anazyâis.

Ratufris snâkeniska vîzuska hvâstâiska nôid' ana-
hvâstâis azyâis nôid' anazyâis ^b.

* Yêzi aad his nôid' his hvâvôya dazdê [a.]ratufris yâ
adhang[ang]hê—yêzi—hvaretha yazata ratufris.

Who have plentiful living,
And dream of a surplus of meat ;
If such men recite not (the prayers) ¹,
He who celebrates the festival can charge them
with non-celebration.

54. Whose meat-offering is accepted ?

The offering of a man, of a woman, of a child.

The property seized on a criminal is accepted.

The property seized on heathens ² who have
broken a treaty is accepted ;

Also the property that is brought having been
seized on the committer of an unexpiated areduš ;

The property seized in consequence of an ordeal ;

.

55.

56. Sheep diseased, wounded, or lean, are not
accepted.

Sheep not diseased, not wounded, and not lean-
fleshed, are accepted.

57. Milk cooked or not cooked, from a fat cow or
from a lean cow, is accepted.

Meat is accepted ; cooked, not uncooked ; from
fat cattle, not from lean cattle.

. . . and . . . are accepted ; cooked, not uncooked ;
fat, not lean . . .

^b Paê aēnyâikid (paêmainyâikid?) zaotrâya.

58. hvô istaēsva pasus hvīs.

Yô pasûm avâi vīnaoiti [paskā] hû-frāshmô-dâitīm asao-
kantaḍ paiti âthrâd.

Yatha vâ azô skāēnis yatha hus peresô.

¹ However rich may be their offerings.

² Foreigners, non-Zoroastrians.

Ratufriš *karemanāmka* pasu-vastranāmka,
 Upa raēsasnâis fraôiritarād naēmād;
 Marātanām nōid amarātanām azayanām nōid ana-
 zayanām ^a.

59. Ratufriš nāirikayau kehrpa nōid payanghō,
 Nōid sunō kehrpa payanghō;

Ratufriš vehrkayau kehrpayau payanghaka hadhō
 vīspanāmka daēvayasnanām [tanu]-perethanām dūm
 hathra baodhō angha fraurvaēsyō.

60. Yō aēvō hadhō-gaēthanām yō baresmaka
 frastarenti geuska paiti-bairaiti,

Adhād ainyē antarad naēmād hāthrahē vakaska
 framavainti (read framravainti) gavāstryāka varesnau
 verezenti,

Vīspaēsāmka aiwi-surunvaiti vīspē ratufryō ^b.

Yēzi āad nōid aiwi-srunvanti aēsō [ratufrišō] rat[u]-
 f[r]iisō yō baresma frasterenti geuska paiti-baraiti ^c.

61. Kahmād haka mazdayasnanām (read myazda-
 vanām) myazdē ra[ē]thwaiti ?

Yā khsudru yad vā yaz[a]nti yad vā hām-raē-
 thwenti,

Yad vā frā uithētātō peresenti,

Yad vā aēsām anyō aētahmāi dāiti dadhāiti ^d.

^a Geus vā aspahē vā varesahē.

A. V. 3, fravarānē [mazdayasnō zarathustris vīdaēvō
 Ahurahē dkaēsō].

—Ahurahē Mazdau raēvatō hvarenanghatō khsnaothra
 y. v. kh. fr.—A. V.

^b Athā ratus ashād kīd hākā frā ashava vīdhvau mraotū.

^c Hazangrem maēsānām (Afrīng. Gāhān. § 7).

Yaēsām anghenka thwārō mazdista (read anghen kathwārō
 nazdista).

^d Ashem vōhū 3, fravarānē. mā gās yakhsanūnēt khsnū-
 man. Sraosahē ashyēhē takhmahē tanu-māthrahē dareshi-

58. Leather is accepted from the skin of an animal,

From under the raêsatna ;

If supple, not if not supple ; if from a fat animal, not from a lean one.

59. Woman's milk is not accepted,

Nor bitch's milk ;

A she-wolf's milk is accepted ;

60. Of priests of one partnership¹ if one bind the bundle of Baresman and bring the offering of milk,

And the others, within a Hâthra distance, recite the words and perform the ritual acts,

And all make the responses², all are accepted.

If they make not the responses, the one who has bound the Baresman and brought the offering of milk is accepted.

61.

draos Ahûiryêhê khsnaothra yasnâika od frasastayaêka
3 dûkânak kartak yô paoiryô mazdau dâmân apas
âfrînağân pun rôisâ nôk nâpar A. V. 3, fravarânê.
mâ gâs: hâvanê u sâvanghê rathwâm. khshnûman
Ahurahê Mazdau raêvatô kartak i Ahurem Mazdâm
ashavanem ashahê ratûm yaz. . . hudhau nghem mazistem
yazatem yim sevistem frâdad-gaêthem od ad zayênê
(Y. XVI, 10). Apas âfrînağân pun rôisâ: rathwô
berezađ ashem vôhû 3, fravarânê. Pun Hâtôkht hadhao-
khdhâi. pun Vîspôrat hâvanê. khshnûman rathwô
berezađ, kartakî datâka aêtê Mazdayasna. Apas âfrîna-
ğân âi pun rôisâ pun mân-i sapîrân [u] mâni-
âtâsân: Ashem vôhû 3, fravarânê, mâ gâs yakhsûnêt
khshnûman dahmayau vanghuyau âfritôis ughrâi dâmôis

¹ Cf. page 305, note 3.

² Cf. § 20 ; in particular the atha ratus in the recitation of the Ahuna Vairya.

62. Kahmâd haka myazdavanām myazdê rathwaiti?
 Yâ pâpithwa vasô aêisteê,
 Yād pairi baresman hangasantê āad ratufriteê.
 Yād yazanti yād vâ hām raêthwayêinti^a.
 Yād vâ aêsām anyô aêtahmâi dâiti dadhâiti.
 63. Yaska mē aêtaêsām mazdayasnanām myazda-
 vanām aêtanghām yād myazdanām anahakhtô para-
 baraiti,

Nôid tâyus nôid hazangha bavād;
 Aiwikêishmnâi âkaêithamanām stayād.
 Ainyô kaskîd anghaus astvatô para-baraiti âkau
 hazangha anakausê tâyus.

64. Yâ nara hāmô-hvaretha hamô-gaodana hamām
 aêtê khshâudrunem zaotherām barâtô hamām pâpith-
 wām (H.—pâiptwām T.—read pâpithwām).

Paitinām hāmô-hvaretha paitikâ gaodana,
 Paitinām aêtê khsadrem (read khshâudrem) zao-
 thrām barâtô hamām pâpithwām.

Paitinām hvaretha hāmô-gaodana,
 Hamām aêtê khsaudrem zaotherām barâtô paitinām
 (H.) pâpithwām.

Paitinām hvaretha paitinām [hvaretha hāmô]
 gaodana,

Paitinām (H.) aêtê khsudrim zaotherām barâtô
 paitinām pâpithwām^b.

upamanâi khsnaothra y. v. kh. fr. dûkânak kartan apas
 tau ahmi nmânê [apas] âfrînagân pun rôisâ zag-î
 io yôm pun Farvartigân zag-î pang yôm [fartûm]
 A. V. 3, fravarânê. mâ gâs yakhsûnêt khsnûman.
 Ahurahê Mazdau ashâunām, kartak-î yau visâdha âva-
 yanti; apas âfrînâmi pun rôisâ zag-î pang yôm dar
 gâs aê A. V. 3, fravarânê [mâ gâs] yakhsûnêt khsnû-
 mainê Ahurahê Mazdau gâthâbyô uashâunām apas kartakî
 yau visâdha apas âfrînagân-î pun rôisâ pun stôtih

62.

63. If one of the Mazda-worshippers who share in the Myazda¹ carry off part of it without due leave,

He is no thief, he is no highwayman² ;

He shall pay the penalty they may exact.

Any other man in this world who shall do that³, if he does it openly is a highwayman ; if secretly, he is a thief⁴.

64⁵. If two men have the same food and the same plates, they shall offer the same libation of wine and the same meat.

If they have the same food and separate plates, they shall offer separate libations of wine and the same meat.

If they have separate food and the same plates, they shall offer the same libation of wine and separate meat.

If they have separate food and separate plates, they shall offer separate libations of wine and separate meat.

A. V. 3, fravarânê. mâ gâs yakhsûnêt apas khsnûman Sraosahê asyêhê ; kartak yô vananô.

*Yad athavatha veresô nôid verezenti ayûp aiwithweres—mruâka—yaskâ.

^b Haurvô pasô Frasaostrô naêmo paithwa Zarathustrô.

¹ The public religious banquet which is one of the characteristics of the Gâhânâhr festival. It is given at the expense of the rich, and both rich and poor take part in it.

² As he has a general right to it, though he ought not to have taken it without authority.

³ A man who does not belong to that Myazda.

⁴ See above, page 35, note 1.

⁵ The case foreseen in this obscure paragraph seems to be that of two men, members of the same Myazda, according as they each bring their separate fare or not.

IV. The Libations.

65. *Kaiti* nâ aêvahê pasvô zaotherâd (read zaotherau) barâd? katangrô.

Atha dvau atha thryâm;

Katurâm aêvâm kahyâikid tadha frayanghâm.

Kvad gaonahê avabarâd?

Yâ dvaëibya erezubya hangerefad (H.—hangereftâd T.),

Dashenem â vâ gaonavatô,

Baresnô vâ paiti vaghdhanahê^a.

Vispaêsâm antare (read âtare?) paiti-narôid (read paiti-barôid)^b.

66. *Kvad* nâ âpa (read apê) fratað karetê khsâudrem payanghâm paiti-barâd? yatha tâsta zaotherôbarana.

Âad tûirinâm yatha thris hvarethema raêthwis baginô (H.—baganaô T.);

Âad paiteus (read piteus) yatha kathwârô asti masô ainaidkim nâzau.

67. *Kvad* nâ apê armaêstaya khsâudrinâm payanghâm paiti-barâd? yatha thris hvarema raêthwa baginô.

^a Pourukid uthahê (H.—uthdhahê T.) amat kî kabad ûth yad aêtað hangasauntê paouru-gaonahê uthahêka.

^b Tarô yasnem haptanghâitîm yêzentem nôid âthrô fravatinêka yad nôid geus vimatim.

Yad franata bun.

Yaunghâmka aêtausête âtere zaotherau.

Pasvâ zanghem âstaya.

Dasina paiti aredhangha.

Kathwaresatem gaoshem frâyazâmaidê.

Tad kithremka.

Ithrishûm aunghâd uthem sadayâd.

IV. The Libations¹.

65. How many Zaothras shall a man bring for one head of cattle?—Four.

As many for two, as many for three;

For four, one more for each head.

How much gaona² shall he pull out?

As much as he can seize on a space of two fingers,

Either on the right hand of the gaona part³,

Or on the summit of the head.

Of all of them he shall throw the gaona into the fire.

66. Of liquid milk how much shall the man bring to a running stream⁴?—As much as a cup for libation⁵ contains.

Of milk in cheese three times as much as the cup for mixing and dividing⁶ contains;

Of meat as much as four asti (?) . . .

67. Of liquid milk how much shall he bring to the water in a pond? Three times as much as the cup for mixing and dividing contains.

Âthrô ahurahê mazdau puthra mad vispaëibyô âterebyô garôis usi-darenahê mazdadhâtahe asha-hvâthrahê.

Yaunghâmâ—yazamaidê—Ahurem Mazdâm—Amešâ Spentâ—humatanâm—srîrem (H.—srîm T.) aredumem.

Yênhê hâtâm—humatanâm—4 Y. A. V. 3 A. V.

¹ 'On the number of zôhrs [to be taken] from a head of cattle' (Dñkart, l. l. § 11). The goat furnishes the milky element, the gîv, for the zôhr.

² Hair?

³ The hairy part?

⁴ As an âp-zôhr to a running stream.

⁵ A zaothrô-barana (zôhr-barân; Visp. X, 2).

⁶ Cf. Vd. XIV, 8.

Avi (H.—ava T.) gereftem paitim (read pitum)
gerebyâd;

Fradaristakîd tûirinâm fradarayôid.

Nâvayayâi itha apê;

Âad nâvayâi,

Avaêzô aêtanghau frabareta dâstra masô paiti-barô
(H.—pai-barô T.)^a,

Aipi gaghaurvatâm aspayanâmka payanghâm gâ-
vayanâmka maêsininâmka buzînanâmka^b.

Avaêzô pasûm hãm pukhdhem mananghô (read
zemananghô) nôid payanghô

Uska âpê shauô gâvayâis

Khshvas vaghzibis antare barôid

Yatha nôid aêti nidâitika airisyâ

Âzi dim aêtaêsâm daonô- (H.—baonô- T.; read
baodhô-) gaitis astâraitî^c.

68. Avatha frabereta zaothrau frabarôid,

Atha hâvana haomân hunyâd,

Yatha havað vaêthad atha mê zaothrê yêtê (read
zaothrau yantê) raokahê nôid antare temahê.

Vidâyâd zi yatha hô ashis anghad;

Vispanâm zil asraskintem parâka (H.—prâka T.)
aêsayamananâm daêva raêzaêtê upa [n]ukhturusu
tuthraêsu asrâvayamnâd paiti Ahunâd vairiyâd;

Athâ yô dim frahanêintare âtaremka baresmaka,

Anairyanâm tad dahyunâm verethrâi uzgasaiti^d.

^a Fridhast âzau.

Avaêzô pasûm hãm pukhdhem (cf. infra).

Kîthrem kîd (H.; T. kikkthrem kîd).

^b Taurva payau bavâd aspayâadka khrayâadka.

A. V. 3, Fr.

Geus tasnê geus urunê.

Tava geus hudhazunghô urunê.

There he shall dip and take up the same quantity of meat ¹ ;

There he shall hold out cheese.

The same shall it be for river water ;

But for river water,

The Frabaretar ² may bring, without guilt, for a half, Boiling milk of mares, cows, sheep, or goats.

.

68. The Frabaretar shall bring the libations,

The Hâvanan shall prepare the Haoma,

In such a way that the libations, prepared to the best of their knowledge, come to me by daylight, not in the darkness ³.

For there is no piety without knowledge ⁴ ;

For all libations poured out and presented, that are poured in the darkness of night, and without singing the Ahuna Vairya, flow to the benefit of the Daêvas ⁵ ;

And if one pour them without looking at the fire and the Baresman,

They accrue for the victory of the Anaryan countries ⁶.

Yavâkem gæus.

Khsnaothra.

Ashasara manangha.

Ashasara vaŋangha ashasara syaothana.

* Yênhê mê ashâd haŋâ vahistem—yêsnê—paîtî.

^a Ashemŋa dapasŋa hû-frâsmô-dâitîm.

¹ As prescribed for a running stream.

² See § 68.

³ Cf. § 48, and Vd. VII, 79.

⁴ Offering up the sacrifice without a proper knowledge of its rules and practice is no piety.

⁵ Cf. Vd. VII, 79.

⁶ The hostile countries.

69. Yô paiti apê barâiti nôid baresmainê,
Yêzi baresma antarâd naêmâd aêsô draogyêhê
yavô frathyêhê,

Paiti baresmakid paiti-barôid;

Yêzi nôid thri vâ paiti âzâiti ayare drâgô vâ vâstryâd.

Yô paiti baresmainê nôid apê,

Yêzi âfês (read âfs) antarâd naêmâd thrigâmahê,

Paiti apaêkid (H.—apaêmâd T.) barôid;

Yêzi nôid paiti-baraiti thri vâ âzâiti ayare drâgô vâ
vâstryâd^a.

70. Yâd baresma aêsô drâgô yavô frathô kavakid
aêtahê paiti-barôid.

Yâd masyô aêtahmâd baresma,

Yatha aêtahê frasterenâiti atha aêta hê paiti-barôid.

Yâd zaota Ahurem Mazdâm yazâiti madhimâi
baresmân paiti-barôid;

Ameshe Spente yazâiti frâtemâi baresmân paiti-
baroid;

Apô ad yazamaidê haotemâi baresmân paiti-barôid;

Ashâunãmka urunaska fravashiska yazamaidê ash-
nôtemâi baresmân paiti-barôid.

Vîspaëibyô yasnô-keretaëibyô madhemâi baresmê
paiti-barôid^b.

• Apô vyaudau mâtârô gîtayô. Râtôis.

Avavad tadha yatha kâthwârô crezvô.

Surunuyau.

Vispaya âfrînâmi.

^b Kudô-zâtanãmkid, narãmka, nâirinãmka, yaêsâm vahêhîs,
daênau, vanainti [thrakhti] vanghen, vaonare, khsathremkâ.

Yâis azâthâ mahmâi hyâtâ avanghê mad vau padâis yâis
frasrûtau îzayau pairigasâi.

¹ If the libations are intended for the water, not for the Baresman.

² The words 'a yava's breadth' seem to be out of place here.
They may have crept in from the usual formula 'an aêsa long,
a yava thick' (cf. Vd. XIX, 19; infra §§ 70, 90).

69. If he bring the libations to the water and not to the Baresman¹,

If the Baresman be distant an aêsa's length, a yava's breadth²,

He shall bring them over the Baresman ;

If not, he shall pay three strokes (of the Sraoshô-karana) or a day's work.

If he bring the libations to the Baresman and not to the water,

If the water be distant three steps,

He shall bring them over the water ;

If not, he shall pay three strokes (of the Sraoshô-karana) or a day's work.

70. If the Baresman be an aêsa long, a yava thick³, one may bring them on any part of the Baresman.

If the Baresman's size be larger,

He shall bring them on the point where the bundle is tied.

While the Zaotar sacrifices to Ahura Mazda⁴, he brings them on the middle of the Baresman ;

While he sacrifices to the Amesha-Spentas⁵, he brings them before the Baresman ;

While he says : ' We sacrifice to the Waters⁶, ' he brings them on the left side of the Baresman ;

While he says : ' We sacrifice to the souls and Fravashis of the Holy Ones⁷, ' he brings them on the right side of the Baresman.

¹ If it has the normal dimensions.

⁴ When he recites the formula : ' We sacrifice to Ahura Mazda ' (Ahurem Mazdâm . . . yazamaidê ; Yasna LXIII).

⁵ While he pronounces the words : ' We sacrifice to the Amesha-Spentas ' (Ameshâ Spentâ yazamaidê, *ibid.*)

⁶ Yasna LXIII.

⁷ *Ibid.*

Dakhsamaêstim aêta*d* baresma yad paiti-âpem frânayan*tema* ^a.

71. Apa adhâ*d* frabareta aêtaibyô zaotrâbyô yâiti

Yaunghâm nôid aiwyô vanghibyô frabaravad (read frabarad?)

Frâ aêtau zaotrâu barôid

Zaota geus pâityâi pôid (read paityâpôid) paoiryô frangharôid

Mrûiti aêta zaota imãm vakô ^b.

.

.

.

Frasa adhâ*d* . . . arâd naêmâd yoguyastôis pai
. . . asenti aêsmâs*ka* bares*ka* ^c.

V. Functions and places of the Zôt and Râspts at the Sacrifice.

72. Kis zaotars kairim anghad mazdôis (H.—mazdayasnôid T.—read myazdôis) ain?

Gauska (read gâthauska) frasrâvayâiti vakim*ka* anghê astvâiti paiti adhayâ*d*: athâ ratus.

Âad hâvanânô (H.—hâvayâd nânô T.) [yad] haomem*ka* ahunavad anghavanem*ka* vaêmanâd.

73. Âad âtravakhshahê yad âtrem*ka* aiwa-vakh-sayad âthrask*ka* tistrô thrakhtis yaozdathad,

Zaotrask*ka* vâkim paiti adhayâ*d*: athâ ratus.

74. Âad fraberetars yad âthrask*ka* aêvãm thrakhtim yaozdathad,

Baresmân*ka* frakem âthraê*ka* yasnô-keretaêibyô paiti-barâd.

75. Âad âsnatâra yad haomem*ka* âsnayâd hao-mem*ka* paiti-harezâd ^d.

At all the sacrificial formulas¹ he brings them to the middle of the Baresman².

.
71.
.

V. Functions and places of the Zôt and Râspîs at the Sacrifice³.

72. What shall the Zaotar do on the day of a Myazda⁴?

He shall sing the Gâthas and shall give response to the people : athâ ratus⁵.

The Hâvanan

73. The Âtravakhsha shall feed the fire and cleanse the three faces of the fire-altar, and shall give response to the Zaotar : athâ ratus.

74. The Frabaretar shall cleanse the fourth side of the fire-altar,

And shall bring the transverse stem of Baresman⁶ and shall bring the incense to the fire at all the sacrificial formulas (all the yênhê hâtâm).

75. The Âsnâtar shall wash the Haoma and shall strain the Haoma.

* Yazâi âpem.

Tava âthrô—tava âthrô âhurahê.

^b Amesha Spenta daêna mâzdayasna.

^c Yâta raêšâm frâyû tem vanghad aêtadha upa gerembayân.

^d Vîspauska âthrô.

¹ At all the Yênhê hâtâm.

² See, on these ceremonies, the Guimet Zend-Avesta, I, 395-397.

³ Dînkart, l. l. § 13.

⁴ In a Gâhânbar office.

⁵ See above, p. 341, note 2.

⁶ The baresmân frakem or frâkh-gâm, frâgâm, a stem that rests on the feet of the Barsomdân or Mâhrû.

76. *Āad raēthwis-karahê yad haomemka gava rathwayād bakhshayāadka.*

77. *Āpem â-beres â-barād. Sraosāvarezo aiwyâkhsayād.*

78. *Zaotara dâityô-gâtus*

Madhemya nmânahê madhemād arâthraod apa sritô.

79. *Stuiukhtis hâvanânô dâityô-gâtus*

Dasinem upa srakhtim fratarām baresmān aparām âthrô.

Haoyād haê naēmād âsnatârs.

Ātravakhsahê dâityô-gâtus

Dasanem upa thrakhtem fratarām âthrô.

Fraberetars dâityô-gâtus

Haomyām upa srakhtim fratarān baresmān.

Dasinād haê naēmād raēthwiskarahê.

Anaiwi-eretavô (H.—erezvo T.) gâtus aêta âbereta sraosāvarezahê vîkarayatem.

80. *Yêzika aêti ratavô anahakhti pairigayanti,*

Zaota vîspa ratu thwâis rashayanti

Aêvadha âsnâthrađ hâvaynânê raēthwayêiti.

Zaota anahakhtô parayād dâhistâi arsvakastemâi zaothrem raêkhsaiti.

81. *Yad aêvô zaota frayazâiti mayazdahê ain zaotars gâtava,*

Aêtaya myazdê aiwi-vaidhayêiti rathwaêka myazdaêka rathwaêka,

¹ In the modern sacrifice there are only two priests who divide between them the functions of the eight priests. The Râspî, who takes his name from the Rathwiskare, represents rather the Atravakhsha whose place he occupies near the fire, and who, of all the assistants of the Zaotar, is the one whose services can least be dispensed with (see, however, § 81).

76. The Raêthwiskara shall mix the Haoma and the milk, and shall divide the mixture.

77. The Âberet shall bring the water. The Sraoshâvareze shall superintend.

78. The right place of the Zaotar
Is in the middle of the house, . . .

79. . . . the right place of the Hâvanan
Is on the right side, opposite the Baresman,
behind the fire.

On his left-hand side shall the Âsnâtar stand.

The right place of the Âtravakhsha
Is on the right side, opposite the fire.

The right place of the Frabaretar
Is on the left side, before the Baresman.

On his right-hand side shall the Raêthwiskara stand.

The places of the Âberet and the Sraoshâvareze are not fixed; they come and go.

80. If these assistants¹ go without the leave of the Ratu,

The Zaotar may make all the mixtures

Without the Âsnâtar and the Hâvanan.

If the Zaotar go without leave, the preparation of the Zaothra shall fall to the wisest and truest² of the assistant priests.

81. If the Zaotar sacrifice alone³ on a Myazda day, at the place of the Zaotar⁴,

He shall announce that Myazda to the Lord (of the festival) and to the Lord of the Myazda⁵,

¹ The most respectable of the priests present.

² Without his seven assistants.

⁴ At his ordinary seat.

⁵ He announces the banquet to the Ratu of the Gâhânbar, that is to say, to the Genius of the Gâhânbar which is being celebrated, and to the Genius of the religious banquet itself.

Vispayau sãkadhka ashaonô stôis yasnâika vah-
mâika khsnaothrâika frasastayaêka.

Zaotars gâtava Ahunem vairim frasrâvayôid.

Syaothanô-tâitya hâvanaêibyô paiti-ganghôið,

Hâvanânô gâtûm.

Âtravakhsahê gâtava âtrem aiwi-vakhsayôid.

Fraberetars gâtûm [yasnem haptanghâitîm] frâya-
zaiti.

82. Yaska aêtaêsãm rathwãm païryô paiti (â)
gasâð hâvanânem aêtem âstayêiti ;

Bitîm âtravakhsem ; thritîm fraberetârem ; tûitîm
dânazvâzem (H.—dânazvânem T.) ;

Pukhdhem âsnatârem ; khstûm raêthwiskarem ;
haptathem Sraoshâvarezem.

83. Adhâð anyaêsãm rathwãm paiti âdhayôid

Aêtaêsãm ratavô azdâi

Thrigâmi antare anantare atha antare patatha

Yad antare vâ âad antare vâ paiti vâ thri vâ âzâiti
ayare drâgô vâ vâstryâð^a

Zaothranãm paitista sti myazdôis (H.—paitista
stimyazdôis) ain^b.

84. Avayô vananti Spitama Zarathustra yô fraurva-
êrkhtê (read fraurvakhstê ?) hava [hê vanainti] !

Âvoya druyanti (read druganti) Spitama Zara-
thustra yô fraurvaikhti havahê urunô druzaitê (H.—
druzahê T.)

^a Yadhôið gaêm yavad erezva.

Thri-gâmi aiwyâstâð haika baresma parâiti.

Varstaskid.

Vangharstaskid (cf. § 109).

^b Ratus râuininãm dâthranãm srâvananãmka pasu vastra-
nãmka ahaowâ.

¹ One of the words in the second line of the Ahuna Vairya.

For sacrifice, prayer, gratification, and glorification to all the creation of the Good Spirit.

He shall sing the Ahuna Vairya in the place of the Zaothar.

At the word shyaothananãm¹ he shall spring to seize the mortar,

Into the place of the Hâvanan².

From the place of the Âtravakhsha he shall feed the fire.

From the place of the Frabaretar he shall celebrate the Yasna Haptanghâiti.

82. And of those masters he who comes first represents the Hâvanan³;

Secondly, the Âtravakhsha; thirdly, the Frabaretar; fourthly, the Dânazvâza⁴;

Fifthly, the Âsnâtar; sixthly, the Raêthwiskara; seventhly, the Sraoshâvarev.

83.

84⁵. Woe to the struggler who struggles for the joy of his own soul⁶, O Spitama Zarathustra!

Woe to the deceiver who deceives for the joy of his own soul⁷, O Spitama Zarathustra!

¹ The Hâvanan being the priest who holds the mortar and pounds the Haoma and the Urvarâm.

² The case here is the most ordinary one, when besides the Zaothar there is one Râspî who represents, one after the other, the seven assistant priests.

³ The Dânazvâza, 'the water-bearer,' is the same as the Âberet.

⁴ 'That the best of sacrifices is to give presents to the righteous, to teach and study the Law' (lit. the Intelligence of the Righteous), Dînkart, l. l. § 14.

⁵ 'Any evildoer who helps to do evil; some say, the warrior that helps the evil deed and does not repress it' (Comm.)

⁷ 'Any man who does evil with his tongue; some say, the priest that teaches error' (Comm.)

Âvoya [dârem (read dâthrem)] dadhâiti Spitama
Zarathustra yên[hê dâ]thrahê dâiti *kôid* hava urva
và râza (read urvâza ?)

Dâthri zî paiti nivâitis vîspahê anghêus astvatô
humataêsu~~ka~~ hûkhtaêsu~~ka~~ hvarestaêsu~~ka~~.

Aêsa zaotheranâm mazistaka vahistaka sraêstaka

Yâ nairi ashaonê dasti aiwika haithi kishânâika

Paitika pâresmanâi khratûm ashavanem.

Ashem vohû.

NÎRANGISTÂN.

FARGARD III.

I. The Kôsti and Sadara.

85. Aiwyâsta mazdayasna gâthau srâvayad nôid
anaiwyâsta.

Kva ithra aiwyau[ngayau]nti ? adhairi kasaêibya.

Kvad aiwyaunghayaunti ?

Yad aêsam aredvaê gavastryâ varistêau vere-
zantâm nôid avangrâsayâd adhairi harethraêibyô *.

86. Nanetema vastrahê aiwyâstô ratufris ?

Yatha âthravanô bis paii (read paiti) bis maidhyô-
paitistânô.

87. Kva tâkîd aêtahê aiwyâstô ratufris.

Yad masyô aêtahmâd vâstrem,

Aêtava[tô] aêtahê nistema (read nitema) aiwyâstô
ratufris.

Yô aiwyaunghayêâitê kareteska aratufryô

Paska aiwyâstem nitaosayêiti ratufryô.

88. Yêzi thris hâthrau têô (read hathraunkô)
yâtayentê ratufryô.

Yêzi âad nôid hathraunkô yâtayanti aratufryô.

* Threuitasti aspayau paourvô azyau aregô.

Woe to the giver who gives for the joy of his own soul ¹, O Spitama Zarathustra !

For the gift that delivers all the bodily world consists in good thoughts, good words, and good deeds.

And the best and finest of all libations

Is the gift to the righteous man who teaches clear truth and consults the Holy Wisdom ².

NÎRANGISTÂN.

FARGARD III.

I. The Kôstî and Sadara ³.

85. The Mazda-worshippers shall sing the Gâthas with their girdle on, never without their girdle ⁴.

Where shall they gird it?—Under the armpits.

How much of it shall they gird around ?

So much that, while they work standing, the ends should not embarrass them below the skirts.

86. What is the least garment he shall wear [in order that his offering should be] accepted ?

A pair of drawers reaching to mid-leg.

87. However poor the garment be, he is accepted.

If the garment be of higher value,

He is, however, accepted only if it is that size at least.

88 ⁵.

¹ The Pahlavi translator read *nôid* instead of *kôid*: 'he gives gifts of woe, for which he shall have no joy.'

² Who studies the Law ; cf. Vd. XVIII, 6.

³ Dînkart, l.l. § 15.

⁴ Cf. Vd. XVIII, 1-4, 54-59.

⁵ This paragraph and the two following, referring to the preparation of the Baresman, appear to have been misplaced, as §§ 91-96 continue the remarks on the Zoroastrian's garment, and the Baresman is again the subject of §§ 97 seq. The right order therefore would be : 87, 91-96, 88-90, 97.

89. Yô anu aêsãm baresma frastarenti yatha ashava
Gâmâspô frastarenaêta ratufris.

90. *Kvad* nânitima baresmana ratufris ? thris
urvara.

Kyau vâitisa (read *kyau* vaitis ?) aêtayau urva-
rayau anghen ?

Tarô denârô varesô stavanghô,

Âad upema aêso drâganga yavô frathangha.

91. Yô vanghenti keretiskâ,

Paiti vanghâskâ khre uru baouriskâ,

Yêzi antarem asperenô vastrahê aiwyaunghayaunti
ratufryô ;

Anasperenô vastrahê aiwyaunghayaunti aratufryô.

92. Yô vanghaiti varenauskâ pairi-urusvaistis,

Ad keska (read atkeska) frazusô sanghaska upara-
smanâi,

Yêzi azarem aiwyaunghayaunti ratufryô ;

Aparem aiwyaunghayaunti aratufryô.

Anyâmka sutem vanghânahê narem na aratufryô.

93. Yô vastra vastrem aiwyaunti,

Uzbarenti aratufryô ;

Uparâd naêmâd ava-barenti atha aiwyaungha-
yaunti ratufryô.

94. Yêzi uzgeresnâvayô (read uzgeresnâ-vagh-
dhanô) nivanti,

Yêzi antarâd naêmâd

Yâ hama aiwyaunghaka aiwyaunghayaunti,

Yêzi antare brengayâiti (read derezyâiti) va
ratufryô ;

Yêzi â nôid antare derezyâiti va aratufryô.

95. Yô aiwyaunghayaunti ruska nmânâi nmâna-
yâska,

Yêzi taraska aiwyaunghana aipi-verekainti ratu-
fryô ;

89. He who binds the bundles of Baresman as the holy *Gâmâspa* ¹ did, is accepted.

90. How many stems of Baresman, at the least, are needed for the offering to be accepted?—Three ².

What shall they be like?

. as thick as a hair,

At the outside an *aêsa* long, a *yava* broad.

91. Those who are clothed with rags,

.

If the inner garment be complete, they are accepted;

If they wear not a complete (inner) garment, they are not accepted.

92.

93. When they put on the garment over the garment ³,

If they put it on from below, they are not accepted ⁴;

If they put it on from above ⁵, and then gird it on with the girdle, they are accepted.

94.

95.

¹ According to the proper orthodox rite: *Gâmâspa* was one of the first converts to Zarathustra's doctrine.

² Cf. *Yasna* LVII, 6; *Yt.* XII, 3.

³ The *Sadara* on the *Kôstî*.

⁴ As the garment has passed by the regions of the body where *Ahriman* is supposed to reign.

⁵ It slips from the head on to the shoulders and breast.

Paska vâ pairi barenti aratufryô.

Yô vanghaiti nadheska sâdhayantiska karemânka huki,

Maghanâm tinâm (read tanum) aiwyâstâm irlrts nôid anaiwyâsti astarenti;

Yêzi âad nôid maghnâm tanu aiwyâstâm ririshiâ anaiwyâsta strenti.

96. Yô gâthâ ratufriis paiti parayanti,

Yêzi aspkerentô (read asperenô) vastrahê aiwyâstem dâdarayô â anaiwyâsti strenti;

Yêzi âad nôid asperenô vastrahê aiwyâstem dâdarayô nôid anaiwyâstô.

II. The preparation of the Baresman.

97. Yô baresmân frastarenti haomâska varedheska thanvaska antare dâta,

Yêzi thris hâthra ke bis (read hâthrakaêbis) ya-yêinti (read yâtayêinti) ratufryô;

Yêzi âad thris (?) nôid thris hâthrâkebis yâtayanti aratufryô^a.

98. Yô urvarâm baresma frastarenti hamô-vare-sheçim paouru-fravâkhsem,

Vl-barô fravâkhsô ratufriis, nôid vl-barô.

Paoiris paoiri-fravâkhsô frastarenti,

Vl naraska (read vl-baraska) avt-bareska ratus.

99. Yô baresma anahmâd naêmâd hãm srishâiti hãm vâ darezayêiti,

Vl-barô ratufriis, nôid vl-barô.

Atha yatha yô hãm vaêsyâ hãm vaêskayêiti va-naêma hãm srisaiti vareska iverbareska ratufriis.

100. Yô baresma taoshyêiti draos vâ paiti sôinma,

Unâm vâ kadkid vâ paiti sidaranâm,

Yêzi tistrô dinânô hâthrâkis nis-his kantifratufriis (read nis-histanti aratufriis).

96.

II. The preparation of the Baresman¹.

97-101.

* Yô *ratheska* pasvarezd*eska* baresmaênê hăm varextayerti.
 Naratô karaithin.
 Zata ratus *frenê*.
 Kâm*kêd* vâ vakhshisâm.
 Zatô *fren*.

¹ 'On the way of gathering and tying the Baresman' (Dînkart, l. l. § 16).

Yô urvarayau ava vaêkenti,

Yêzi tistrô tarô denânô (read denârô) hathra *kis*
(read hathrakis) barenti fratufri (read ratufri);

Yêzi âad nôid tistrô tarô denânô (read denârô)
hathra *kis* (read hathrakis) barenti aratufri.

101. Yô zemo tistrô kareshau frakârayêiti,

Ava itha barenti yavahê vâ gavanahê vâ,

Yêzi tistrô dtarô (read tarô) denânô (read denârô)
hathrakis antara spenti (read handarezanti ?) ratufri;

Yêzi âad nôid tistrô tarô dedânô (read denârô)
handarezanti aratufri.

Yô anyêhê as-hya baresma frastarenti,

Yêzi paiti shau uravarau upa dadhâiti ratufri;

Parô upa dâtâu frastarenti aratufri.

102. Hapta henti hâvana ratavô baresma stere-
naêiti :

Paoirya yênhê mê ashâd hakâ ;

Bityâ ahunanâm vairyanâm ;

Thrityâ dâidî moi ;

Tûiryâ ustavaityau vâ spentâ mainyus vâ hâtôis
handâtâ ;

Pukhdha yênhê mê ashâd hakâ ;

Khstvô dâidî moi ;

Haptatha ustavaityau vâ spentâ mainyeus vâ
hâtôis handâtâ.

Âad anyâhu ratufri *katangrô danghauskavid*
(read kanghauskôid) baresmân frastaraityô :

Paoirya yênhê mê ;

Bityâ ahunân vâirân ;

. . . dâidî moi *ye gãm* ;

Tûiryâ ustavêtayau gâthayau vâ Spentâ main-
yeus vâ ^a.

Kvaê aêtâm asmem (read aêsmem) paiti-barâd
antare ahuna airyanemna ^b ?

102. There are seven Lords of Hâvani for whom one lays down the Baresman¹.

The first is at yênhê mê ashâd ha²ka (Yasna XV, 2).

The second is at the Ahuna Vairyas.

The third is at dâidî moi (Yasna XVIII, 1).

The fourth is at the end of the Hâ Ustavaiti (Yasna XLIII), or of the Hâ Spentâ Mainyu (Yasna XLVII).

The fifth is at yênhê mê ashâd ha²ka (Yasna LI, 22).

The sixth is at dâidî moi (Yasna LXV, 15).

The seventh is at the end of the Hâ Ustavaiti, or of the Hâ Spentâ Mainyu.

In the other rites² the Baresman is laid down four times.

The first time at yênhê mê; the second time at the Ahuna Vairyas; [the third time at]³ dâidî moi ye gãm; the fourth time at the Gâtha Ustavaiti, or the Gâtha Spentâ Mainyu.

103.

^a 103. Dâityâi pairistâi pairisti.
Frâra²thnê drâganhô varis-stanghas²ka.
^b Kh²naothra yazamaidê yasnem²ka.

Barata beretem akyaus²ka²gha âtars aêsmem dâityô-aêsmân.

Nivaêdhayêmi yatha yim Ahurem Mazdâm fradathâi nemô vivahua u yâsangha âtars baoidhîm aêtâm baoidhîm dâityô-baoidhyô.

¹ This seems to mean that there are seven passages of the Yasna in the celebration at the Hâvan Gâh, at which the Zao²tar lays down on the Máhrû the Baresman which he holds in his hand. Cf. the Guimet Zend-Avesta.

² In the Vîsperad and the Dvâzdâhômâst.

³ The words ahunân vâîrân are in Pahlavi, and thrityâ is omitted.

Umem*kīd* (read ôyum*kīd*) ava vâ*kīm* gâthanām
asrute*m* paiti-barô aratufri*s*.

Pas*ka* vâ pari vâ pairi barenti aratufri*s*^a.

Od, fra*karâtô* aêva Mazdayasna baresmân sterenti,
Yô anu aêsâm tad*h* ahma (read hama) tad*h* aêvê
gâma.

Âad aêsa yô aremôidô (read aremô*i-sâdô*) aiwie-
retô gâtus,

Aêvayayak*īd* aêsô baresmô steraiti ratufri*s*.

Frashâvayô aiwigâmi ratufri*s* paiti nôid*h* afrashâ-
vayô.

Kâ frashûitis yad*h* kvad*h* ?

Frâ vâ apa vâ shâvayêiti,

Âad hama yau paiti frayad*h* tau paiti âad baresmân
upa-baraiti.

104. Yô anyêhê dahmahê baresma frastarenti
fragasaiti,

Yêzi hôi dahmô antarâd*h* naêmâd*h* hâthrahê aratu-
fri*s*.

Yêzi âad nôid*h* dahmô antarâd*h* naêmâd*h* hâthrahê
barô (read narô) hâthrâd*h*

Frathrâthvayô (read frasrâvayô) ratufri*s* nôid*h*
athrâvayô (read asrâvayô).

III. The firewood and implements of Sacrifice.

105. Yô kem*kīd* dahmanām aperenâyunām astem
dasti,

Hâ : mê bara aêsma*ka* baresma*ka* ;

Yêzi sê dâiti dadhâiti aratufri*s* (read ratufri*s*)^o.

Yêzi âad hê nôid*h* dâiti dadhâiti aratufri*s*.

Nâirikām vâ aperenâyûkm (read aperenâyûkem
vâ) astem dasti,

Havâi rathwê pathayêiti.

Daêvayasnem vâ tanuperethem vâ astem dasti,

104. If a man come and tie the Baresman of another of the faithful¹,

If the latter be within a hâthra distance, the former is not accepted².

If the latter be not within a hâthra distance³, the former man is accepted if he sing the hymns⁴; if not, he is not accepted.

III. The firewood and implements of Sacrifice.

105. If a man give a charge to a child of a pious family⁵,

And say: 'bring me wood and Baresman;'

If the child bring wood already cut⁶, the worship is accepted.

If the child do not bring wood already cut, the worship is not accepted.

If he give the charge to a woman or to a child,

.

If he give the charge to a Daêva-worshipper, or to a man in a state of sin,

* *Athâ ratus mazdayasnô ahmî mazdayasnô Zarathustris, od, âstûitis nemô vë gâthæu ashaonis urtâ ahmâi.*

^b *Khsvas vaghribis* (cf. § 67, end).

° *Nôid thryâm upamanâm frâkhsashyanâm* (read *fravâkshayanâm*).

¹ A priest has prepared everything for the sacrifice, when another priest comes, possesses himself of the apparatus, and offers up the sacrifice.

² He could easily have asked for the permission of his fellow-priest and had no right to act without it.

³ So that he could not be easily asked for permission.

⁴ If he performs the whole of the ceremony.

⁵ Of a good sacerdotal family. The child serves him as a *ratunaya* (a sacerdotal servant).

⁶ It is not certain that the young *ratunaya* could do it properly.

Paoiryâi dahmanãm pairi-geremyâi pathayêiti ^a.

106. *Kvad* nâ nitema aêsmahê paitibarô ratufris ?
Yatha varesnahê kehrpahê deus.

107. Havanaêibya ratufris ayanghanaêibya zemaênaêibya,

Yêzi anusvau anta.

Nôid astaênaêibya nôid draonibya ratufris nôid
fravâkhsnaêibya ratufris.

Dâityô aênýô havanô adâityô (read dâityô) aêibyô
(read aênýô) ^b.

108. *Kvad*bya kâ nitemaêibya hâvanaêibya araturis
(read ratufris) ?

Yâthra yâstuma (read yâ thrayâstuma) huitm his
hvistô.

Kyâvantô aêtêê (read aêtê) âsavô anghen ?

Bashidraganghô aogê (read aêvô-?) varesô.

Kad hãm thrisa vîbarâd nôid ?

Thrayãm *kvaêid* upabarô ratufris.

Aêtavad âpô yavad aêtaêibyô upangharesteê.

Kva tâêid geus vîêithra paiti-barô (a)ratufris.

Asânaênaêibya (read asânaêibya) nâ havaêibyâka
(read havanaêibyâka) nâ vanghavaêibyaskâ (read nâ
vâ anghavaêibyaskâ);

Atha haomya atha apa (read apa atha varesa)
atha aiwyaunghana ;

(read hava gava) havahê aêsma hava baresmana.

109. *Kvad* aêtaêsãm ahûránê kâêid upa isâd-
yavad hâthrem

Yô aêtaêsãm nôid kâêid upô isâd aêtavad apayaêsa

^a Nôid thrayãm upamanãm fravâkhsyanãm upa-thweresôid.
Athweresaya aêtahê thwãm.

^b Yatha vadhâityô (read va dâityô) hita.

.
106. What is the least load of wood accepted ?
.

107. One may use a mortar of [silver], metal, or earth,

If it let nothing through (?)¹.

One of bone, wood, or lead is not accepted.

Such is the rule for both parts of the mortar ².

108. Of what size at the least must a mortar be to be accepted ?

Large enough for three stems of Haoma to be prepared [therein].

What shall those stems be like ?

As long as a joint of a finger, as thin as a hair.

Shall he put them in at three times or not ?

As long as he puts in three stems ³, he is accepted.

Also water enough to overflow them ⁴.

However little milk he puts in ⁵, he is accepted.

He may use either his own mortar, or one that is not his own ;

And so it is as to the Haoma, the water, the Varesa ⁶, and the tie ⁷ ;

But the milk must be his ⁸, the wood must be his, the Baresman must be his.

109.

¹ 'If it let anything escape, it is good for nothing' (Comm.)

² The mortar proper and the pestle.

³ Whether he puts them all in at once or otherwise.

⁴ For the straining. ⁵ A few drops of gîv are enough.

⁶ Supplied from the Pahlavi translation (itûn vars).

⁷ The vegetable tie that is bound around the Baresman, the so-called Aiiwyaunghana (Evânghin).

⁸ Supplied from the Pahlavi translation (barâ zag-î nafshâ basryâ).

Antare hathremkid aêteê anya upa isôid
Yêzi nôid upôisaiti thri vâ âzâiti ayare drâgô vâ
vâstryâd

Yô upôisôid nôid vanasti

Anaskaiti (read *anâstaraiti*)

Varestaska min aigh ntaskid (read *varestaska*
maghnentaskid) *srâvayôid*. (Tahmuras' Fragments,
 XII, 11.)

Yêzi iska nôid iska nôid anashavanem (read *asha-*
vanem) *aênistem âstâraitî* *. (Tahmuras' Fragments,
 XII, 12.)

* *Vangharetaskid*.

Rathik upasu varezik.

Ashem vohû vahistem astî ustâ astî ustâ ahmâi hyad ashâi
vahistâi ashem,

VII. SUNDRY FRAGMENTS.

1.

Kithrem buyâd.

Found in a Parsi prayer known as *Kithrem buyâd* from its first two words. It was published by Tîr Andâz in his *Khorda Avesta* (Bombay, p. 374 seq.) and by Sachau in his *Neue Beiträge* (Vienna, 1871, p. 823).

Kithrem buyâd ahmya nmânê
Pitum buyâd ahmya nmânê
Thwãm pitûm buyâd ahmya nmânê.

May welfare appear in this house !
May plenty of food be in this house !
May plenty of food be in thy house !

2.

The first of the following three lines, and sometimes the first two, are found in many of the Pahlavi colophons at the end of Zend manuscripts. The complete formula is found only in the colophon of the old Yasna of Kopenhagen (*K^s*; see Geldner, *Yasna* LXXII, 11; West, *Dînkart*, 484).

Aêvô pantau yô ashahê
Vîspê anyaêshâm apantâm
Angrahê mainyêus nasistâm daênâm daêvayasna-
nâm parâgtîm mashyânâm frâkereitîm.

There is only one way of Righteousness¹;

All other ways are no ways :

It is Religion, that destroyer of Angra Mainyu, which tears to pieces the Daêva-worshippers, the men who live in sin.

3.

A formula found in several colophons.

Nôid kahmi zazva yô nôid urunê zazva

Nôid kahmi zazusha [yô nôid urvâni gazush]

Naêkis adha Zarathustra sûs yathâ [hîm] âdare mashyâka².

He has gained nothing who has not gained the soul,

He shall gain nothing who shall not gain the soul³.

There is no good for man to receive of him⁴,
O Zarathustra !

4.

This fragment from the Hâdhôkht Nask is quoted in the Sad-dar (ch. xl) to impress on children the respect due to their parents and masters.

Mâ âzârayôis Zarathustra mâ Pourushaspem mâ
Dughdhôvãm mâ aêthrapaitis.

¹ 'The way of the Pôryôtkêsh' (Paoiryô-âkaêsha; *Arââ Vîrâf*, CI, 15), that is, the pure orthodox religion, as founded by Zarathustra and followed by his first disciples.

² For various readings, see the Guimet Zend-Avesta, III, 150-151.

³ The salvation of his soul, a place in Paradise. The *Mînôkhard* (I, 28-32) quotes the same passage with the following commentary: 'For the spiritual world and the material one are like two fortresses, of which one can clearly take the one, but not the other' (at the same time).

⁴ Of Ahriman. 'There is no profit to expect from the demons nor from the wicked: for if there be profit in the beginning, at the end there will be ruin' (Comm.)

Do not afflict, O Zarathustra! either Pourushaspa¹, or Dughdhava², or thy teachers.

5.

Kathrâyâim âthraiãm (Shâyast lâ-Shâyast XIII, 17).

The manifestation by the fire³.

6.

*Anaomô mananghê kya vîsâi kva parô*⁴?

7.

This is an Avestâ-î mâr zadan (or text to be recited while killing a serpent). 'If one recite it while killing a serpent, one gathers thereby the same merit as if one had killed a heretic' (Gr. Ravâyat, p. 383). The text is too corrupt to allow of any translation, but it contains allusions to Varshna, son of Hanghaurvaungh, son of Gâmâspa, whose Fravashi is invoked in the Frôhars Yast, § 104, to withstand the evil Pairikas, and who, from the present formula, appears to have been a dragon-destroyer.

Varshnahê thwãm anghrô Urushnôis Gâmâspanahê puthrahê puthrem apaitighni amâ yim davata Ashis apathatô paitim âpem dâmnâvyãm nôid hvâzâtô nôid zâniti nôid amau arenau hvâis âteê yaza agithô ânem sâyaêti yvaêka yavaêtâtaêka. Ashem vohû.

¹ His father.

² His mother.

³ The manifestation of the truth by the fire-ordeal.

⁴ A quotation in the *Kîm-î gâsân* 6 (West, Pahlavi Texts, I, 356, with the various readings in note 1).

VIII. AOGEMAIDÊ.

‘THE Aogemaidê,’ says Dastur Jâmâspji, ‘is a treatise that inculcates a sort of serene resignation to death.’ It is a sermon on death, originally written in Pahlavi, but preserved to us in a Parsi transcription; in which original Zend texts are developed or paraphrased. These Zend quotations amount to twenty-nine, of which twenty-four are new. A good edition of the Parsi text, with a Sanskrit translation, based upon a manuscript of A. D. 1497, has been published by Prof. Geiger (Erlangen, 1879). Dastur Jâmâspji possesses two Pahlavi retranscriptions of an independent Parsi manuscript, which contain useful corrections and additions. We have thought it necessary to give here a complete translation of the treatise as the Zend quotations by themselves do not present either a continuous or a complete text. Unlike the Zend in the Nîrangistân, they are not the principal, but only the secondary text.

1. Aogemaidêka usmahika visâmadaêka¹ (‘We come, rejoice, and submit²’).

I come, I accept, I resign³;

2. I come into this world, I accept evil, I resign myself to death⁴;

¹ Yasna XLI, 5. According to Dastur Peshotan, these words were uttered by the first man, Gayô-Maretan, before his coming into the world, as a promise that he would never resort to suicide in order to free himself from pain (Andarze Atrepât, p. 6, note 1). Cf. § 104.

² Direct translation of the Zend text.

³ Parsi translation of the Zend text.

⁴ Parsi gloss to the translation.

3. Shâtô-manzu vahistô-urvânô ('With the mind in joy and the soul in bliss¹')

In joy is he who realises the wish of his soul².

4. May the accursed Ganâ Mainyô³ be smitten, destroyed, and broken, he who has no knowledge, who has evil knowledge, who is full of death,

5. Who destroys the body of the immortal soul!

6. May the immortal soul have its share in Paradise!

7. And may the pleasure and comfort that will dissipate the pain of the immortal soul come to us!

8. At the fourth dawn⁴, may the holy, strong Sraosha⁵, and Rashn Râst⁶, and the good Vaê⁷, and Ashtâd⁸ the victorious, and Mihir⁹ of the rolling country-side, and the Fravashis of the righteous¹⁰, and the other virtuous spirits come to meet the soul of the blessed one,

9. And make the immortal soul pass over the *Kinvad* bridge¹¹ easily, happily, and fearlessly!

10. And may Vahman, the Amshaspad¹², intercede for the soul of the blessed one,

¹ Direct translation of the Zend text.

² A gloss to the Zend text.

³ For Zanâ Mainyô, the same as Ahriman.

⁴ Literally at the third day-break (the day-break, ôshbam, belonging to the preceding day, the following dawn belongs to the fourth day). On the state of the soul during the first three days-and-nights, or sadis, see Yt. XXII, and above, pp. 218-220.

⁵ See above, p. 89, note 1; p. 196, note 3.

⁶ See Yt. XII.

⁷ See Yt. XV, and above, p. 52, note 3. The Good Vaê or Vâi is the Good destiny, that takes the soul to Paradise.

⁸ See Yt. XVIII.

⁹ See Yt. X.

¹⁰ See Yt. XIII.

¹¹ See above, p. 219, note 1.

¹² See above, p. 220, note 1.

11. And introduce it to Auhrmazd and the Amshaspands!

12. Usehistad Vohû-Manô haķa gâtvô zaranyô-keretô ('Up rises Vohû-Manô from his golden throne¹').

13. He will take the blessed one by the hand,

14. And make him rejoice as much as does the man who rejoices most when on the pinnacle of nobility and glory.

15. And the Fravashis of the righteous will bring to the soul of the blessed those blessed aliments that are made at the time of Maidyô-zarm²:

16. Hvarethanãm hê beretãm zaremayêhê rao-ghnahê ('Let them bring unto him the butter of Maidhyôî-zaremaya³!').

Aliments of waters, wine, sugar, and honey!

17. Yatha vâ erezatô paiti, yatha vâ zaranyô paiti, yatha vâ kâķid gaonanãm ('Of silver, or gold, or any other kind⁴').

The Amshaspand Vahman will give to the soul of the blessed one clothes embroidered with gold and a golden throne;

18. And the demon Ahriman will be powerless to inflict any harm or damage on the soul of the blessed one.

19. Paķa parairistīm daēva drvantô duzdauṅhō baodhem avatha frateresenti, yatha maēshi vehrkavaiti vehrkād haķa frateresaiti ('The wicked evil-

¹ Vd. XIX, 31.

² See Yt. XXII, p. 318, note 1.

³ Yt. XXII, 18.

⁴ This refers to the following details: silver, gold, &c. are the materials of which the throne is made.

doing Daêvas tremble at his perfume after death, as doth a sheep on which a wolf is pouncing¹).

As the sheep, on which the wolf is pouncing, tremble at the odour of the wolf, so these *Druges* tremble at the perfume of the blessed one.

20. For whosoever has been born and whosoever shall be born must act in such a way that, when the moment comes to leave this world, he may have Paradise as his portion and Garôthmân as his reward.

21. There is a passage in which Hôrmazd said to Zarathustra: 'I created, O Spitama Zarathustra! good renown and salvation of the soul;'

22. (That is to say, good renown in this world and salvation of the soul in the next²).

And in case of doubt we must consider as being saved³,

23. Him who, for all we have seen and known, has been a believer in body and soul, and has rejoiced Hôrmazd and afflicted Ahriman,

24. And whoever has had this for his main object, or has been the source of this benefit, that from him should flow prosperity and joy, and from him should flow no harm and no pain.

And there is a passage in which the soul says to the body⁴:

25. *Âad mām tanvô ithyêganguhaiti manya manangha humatem.*

¹ Vd. XIX, 33, and notes 4, 5.

² See above, p. 253, § 4, note 5.

³ *Asho*, 'holy, blessed, saved;' in opposition to *drvant*, 'wicked, damned.'

⁴ Supplied from the Pahlavi transcription.

O thou, my perishable body, think good thoughts with thy mind!

26. *Āad mām tanvô ithyêganguhaiti hizva mrûidhi hûkhtem.*

O thou, my perishable body, speak good words with thy tongue!

27. *Āad mām tanvô ithyêganguhaiti zastaêibya vareza hvarestem shyaothanem.*

O thou, my perishable body, do good deeds with thy hands!

28. *Mâ mām tanvô ithyêganguhaiti angrâi vairê fraspayôis yim khrvantem âithivantem, yim daêvim afraderesavantem frâkerentad angrô mainyus pôuru-mahrkô bunem anghêus temanghahê yad ereghatô daoanghahê.*

O thou, my perishable body, do not throw me down into the Var of Angra Mainyu¹, terrible, dreadful, (frightful), dark, undiscernible (for the darkness there is so dense that it can be grasped with the hand²), which Ganâ Mainyu fabricated at the bottom of the dark world of endless hell.

29. There is a passage in which Hôrmazd says to Zarathustra :

30. I created, O Spitama Zarathustra! the stars, the moon, the sun, and the red burning fire, the dogs, the birds, and the five kinds of animals³; but, better and greater than all, I created the righteous man who has truly received from me the Praise of Asha⁴ in the good Religion.

31. But without any reason men adhere to that

¹ Hell. ² See above, p. 66, note 5. Cf. *Arđâ Vîrâf* XVIII.

³ See *Yt. XIII*, 10 and note.

⁴ The recitation of the *Ashem Vohû*, the epitome of religion.

evil guide, Passion, created by the demons ; so that they do not think of Fate,

32. And by the bent of their nature they forget death.

33. They do not keep in mind the working of Time and the transientness of the body,

34. They ever go wandering about on the way of desire,

35. They are tossed in doubt by evil Passion,

36. They clothe themselves with spite, in the course of strife, for the sake of vanishing goods ;

37. They are intoxicated with pride in their youth,

38. And shall be full of regrets at the end of their time.

39. For if one say : ' On this earth of the seven Karsvares there is somebody going to die,' everybody ought to think : ' Perhaps it is I,'

40. Had he sense enough to know that every creature that has been created and has had existence shall die, and that the unseen, deceiving Astivihâd¹ comes for every one.

41. Hamaskid² parô avanghô isentê mashyâ-kaunghô (' All men wish for supplies').

(Now) when a man sets out on a journey, he takes provisions with him ;

42. If it be for one day's march, he takes provisions for two days ;

43. If it be for two days' march, he takes provisions for three ;

¹ Astivihâd, Asti-vahât, Astô-vidhôtû ; see Vd. V, 8 and note 2.

² From the Pahlavi transcription. The printed edition has ameshakid.

44. If it be for ten days' march, he takes provisions for fifteen ;

45. And he thinks that he will come back in health to his well-beloved friends, parents, and brethren.

46. How then is it that men take no provisions for that unavoidable journey,

47. On which one must go once for all, for all eternity ?

48. *Kim aoshanghau aoshanguhaiti āstem isaiti tanva, kim uruna, kim frazainti, kim vā gaēthāhvō mahrkathem ?*

How is it that a mortal can wish for another mortal the annihilation of his body (that his body should be no more ¹), or of his soul (that his soul should be damned ¹), or death for his children or for his cattle (that his cattle should perish ¹), if he has sense enough to know that he himself is mortal ?

49. *Anāmarezdikō zī asti havāi marezdikāi.*

For he is pitiless to himself (he does not pity himself ¹) and none of the others shall pity him.

50. Blind are all those who, on this earth, do not follow the religion, do not benefit the living, and do not commemorate the dead.

51. *Oiuim tad vā ayare āgasaiti, Spitama Zarathustra ! aēva vā khshapa* ('For there comes a day, O Spitama Zarathustra ! or a night').

There comes a day, O Spitama Zarathustra ! or a night, when the master leaves the cattle, or the cattle leave the master, or the soul leaves that body full of desires ;

52. But his virtue, which is of all existences the

¹ A gloss.

greatest, the best, the finest, never parts from a man.

53. *Ayare âmithnâiti guyê tanus frayaêrê ayân bavaiti hubadhrô hupaitiznâtô*¹, *adha aparê ayân duzâthrem* ('Every day the living man ought to think that in the forenoon he is happy and in credit; in the afternoon disgrace may come').

Every day every living body ought to think (for that may happen any day): in the forenoon I am happy, rich, in credit (that is to say, well treated by the king);

54. And every day other people eagerly wish him evil; that he should be torn away from his palace, that he should have his head cut off and his wealth seized upon. Every day the living body is thrown for food to the birds that fly in the empty sky.

55. This is the way of things on this earth.

56. *Deusdâtayau fraêsta drvantô duzdau nghô* ('It is ignorance that ruins most people, those ill-informed').

It is ignorance² that ruins most people, those ill-informed; both amongst those who have died, and those who shall die.

57. *Âad mraod Ahurô Mazdau frâkerestô Astôvidhôtus zirigau* (read *zivigau*?) *apairiayô* ('Ahura Mazda said: Astôvidhôtus has been created a destroyer of the living and one whom none escape').

Hôrmazd said: Astivihâd has been created for the destruction of mortals (when the mortals see him, they tremble so much that they are unable to

¹ Corrected from *hupaitianâtô* (translated *padîraft*).

² Ignorance of their mortal destiny.

struggle with the Drug) and no one escapes him (as said before)¹.

58. *Yahmad haṭa naêkis bungayâd aoshanguhatām mashyânām* ('From whom not one of mortal men can escape').

From whom not one of mortal men can escape ; no one has escaped to this day, and no one will escape hereafter.

59. *Nôid aêthrapatayô, nôid danhupatayô, nôid sâsevistau, nôid asevistau* ('Neither aêthrapaitis, nor chiefs of countries, neither well-doers, nor evil-doers').

Neither the herbed (the Mobedân Mobed²), nor the chief of the country (the King of kings³), neither well-doers, nor evil-doers.

60. *Nôid usyâstakô, nôid niyâ* ('Neither those who run up, nor those who go down').

Neither those who run up (those who fly in the empty sky), like Kahôs⁴; with all his strength and kindly glory, he could not escape from Astivihâd.

61. Nor those who go down deep (who hide themselves under the earth), like Afrâsyâb the Turk, who made himself an iron palace under the earth, a thousand times the height of a man, with a hundred columns⁵;

62. In that palace he made the stars, the moon, and the sun go round, making the light of day.

63. In that palace he did everything at his pleasure,

64. And he lived the happiest life.

¹ Cf. § 40.

² The chief of the religion, the high-priest.

³ The Shâhanshâh.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 262, note 7.

⁵ See Yt. V, 41 and notes 1, 2.

65. With all his strength and witchcraft, he could not escape from Astivihâd.

66. Naêdha frakanem anhau zemô yad pathanayau skarenayau dûraêpârayau.

Nor he who dug this wide, round earth, with extremities that lie afar, like Dahâk,

67. Who went from the East to the West, searching for immortality and did not find it.

68. With all his strength and power, he could not escape from Astivihâd.

69. Anyê anghêus frashô-karethrau (' Except the producers of the world of resurrection ¹').

Thus until the author of the resurrection, Saoshyôs ²: until Saoshyôs comes, no one shall escape from Astivihâd.

70. To every one comes the unseen, deceiving Astivihâd,

71. Who accepts neither compliments, nor bribe,

72. Who is no respecter of persons,

73. And ruthlessly makes men perish.

74. And this glorious One ³ must go the way he never went,

75. See what he never saw,

76. And discuss with him whom no one can deceive or mislead.

77. Pairithwô bavaiti pantau yim dânus pâiti fra bunâd takintis; hau did aêvô apairithwô, yô vayaos anamarezdikahê :—

The way may be traversed which is barred by

¹ No others will escape death.

² Thus shall it be till the days of Saoshyôs (Saoshyant; Vd. XIX, 5, note 4).

³ This King, this man of power.

a river springing from the deep; but one way cannot be traversed, namely, the way of the pitiless Vayu¹.

78. Pairithwô bavaiti *pantau* yim azis pâiti gau-stavau, aspanghâdhô, vîranghâdhô, vîraga, anamarezdikô; hau did' aêvô apairithwô, yô vyaos anamarezdikahê:—

The way may be traversed which is barred by a serpent as big as an ox, horse-devouring, man-devouring, man-killing, and pitiless; but one way cannot be traversed, namely, the way of the pitiless Vayu.

79. Pairithwô bavaiti *pantau* yim areshô pâiti akhshaênô anamarezdikô; hau did' aêvô apairithwô, yô vyaos anamarezdikahê:—

The way may be traversed which is barred by a brown bear, [with a white forehead, man-killing, and] pitiless; but one way cannot be traversed, namely, the way of the pitiless Vayu.

80. Pairithwô bavaiti *pantau* yim mashyô gadhô pâiti aêvôganô anamarezdikô; hau did' aêvô apairithwô, yô vyaos anamarezdikahê:—The way may be traversed which is defended by a highwayman who kills at one stroke, (who stops the way and lets no one pass alive); but one way cannot be traversed, namely, the way of the pitiless Vayu.

81. Pairithwô bavaiti *pantau* yô haênayau êakhra-vaityau vyâzdayau; hau did' aêvô apairithwô, yô vyaos anamarezdikahê:—

The way may be traversed which is held by a horde armed with discs, and uplifted spears (that is, carrying spears to pierce men); but one way

¹ The way of Destiny.

cannot be traversed, namely, the way of the pitiless Vayu.

81 bis. *Âad mraod Ahurô Mazdau : duskhratûm apairi gaêthâm athrâvayad gâthâm*¹.

82. *Yatha drvau gaom isti, uta drvau aspem isti, uta drvau maêshinem yavanghem isti :—*

The wicked acquire cattle, the wicked acquire horses, the wicked acquire sheep and corn ; but the wicked tyrant does not acquire a store of good deeds.

83. Seek ye for a store of good deeds, O Zarathustra, men and women ! for a store of good deeds is full of salvation, O Zarathustra !

84. *Pâsnus gavô, pâsnus aspa, pâsnus erezatem zaranim, pâsnus narô kiryô takhmô :—*

(For) the ox turns to dust, the horse turns to dust, silver and gold turn to dust, the valiant strong man turns to dust ; [the bodies of all men mingle with the dust. What do not mingle with the dust are the Ashem-vohû which a man recites in this world and his almsgiving to the holy and righteous]².

85. For if there were or could be any escape from death, the first of the world, Gayômar, king of the Mountain³, [would have escaped],

¹ This incomplete quotation is found only in the Pahlavi transcription, with a corrupt paraphrase as follows :—' Hormazd said, " The man without intelligence (that is, with a bad intelligence) . . . who has not sung the Gâthas (that is, who has not performed the sacrifice ; cf. Nirang. § 41) has no good renown on this earth nor bliss in heaven (cf. §§ 21, 22) . . . "'

² Cf. *Arđâ Vîrâf* CI, 20.

³ Gar-shâh, king of Mount Damâvand (Albîrûnî, Chronology, p. 28), or Gibâl, the mountainous part of Media. Later chronicles corrupted Gar-shâh into Gil-shâh, king of clay, which was interpreted as king of the earth.

86. Who for three thousand years kept the world free from death and old age, from hunger, thirst, and evil¹;

87. Yet, when death came over him, he delivered up his body and could not struggle with death.

88. Or there was Hôshang, the Pêshdâdian,

89. Who destroyed two-thirds of all the evil creatures of Ahriman²;

90. Yet, when death came over him, he delivered up his body and could not struggle with death.

91. Or there was Tahmûraf, the well-armed, the son of Vîvanghat,

92. Who made the Demon of demons, Ganâ Mainyô, his steed³, and extorted from him the seven kinds of writing⁴;

93. Yet, when death came over him, he delivered up his body and could not struggle with death.

94. Or there was Gim, the Shêd, the good shepherd, the son of Vîvanghat; (he was Shêd, that is to say, shining; he was a good shepherd, that is to say,

¹ Bundahis XXXIV, 1, 2.

² See Yt. V, 22, 23.

³ See Yt. XV, 11-13. In the Sanskrit translation this is interpreted as an allegory: 'Tahmûraf rode on Ahriman; that means that he subdued the bad Ahriman in himself.' Cf. Mirkhond, in the History of the Early Kings of Persia, tr. by Shea, p. 98.

⁴ According to Firdausi, Tahmuras obliged the Dêvs he had conquered to teach him some thirty kinds of writing, the Rûmî, the Tâzî, the Pârsî, the Sogdhî, the Chinese, the Pahlavi, &c. According to the Mînôkhard (XXVII, 23) he brought to light the seven kinds of writing that the demon kept hidden. Hence is derived the legend in Albîrûnî, p. 28, that when Tahmuras was warned about the Deluge, 'he ordered all scientific books to be preserved for posterity, and to be buried in the least exposed place;' in favour of which report, Albîrûnî mentions the discovery of many loads of unintelligible bark-manuscripts in buildings under ground, at Ispahan, in his own time.

he kept in good condition troops of mên and herds of animals)¹;

95. Who, for 616 years, 6 months and 13 days², kept this world free from death and old age, and kept away greed and need from the creation of Hôrmazd;

96. Yet, when death came over him, he delivered up his body and could not struggle with death.

97. Or there was Dahâk³, he of the evil religion, who kept the world under his tyranny during a thousand years, less one day,

98. And introduced into the world many ways of witchcraft and evil-doing;

99. Yet, when death came over him, he delivered up his body and could not struggle with death.

100. Or there was Frêdûn, the Âthwyan,

101. Who smote and bound Azi Dahâk, that great evil-doer⁴; he put in chains the Dêvs of Mâzandarân⁵, and introduced into the world a number of talismans⁶;

102. Yet, when death came over him, he delivered up his body and could not struggle with death.

103. I am grateful to the Lord Hôrmazd.

104. I think thus in a grateful spirit: the beast of burden does not throw off its burden: fate has come, it cannot be thrown away.

¹ See above, p. 11, note 2. On Gim or Yima, see Farg. II, and Yt. V, 25, 26; XV, 15-17.

² The Pahlavi transcription and Mfnôkhard XXVII, 25, have sixteen days.

³ Azi Dahâka, see Yt. V, 29-31; XV, 19-21.

⁴ See Yt. V, 33-35.

⁵ See above, p. 9, note 4; p. 141, note 1.

⁶ See above, p. 246.

105. May the blessed one have Paradise as his portion!

106. As to the righteous man who has come to this banquet¹, who has shared this banquet, may he for each step² get nearer to the bright Paradise, the all-happy Garôthmân, by twelve hundred steps!

107. When he is approaching it, may his merits increase!

108. When he is leaving it, may his sin be uprooted!

109. May righteousness and goodness prevail³!

110. May his soul enter the Garôthmân!

111. I am one of the righteous⁴.

Atha *gamyâd*:—May it happen according to this wish of mine⁵!

Humatanãm⁶. All the good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, done or to be done, here or elsewhere, we seize upon and we transmit them⁷, that we may be in the number of the righteous.

¹ To this myazd, or religious banquet. The following formulas are those found at the end of the Âfrin Gâhânbar.

² For each of his steps to this banquet.

³ May the good prevail over the evil in his account, so that he may be saved (see above, p. 270).

⁴ Ashô; I am one of the blessed, I am saved.

⁵ Yasna LXVIII, 19.

⁶ Yasna LXVIII, 20 (XXXV, 2).

⁷ We teach them; the good deeds of our disciples are accounted ours (Dînkart IX, 57, 1).

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zand.	Pahlavi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.								
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis	k			क	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k	
2 " aspirata	kh			ख	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	kh	
3 Media	g			ग	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗		
4 " aspirata	gh			घ	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘		
5 Gutturo-labialis	q			ङ	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙		
6 Nasalis	h (ng)			𐬚	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛		
7 Spiritus asper	h			ह	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	h, hs	
8 " lenis	,			𐬝	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞		
9 " asper faucalis	ʰ			𐬟	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠		
10 " lenis faucalis	ʰ			𐬡	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢		
11 " asper fricatus	. . .	. . .	. . .	𐬣	𐬤	𐬤	𐬤	𐬤	𐬤		
12 " lenis fricatus	. . .	. . .	. . .	𐬥	𐬦	𐬦	𐬦	𐬦	𐬦		
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis	k			𐬧	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	k	
14 " aspirata	kh			𐬩	𐬪	𐬪	𐬪	𐬪	𐬪	kh	
15 Media	g			𐬫	𐬬	𐬬	𐬬	𐬬	𐬬		
16 " aspirata	gh			𐬭	𐬮	𐬮	𐬮	𐬮	𐬮		
17 " Nasalis	ḡ			𐬯	𐬰	𐬰	𐬰	𐬰	𐬰		

CONSONANTS (pronounced)	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zand.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y	. . .	. . .	य	𐬶 ^{init.} 𐬶𐬵 _𐬶	𐬶	𐬶	ي	י	𐬶
19 Spiritus asper	. . .	(y)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
20 " lenis	. . .	(y)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
21 " asper assibilatus	. . .	s	. . .	श	𐬶𐬶	𐬶𐬶	𐬶𐬶	ش	. . .	. . .
22 " lenis assibilatus	. . .	s	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	s
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t	. . .	. . .	त	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	ت	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th	. . .	. . .	थ	𐬵𐬶	𐬵𐬶	𐬵𐬶	ت𐬶	ת𐬶	th
25 " assibilata	. . .	. . .	TH	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
26 Media	d	. . .	. . .	द	𐬵𐬶	𐬵𐬶	𐬵𐬶	د	ד	. . .
27 " aspirata	dh	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
28 " assibilata	. . .	. . .	DH	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
29 Nasalis	n	. . .	. . .	न	𐬶	𐬶	𐬶	ن	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l	. . .	. . .	ल	𐬶𐬶	𐬶𐬶	𐬶𐬶	ل	ל	l
31 " mollis 1	. . .	l	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
32 " mollis 2	. . .	. . .	L	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	. . .	. . .	स	𐬶	𐬶	𐬶	س	ס	s
34 " asper 2	. . .	. . .	s (S)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
35 " lenis	z	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
36 " asperimus 1	. . .	. . .	z (z)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	zh
37 " asperimus 2	. . .	. . .	z (z)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

Dentales modificatae (linguales, &c.)		f	th	d	dh	n	r	r	sh	zh	p	ph	m	w	f	
38 Tenuis																
39 " aspirata																
40 Media																
41 " aspirata																
42 Nasalis																
43 Semivocalis																
44 " fricata																
45 " diacritica																
46 Spiritus asper																
47 " lenis																
Labiales.																
48 Tenuis																
49 " aspirata																
50 Media																
51 " aspirata																
52 Tenuissima																
53 Nasalis																
54 Semivocalis																
55 " aspirata																
56 Spiritus asper																
57 " lenis																
58 Anusvāra																
59 Visarga																

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.		III Class.							
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
1 Neutralis	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ē	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3 " labialis	ō	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4 Gutturalis brevis	a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5 " longa	ā	(a)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
6 Palatalis brevis	i	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
7 " longa	ī	(i)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
8 Dentalis brevis	k	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9 " longa	k	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10 Lingualis brevis	ri	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11 " longa	ri	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 Labialis brevis	u	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
13 " longa	ū	(u)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
15 " longa	ē (ai)	(e)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	āi	(ai)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
17 " "	ei (ēi)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
18 " "	oi (ōu)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20 " longa	ō (au)	(o)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu	(au)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
22 " "	eu (ēu)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
23 " "	ou (ōu)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
25 Palatalis fracta	ī	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
26 Labialis fracta	ū	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ö	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

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TRANSLATED BY

VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER.

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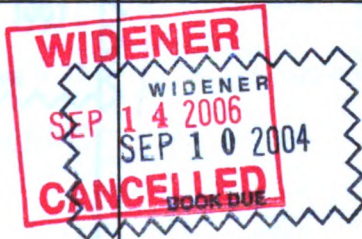
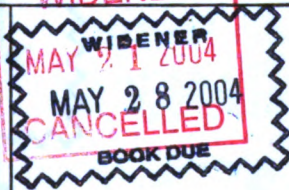


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PAHLAVI TEXTS

TRANSLATED BY

E. W. WEST

PART I

THE BUNDAHIS, BAHMAN YAST, AND
SHÂYAST LÂ-SHÂYAST

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INTRODUCTION

TO

PAHLAVI TEXTS.

I. THE PARSI SCRIPTURES.

THOUGH we must look to the Avesta for information regarding the main outlines of the Parsi religion, it is to Pahlavi writings we must refer for most of the details relating to the traditions, ceremonies, and customs of this ancient faith, which styles itself emphatically 'the good religion of the Mazdayasnians,' and calls its laity *bahdînân*, or 'those of the good religion.' In the fragments of the Avesta which still exist, we may trace the solid foundations of the religion; laid by philosophic bards and lawgivers of old, with many a mouldering column and massive fragment of the superstructure erected upon them by the ancient priesthood. These are the last remnants of the faith held by Cyrus, the anointed of the Lord (Isaiah xlv. 1), the righteous one (Is. xli. 2), or eagle (Is. xlv. 11), whom He called from the east, and the shepherd who performed His pleasure (Is. xlv. 28); scattered fragments of the creed professed by Darius in his inscriptions, when he attributes his successes to 'the will of Aûramazdâ;' and mouldering ruins of the comparatively pure religion of oriental 'barbarism,' which Alexander and his civilising Greek successors were unable wholly to destroy, and replace by their own idolatrous superstitions. While in the Pahlavi texts we find much of the mediæval edifice built by later Persian priestcraft upon the old foundations, with a strange mixture of old and new materials, and exhibiting the usual symptom of declining powers, a strong insistence upon complex forms and minute details, with little of the freedom of treatment and simplicity of outline characteristic of the ancient bards.

To understand the relationship between these two classes of Parsi sacred writings, it must be observed that the Avesta and Pahlavi of the same scripture, taken together, form its Avesta and Zand, terms which are nearly synonymous with 'revelation and commentary.' Both words are derived from verbal roots implying 'knowledge;' Avesta being the Pahlavi *avistāk*, which may most probably be traced to the past participle of *â*, 'to,' + *vid*, 'to know,' with the meaning of 'what is announced' or 'declaration;' and Zand, being the Pahlavi form of Av. *zainti* (traceable in the word *âzaintis*), must be referred to the root *zan*, 'to know,' with the meaning of 'knowledge, understanding'¹. European scholars, misled probably by Muhammadan writers, have converted the phrase 'Avesta and Zand' into 'Zend-Avesta,' and have further identified Zand with the language of the Avesta. This use of the word Zand is, however, quite at variance with the practice of all Parsi writers who have been independent of European influence, as they apply the term Zand only to the Pahlavi translations and explanations of their sacred books, the original text of which they call Avesta. So that when they use the phrase 'Avesta and Zand' they mean the whole of any scripture, both the Avesta text and Pahlavi translation and commentary. And the latter, being often their only means of understanding the former, has now become of nearly equal authority with the Avesta itself. It is probable, indeed, that the first Zand was really written in the Avesta language, as we find many traces of such Avesta commentaries interpolated both in the Avesta and Pahlavi texts of the Parsi scriptures; but this is rather a matter of European inference than of Parsi belief. The later (or Pahlavi) Zand appears also, in many places, to be merely a translation of this earlier (or Avesta) Zand, with additional explanations offered by the Pahlavi translators.

Regarding the sacredness of these Pahlavi translations, in the eyes of the Parsis, there can be no manner of doubt, so far as they cannot be shown to be inconsistent with the

¹ See Haug's *Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis*, second edition, London, 1878; pp. 121, 122.

original Avesta text. But besides these translations there is another class of Pahlavi religious writings whose authority is more open to dispute. These writings are either translations and Zands of Avesta texts no longer extant, or they contain the opinions and decisions of high-priests of later times, when the Pahlavi language was on the decline. Such writings would hardly be considered of indisputable authority by any Parsi of the present day, unless they coincided with his own preconceived opinions. But for outsiders they have the inestimable value either of supplying numerous details of religious traditions and customs which would be vainly sought for elsewhere, or of being contemporary records of the religious ideas of the Parsis in the declining days of their Mazdayasnian faith. It is with a few of such writings this volume has to deal; but before describing them more minutely it will be desirable to give some account of the Pahlavi language in which they are written.

2. THE PAHLAVI LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

The term 'Pahlavi,' in its widest extent, is applied to all the varying forms of the mediæval Persian language, from the time when the grammatical inflexions of ancient Persian were dropped, till the period when the modern alphabet was invented, and the language became corrupted into modern Persian by the adoption of numerous Arabic words and phrases. Some traces of Pahlavi words and phrases, written in old Semitic characters, have been found in the legends of coins struck by certain kings of Persian provinces, subordinate to the Greek successors of Alexander, as early as the third century B. C.¹ Further traces have been discovered in the legends on some provincial coins of the time of the Arsacidan dynasty. But, practically, our acquaintance with Pahlavi commences with the inscriptions, on rocks and coins, of Arđakhshîr-i Pâpakân (A.D. 226-240), the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, and ends with certain religious

¹ See Levy's *Beiträge zur aramäischen Münzkunde Eran's, und zur Kunde der ältern Pehlewi-Schrift*; *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig, 1867; XXI, 421-465.

writings of priests and other devout Parsis of post-Muhammadan times, among the latest of which is one dated A.Y. 250 (A.D. 881). Any fragments of Pahlavi composition of later date than A.D. 1000, must be considered merely as modern imitations of a dead language, and cannot be quoted as authorities for the use of any particular Pahlavi words or construction.

With regard to the origin of the word Pahlavî, or language of Pahlav, many suggestions have been offered; but the most probable explanation¹ is that which connects it with the Parthva of the cuneiform inscriptions, the land of the Parthians known to the Greeks and Romans, and of the Pahlavâs mentioned by Sanskrit writers; the change of Parthva into Pahlav being very similar to that of Av. Mithra into Pers. Mihr. No doubt the language of the Parthians themselves was not Pahlavi, but they were the actual rulers of Persia for some centuries at the time when the Pahlavi language was forming there; and, being formidable to their neighbours, it is not surprising that their name became identified with everything Persian, in the same way as the Roman name has been applied by the Persians, not only to the later Greek empire of Constantinople, but even to the earlier conqueror, Alexander the Great.

Strictly speaking, the mediæval Persian language is only called Pahlavi when it is written in one of the characters used before the invention of the modern Persian alphabet, and in the peculiarly enigmatical mode adopted in Pahlavi writings. Whenever it is transcribed, either in Avesta characters, or in those of the modern Persian alphabet, and freed from this peculiarity, it is called Pâzand.

The peculiar mode of writing Pahlavi, here alluded to, long made the character of the language a standing puzzle for European scholars, and was first satisfactorily explained by Professor Haug, of Munich, in his admirable Essay on the Pahlavi Language already cited.

Like the Assyrians of old, the Persians of Parthian times appear to have borrowed their writing from a foreign race.

¹ See Haug's Essay on the Pahlavi Language, Stuttgart, 1870; pp. 33-37.

But, whereas the Semitic Assyrians adopted a Turanian syllabary, these later Aryan Persians accepted a Semitic alphabet. Besides the alphabet, however, which they could use for spelling their own words, they also transferred a certain number of complete Semitic words to their writings, as representatives of the corresponding words in their own language. These Semitic representatives (the number of which might at any time be increased or diminished at the discretion of the writer) were probably never very numerous, and not more than four hundred of them are to be found in the Pahlavi writings now extant ; but, as they represent nearly all the commonest words in the language (excepting those specially relating to religious matters), they often constitute more than half the bulk of a Pahlavi text.

The use of such Semitic words, scattered about in Persian sentences, gives Pahlavi the motley appearance of a compound language ; more especially as Persian terminations are often added to the Semitic words. But there are good reasons for supposing that the language was never spoken as it was written. The spoken language appears to have been purely Persian ; the Semitic words being merely used as written representatives, or logograms, of the Persian words which were spoken. Thus the Persians would write *malkân malkâ*, 'king of kings,' but they would read *shâhân shâh*. This is still the mode in which most Parsis read their Pahlavi literature ; and it is only by assuming it to have been their universal practice, in former times, that we can account for the total and immediate disappearance of the Semitic portion of the Pahlavi, from their language, when the Persians adopted their modern alphabet. As the Semitic words were merely a Pahlavi mode of writing their Persian equivalents (just as 'viz.' is a mode of writing 'namely' in English), they disappeared with the Pahlavi writing, and the Persians began at once to write all their words, with their new alphabet, just as they pronounced them.

In the meantime, the greater part of the nation had become Muhammadans, and a new influx of Semitic words commenced, but of a very different character. The Semitic

portion of the Pahlavi writing was nearly pure Chaldee, and was confined (as already stated) to the graphic representation of most of the simplest and commonest words unconnected with religion ; but it seems to have formed no part of the spoken language, at all events in later times. Whereas the Semitic portion of modern Persian is borrowed from Arabic, and includes most words connected with religion, science, and literature ; in fact, every class of words except that which was usually Semitic in Pahlavi writings ; and these Arabic words form an essential part of the spoken language, being as indispensable to the modern Persian as words of Norman-French origin are to the English.

In Pahlavi writings, moreover, besides the four hundred Semitic logograms already mentioned, we also find about one hundred obsolete forms of Iranian words used as logograms ; much in the same way as 'ye' may be used for 'the,' and 'Xmas' for 'Christmas' in English. The use of all these logograms was, however, quite optional, as their usual Persian equivalents might be substituted for any of them at any time, according to each particular writer's taste and discretion. But whenever they are employed they form what is called the Huzvâris portion of the Pahlavi ; while the other words, intended to be pronounced as they are spelt, form the Pâzand portion.

Many attempts have been made to explain the word Huzvâris, but it cannot be said that any satisfactory etymology has yet been proposed. Like the word Pahlavi it seems hardly to occur in any old Pahlavi text, but only in colophons, chapter-headings, and similar notes of modern writers ; it seems, therefore, more reasonable to trace it to modern Persian than direct to any more ancient source. Its Pahlavi form, hûzvâris or âûzvârisn, appears to represent the modern Persian uzvâris, which is rarely used ; the usual Persian form of the word being zuvâris. Now zuvâris is precisely the form of an abstract noun derived from the crude form of a verb zuvâridan, which has been admitted into some Persian dictionaries on the authority of Golius¹,

¹ See Castelli *Lexicon Heptaglotton, Pars altera*, London, 1669.

with the meaning 'to grow old, to become thread-bare.' If such a verb really exists in Persian, although its meaning may imply 'decrepitude or decay' rather than 'antiquity or obsolescence,' yet its abstract noun would not be altogether inapplicable to the logograms used in Pahlavi, which are, in fact, last remnants of older writings.

The word Pâzand is probably derived from Av. *paitizanti*, with the meaning 're-explanation,' that is, a further interpretation of the Pahlavi Zand in the Persian vernacular. This term is applied not only to the purely Persian words in Pahlavi texts, but also (as already noticed) to transliterations of the said texts, either in Avesta or modern Persian characters, in which all the Huzvâris words are replaced by their Pâzand equivalents. These transliterations form what are called Pâzand texts; they retain the exact idiom and construction of the Pahlavi original, and represent the mode in which it was read. It may be remarked, however, that all such Pâzand texts, as have been examined, seem to have been written in India, so that they may be suspected of representing some corrupt Gugarâti pronunciation of Persian, rather than the peculiar orthography of any period of the Persian language.

This theory of the origin and development of Pahlavi writing could hardly be upheld, unless we could trace the same artificial mixture of Huzvâris and Pâzand in all accessible Pahlavi records, from their earliest appearance to the present time. This we are able to do, even in the scanty materials afforded by the legends on the provincial Persian coins of the third century B.C. and second century A.D. already mentioned. But we can trace it with greater certainty not only in the coin legends, but also in the rock inscriptions of the earlier Sasanian kings (A.D. 226-388), in the latest of which we find the written language differing very slightly from that contained in the manuscripts preserved by the Parsis of the present day, although the characters differ very much in form. And, finally, in the legends on the coins of the later Sasanian kings (A.D. 388-651) and on seals of their times, we find even this difference in the shapes of the letters disappearing by degrees. In

fact, all the materials at our disposal tend to show that Huzvâris has been an essential constituent of all Pahlavi writings from the time of Alexander's successors to that of the disuse of Pahlavi characters; but we have no reason to suppose that the spoken language of the great mass of the Persian people ever contained the Semitic words which they thus used as Huzvâris in their writings.

Although the use of Huzvâris, until explained recently, rendered the nature of the Pahlavi language very obscure, it added very little to the difficulty of understanding the Pahlavi texts, because the meaning of nearly every Huzvâris logogram was well known; being recorded in an old glossary preserved by the Parsis, in which every logogram is explained by its proper Pâzand equivalent. The extant copies of this old glossary generally contain the Huzvâris and Pâzand words written in the Pahlavi character, together with their traditional pronunciation, either in Avesta or modern Persian letters; there is, therefore, no particular difficulty in reading or translating the Huzvâris portion of a Pahlavi text, although doubts may often be entertained as to the accuracy of the traditional pronunciation.

The real difficulty of reading Pahlavi texts lies in the Pâzand portion (so far as it may be unexplained by existing vocabularies), and is chiefly occasioned by the ambiguity of some of the Pahlavi letters. The alphabet used in Pahlavi books contains only fourteen distinct letters, so that some letters represent several different sounds; and this ambiguity is increased by the letters being joined together, when a compound of two letters is sometimes exactly like some other single letter. The complication arising from these ambiguities may be understood from the following list of the sounds, simple and compound, represented by each of the fourteen letters of the Pahlavi alphabet respectively:—

𐬀 a, â, h, kh. 𐬁 b. 𐬂 p, f. 𐬃 t, d. 𐬄 k, g, z, v. 𐬅 r, l. 𐬆 z. 𐬇 s, yî, yad, yag, yag, dî, dad, dag, dag, gî, gad, gag, gag, gî, gad, gag, gag. 𐬈 sh, s, yâ, yah, yakh, îh, îkh,

dâ, dah, dakh, gâ, gah, gakh, gâ, gah, gakh. 2 gh. 3 k.
6 m. 1 n, v, w, û, ô, r, l. 3 y, î, ê, d, g, g.

From this list it is easy to see the confusion produced by the letter 𐭠 s being exactly like the letter 𐭡 y doubled, and by the letter 𐭢 sh being identical with a compound of 𐭡 y and 𐭣 â; and there are, in fact, some compounds of two letters which have from ten to fifteen sounds in common use, besides others which might possibly occur. If it be further considered that there are only three letters (which are also consonants, as in most Semitic languages) to represent five long vowels, and that there are probably five short vowels to be understood, the difficulty of reading Pahlavi correctly may be readily imagined.

When Pahlavi writing was in common use this difficulty was probably no more felt by the Persians, than the complexity of Chinese characters is felt as an evil by a Chinese mandarin, or the corrupt system of English orthography by an educated Englishman. It is only the foreigner, or learner, who fully appreciates the difficulty of understanding such cumbrous systems of writing.

With regard, however, to their Huzvâris logograms the Persians seem to have experienced more difficulty. As the actual sounds of these Semitic words were rarely pronounced, in consequence of their Pâzand equivalents being substituted in reading, there must have been some risk of their true pronunciation being forgotten. That this risk was understood by the Persians, or Parsis, is proved by the existence of the Huzvâris-Pâzand glossary already described, which was evidently compiled as a record both of the pronunciation and meaning of the Huzvâris logograms. But its compilation does not appear to have been undertaken until the true pronunciation of some of these logograms had been already lost. Thus, although the traditional readings of most of the Semitic portion of the Huzvâris can be readily traced to well-known Chaldee words, there are yet many other such readings which are altogether inexplicable as Semitic

words. In most such cases, however, European scholars have found that the Huzvâris word can be easily read in some other way which at once connects it with some ordinary Chaldee equivalent. It may, therefore, be reasonably assumed that the compilers of the glossary had in some instances lost the correct pronunciation of these old Semitic words, and that, in such cases, they adopted (as a Parsi would probably do at the present day) the most obvious reading of the letters before them, which thenceforth became an artificial word to be handed down to posterity, by successive generations of writers, with all the authority of old tradition.

In the same manner the artificial pronunciation of the Iranian portion of the Huzvâris may be explained. The compilers of the glossary found a number of words in the Pahlavi texts, which were written in some obsolete or contracted manner; they knew the meanings of these words, but could not trace the true readings in the altered letters; they, therefore, adopted the most obvious readings of the written characters, and thus produced another series of artificial words, such as *anhômâ* for *aûharmazd*, *yahân* for *yazdân*, *madônad* for *maînôk*, *shatan* for *shatrô*, &c.

Naturally enough the Parsis are loth to admit the possibility of any error in their traditional readings of Huzvâris, and very few of them have yet adopted the views of European scholars further than to admit that they are ingenious hypotheses, which still require satisfactory proof. They are quite right in demanding such proof, and they may reasonably argue that the conflicting opinions of various European scholars do not tend to increase the certainty of their explanations. But, on the other hand, they are bound to examine all proofs that may be offered, and to consider the arguments of scholars, before utterly rejecting them in favour of their own preconceived notions of traditional authority.

Fortunately, we possess some means of ascertaining the ancient pronunciation of a few Huzvâris words, independent of the opinions of comparative philologists, in the inscrip-

tions already mentioned as having been engraved on rocks, and impressed on coins, by the earlier kings of the Sasanian dynasty in Persia. The earliest of these rock inscriptions records the name and titles of Artakhshatar son¹ of Pâpak, the first Sasanian monarch (A. D. 226-240); it is engraved in Greek and two kinds of old Pahlavi characters, which have been called Chaldæo-Pahlavi and Sasanian-Pahlavi, because the one bears more resemblance to Chaldee, both in its letters and the language they express, and the other is more frequently used by the subsequent Sasanian monarchs. A similar tri-lingual inscription records the names and titles of his son and successor Shahpûhar I (A. D. 240-271), who has also left a long bi-lingual inscription, in Chaldæo and Sasanian-Pahlavi, in a cave near Persepolis. Another long bi-lingual inscription, fragments of which have been found on stones among the ruins of Pâi Kûlî, is attributed to his early successors, who have also left us several uni-lingual inscriptions in Sasanian-Pahlavi, two of which are of great length, but none later than the end of the fourth century.

The language of the earlier of these inscriptions differs from that of the manuscripts preserved by the Parsis, chiefly in the use of several Semitic words unknown to the manuscript Huzvâris, the non-existence of Iranian Huzvâris (which is evidently a growth of later times), and the less frequent use of Persian terminations affixed to Semitic words. These differences, however, are hardly greater than those which distinguish the English of Chaucer from that of our own day. Moreover, they gradually disappear in process of time, as we find the later inscriptions of the fourth century approaching much closer, in language, to the manuscripts.

As the alphabets of these inscriptions are less imperfect and ambiguous than that of the Pahlavi manuscripts, they render the pronunciation of many words much more certain. They consist of eighteen letters, having the following sounds :—

¹ So stated in the inscription, but Pahlavi MSS. call him the son of Pâpak's daughter and of Sâsân (see Bund. XXXI, 30).

1. a, â. 2. b. 3. p, f. 4. t, d. 5. k, g, ʒ. 6. kh, h. 7. d. 8. r, v, w, û, ô. 9. z. 10. s. 11. sh, s. 12. k. 13. g. 14. l, r. 15. m. 16. n. 17. y, î, ê. 18. doubtful, being equivalent to Chaldee נ and to Pahl. MS. -man¹.

Comparing this list of sounds with that of the sounds of the manuscript alphabet (pp. xvi, xvii) it is evident that the inscriptions must afford a means of distinguishing â from kh, s from any binary compound of y, d, g, or g, sh from any compound of y, d, g, or g with â, h, or kh, n from v, r, or l, and y, d, g from each other; all which letters and compounds are left in doubt by the manuscript alphabet. Unfortunately we do not possess trustworthy copies of some of the inscriptions which are evidently the most important from a linguistic point of view²; but such copies as have been obtained supply corrections of traditional misreadings of about twenty-five Huzvâris logograms, and at the same time they confirm the correctness of three traditional readings which have been called in question by most European scholars. So far, therefore, the inscriptions would teach the Parsis that the decisions of comparative philologists are not likely to be right more than seven times out of eight, even when they are tolerably unanimous.

The Chaldæo-Pahlavi character appears to have soon

¹ Whether the sound of this letter can ever be satisfactorily settled remains doubtful. Levy, in his *Beiträge*, cited on p. xi, considers it to be the Semitic נ, on palæographical grounds; but there are serious objections to all the identifications that have been proposed.

² The Sasanian inscriptions, of which new and correct copies are most urgently wanted, are:—1. An inscription of thirty-one lines high up in the left side-compartment (behind the king) of the centre bas-relief of Naqs-i Ragab, near Persepolis. 2. Two inscriptions, of eleven and twelve lines respectively, on the stones of the edifice near the south-west corner of the great platform at Persepolis, south of the Hall of Columns (see Ouseley's *Travels in Persia*, vol. ii. p. 237 and plate 42). 3. All the fragments of the Pâf Kûll inscription, of which probably not more than half have yet been copied.

Of the very long inscription behind the king's horse in the bas-relief of Naqs-i Rustam, containing more than seventy lines very much damaged, a copy taken by Westergaard in 1843, with his usual accuracy, probably gives nearly all that is legible. And of the Hâgfâbâd and shorter inscriptions, little or nothing remains doubtful.

gone out of use, after the establishment of the Sasanian dynasty, as the latest known inscription, in which it occurs, is that of Pâi Kûlî, which contains the name of Aû-harmazd I (A.D. 271-272); while the long inscriptions of Naqs-i Ragab and Naqs-i Rustam, which contain the name of Varahrân II (A.D. 275-283), are engraved only in Sasanian-Pahlavi. From these facts it seems probable that Chaldæo-Pahlavi went out of use about A.D. 275. The Sasanian characters continue to appear, with very little alteration, upon the coins until the end of the fifth century, when most of them begin to assume the cursive form of the manuscript Pahlavi, which appears to have altered very slightly since the eighth century.

The oldest Pahlavi manuscript known to be extant, consists of several fragments of papyrus recently found in a grave in the Fayûm district in Egypt, and now in the Royal Museum at Berlin; it is supposed to have been written in the eighth century. Next to this, after a long interval, come four manuscripts written on Indian paper, all by the same hand, in A.D. 1323-1324; they are two copies of the Yasna and two of the Vendidad, containing the Avesta with its Zand, or Pahlavi translation and commentary; two of these old MSS. are now preserved in Copenhagen, one in London, and one in Bombay. Next to these in age are two MSS. of miscellaneous Pahlavi texts, written probably about fifty years later; one of these is now in Copenhagen and one in Bombay. Another MS. of nearly the same age is also a miscellaneous collection of Pahlavi texts, written in A.D. 1397, and now in Munich; where there is also one of the oldest Pâzand-Sanskrit MSS., a copy of the *Arđâ-Virâf-nâmak*, written in A.D. 1410. Another Pâzand-Sanskrit MS., a copy of the *Khurdah Avesta*, of about the same age, exists in Bombay. Pahlavi and Pâzand manuscripts of the sixteenth century are rather more numerous.

Pahlavi literature reached the zenith of its prosperity about thirteen centuries ago, when it included the whole literature of Persia. Seventy years later its destruction commenced with the fall of the Sasanian dynasty (A.D.

636-651); and the subsequent adoption of the modern Persian alphabet gave it its death-blow. The last remnants of Pahlavi writings are now contained in the few manuscripts still preserved by the Parsis in Western India, and their almost-extinct brethren in Persia. A careful estimate of the length of these remnants, so far as they are known to Europeans, has shown that the total extent of existing Pahlavi literature is about thirty-six times that of the Bundahis, as translated in this volume. One-fifth of this literature consists of translations accompanying Avesta texts, and the remaining four-fifths are purely Pahlavi works which are nearly all connected with religion. How much of this literature may have descended from Sasanian times can hardly be ascertained as yet; in fact, it is only very recently that any trustworthy data, for determining the age of a few Pahlavi writings, have been discovered, as will be explained hereafter, when considering the age of the Bundahis.

3. THE BUNDAHIS.

The term Bundahis, 'creation of the beginning,' or 'original creation,' is applied by the Parsis to a Pahlavi work¹ which, in its present state, appears to be a collection of fragments relating to the cosmogony, mythology, and legendary history taught by Mazdayasnian tradition, but which cannot be considered, in any way, a complete treatise on these subjects. This term is applicable enough to much of the earlier part of the work, which treats of the progressive development of creation under good and evil influences; but it is probably not the original name of the book. Its adoption was no doubt partly owing to the occurrence of the word bûn-dahisn, or bûn-dahisnîh, twice in the first sentence, and partly to its appropriateness to the subject. But the same sentence seems to inform

¹ When this work forms part of a collection of Pahlavi texts, the whole manuscript is sometimes called 'the great Bundahis.' There also exists a Sad-dar Bundahis, or Bundahis of a hundred chapters, which is a comparatively modern compilation, detailing the chief customs and religious laws of the Parsis in a hundred sections.

us that the actual name of the treatise was Zand-âkâs, 'knowing the tradition.'

[The work commences by describing the state of things in the beginning; the good spirit being in endless light and omniscient, and the evil spirit in endless darkness and with limited knowledge. Both produced their own creatures, which remained apart, in a spiritual or ideal state, for three thousand years, after which the evil spirit began his opposition to the good creation under an agreement that his power was not to last more than nine thousand years, of which only the middle three thousand were to see him successful. By uttering a sacred formula the good spirit throws the evil one into a state of confusion for a second three thousand years, while he produces the archangels and the material creation, including the sun, moon, and stars. At the end of that period the evil spirit, encouraged by the demons he had produced, once more rushes upon the good creation, to destroy it. The demons carry on conflicts with each of the six classes of creation, namely, the sky, water, earth, plants, animals represented by the primeval ox, and mankind represented by Gâyô-mard; producing little effect but movement in the sky, saltiness in the water, mountains in the earth, withering in plants, and death to the primeval ox, and also to Gâyô-mard after an interval.]

Then follows a series of chapters describing the seven regions of the earth, its mountains and seas, the five classes of animals, the origin of mankind, generation, the five kinds of fire and three sacred fires, the white Hôm tree and the tree of many seeds, the three-legged ass, the ox Hadhayôš, the bird Kâmrôš, and other birds and animals opposed to the evil creation, the rivers of the world, the seventeen species of liquids, the lakes, the origin of the ape and bear, the chiefs of the several kinds of creatures and creations, the calendar, lineal measures, trees and plants, the characteristics of various demons, the spiritual chiefs of the various regions of the earth, and the resurrection and future existence; all which descriptions are given on the authority of the Dîn, which may have been some particular

book, or revelation generally. The concluding chapters give the genealogies of the legendary Persian kings and heroes, and of Zarātūst and certain priests, together with an epitome of Persian chronology from the creation to the Muhammadan conquest.

As the work now stands it is evidently of a fragmentary character, bearing unmistakable marks both of omissions and dislocations; and the extant manuscripts, as will be seen, differ among themselves both as to the extent and arrangement of the text. Many passages have the appearance of being translations from an Avesta original, and it is very probable that we have in the *Bundahis* either a translation, or an epitome, of the *Dâmdâd Nask*, one of the twenty-one books into which the whole of the Zoroastrian scriptures are said to have been divided before the time of Darius. This may be guessed from a comparison of the contents of the *Bundahis* with those of the *Dâmdâd Nask*, which are detailed in the *Dîni-vagarkard* as follows¹:—‘It contained an explanation of the spiritual existence and heaven, good and evil, the material existence of this world, the sky and the earth, and everything which *Aûharmazd* produced in water, fire, and vegetation, men and quadrupeds, reptiles and birds, and everything which is produced from the waters, and the characteristics of all things. Secondly, the production of the resurrection and future existence; the concourse and separation at the *Kinvad* bridge; on the reward of the meritorious and the punishment of sinners in the future existence, and such-like explanations.’ Moreover, the *Dâmdâd Nask* is twice quoted as an authority in the *Selections of Zâdsparam* (IX, 1, 16), when treating of animals, in nearly the same words as those used in the *Bundahis*.

The first manuscript of the *Bundahis* seen in Europe was brought from Surat by Anquetil Duperron in 1761, and he published a French translation of it in his great work on the *Zend-Avesta* in 1771². This manuscript,

¹ See Haug's *Essays*, &c., second edition, pp. 127, 128.

² *Zend-Avesta, ouvrage de Zoroastre*, &c., par Anquetil Duperron; Paris, 1771. Tome seconde, pp. 343-422, Boun-dehesch.

which is now in the National Library at Paris, was a modern copy, written A.D. 1734, and contained a miscellaneous collection of Pahlavi writings besides the Bundahis. And Anquetil's translation, though carefully prepared in accordance with the information he had obtained from his Parsi instructor, is very far from giving the correct meaning of the original text in many places.

In 1820 the very old codex from which Anquetil's MS. had been copied was brought to Europe, from Bombay, by the Danish scholar Rask, and was subsequently deposited in the University Library at Kopenhagen. This most important codex, which will be more particularly described under the appellation of K20, appears to have been written during the latter half of the fourteenth century; and a facsimile of the Pahlavi text of the Bundahis, which it contains, was very carefully traced from it, lithographed, and published by Westergaard in 1851¹.

In a review of this lithographed edition of the Pahlavi text, published in the *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen* in 1854², Haug gave a German translation of the first three chapters of the Bundahis. And Spiegel, in his *Traditional Literature of the Parsis*³, published in 1860 a German translation of many passages in the Bundahis, together with a transcript of the Pahlavi text of Chaps. I, II, III, and XXX in Hebrew characters. But the complete German translation of the Bundahis by Windischmann, with his commentary on its contents, published in his *Zoroastrian Studies*⁴ in 1863, was probably the most important step in advance since the time of Anquetil, and the utmost

¹ *Bundehesh, Liber Pehlvicus. E vetustissimo codice Havniensi descriptis, duas inscriptiones regis Saporis Primi adjecit, N. L. Westergaard; Havniæ, 1851.*

² *Ueber die Pehlewi-Sprache und den Bundehesh, von Martin Haug; Göttingen, 1854.*

³ *Die Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen in ihrem Zusammenhange mit den angränzenden Literaturen, dargestellt von Fr. Spiegel; Wien, 1860.*

⁴ *Zoroastriche Studien. Abhandlungen zur Mythologie und Sagengeschichte des alten Iran, von Fr. Windischmann (nach dem Tode des Verfassers herausgegeben von Fr. Spiegel); Berlin, 1863.*

that could be done on the authority of a single MS. which is far from perfect.

In 1866 another very old codex, containing the Pahlavi texts of the Bundahis and other works, was brought to Europe by Haug, to whom it had been presented at Surat in 1864. It is now in the State Library at Munich, and will be more minutely described under the appellation of M6. In this codex the Bundahis is arranged in a different order from that in K20, and Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, and XXXI-XXXIII are omitted.

A second complete German translation of the Bundahis, with a lithographed copy of the Pahlavi text, a transliteration of the text in modern Persian characters, and a glossary of all the words it contains, was published by Justi in 1868¹. Its author, having had access to other MSS. (descended from M6) at London and Oxford, was able to rectify many of the deficiencies in Windischmann's translation; but, otherwise, he made but little progress in elucidating difficult passages.

Other European writers have published the result of their studies of particular parts of the Bundahis, but it does not appear that any of them have attempted a continuous translation of several chapters.

Whether the existence of previous translations be more of an assistance than a hindrance in preparing a new one, may well be a matter of doubt. Previous translations may prevent oversights, and in difficult passages it is useful to see how others have floundered through the mire; but, on the other hand, they occasion much loss of time, by the necessity of examining many of their dubious renderings before finally fixing upon others that seem more satisfactory. The object of the present translation is to give the meaning of the original text as literally as possible, and with a minimum of extra words; the different renderings of other translators being very rarely noticed, unless there be some probability of their being of service

¹ Der Bundehesh, zum ersten Male herausgegeben, transcribirt, übersetzt, und mit Glossar versehen, von Ferdinand Justi; Leipzig, 1868.

to the reader. Some doubtful words and passages still defy all attempts at satisfactory solution, but of these the reader is warned; and, no doubt, a few oversights and mistakes will be discovered.

With regard to the original text, we have to recover it from four manuscripts which are, more or less, independent authorities, and may be styled K20, K20b, M6, and TD. The first three of these have evidently descended, either directly or through one or more intermediate copies, from the same original; but the source of TD, so far as it can be ascertained, seems to have been far removed from that of the others. All the other MSS. of the Bundahis, which have been examined, whether Pahlavi or Pâzand, are descended either from K20 or M6, and are, therefore, of no independent authority.

K20 is the very old codex already mentioned as having been brought from Bombay by Rask in 1820, and is now No. 20 of the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the University Library at Copenhagen. It consists now of 173 folios of very old and much-worn Indian paper of large octavo size, but five other folios are certainly missing, besides an uncertain number lost from the end of the volume. This MS. contains twenty Pahlavi texts, written twenty lines to the page, and some of them accompanied by Avesta; the Bundahis is the ninth of these texts, and occupies fols. 88-129, of which fol. 121 is missing. Three of the texts, occurring before the Bundahis, have dated colophons, but the dates are A.Y. 690, 720, and 700, all within 36 folios; it is, therefore, evident that these dates have been copied from older MSS.; but at the same time the appearance of the paper indicates that the actual date of the MS. cannot be much later than A.Y. 720 (A.D. 1351), and there are reasons for believing that it was written several years before A.Y. 766 (A.D. 1397), as will be explained in the description of M6. Owing to its age and comparative completeness this MS. of the Bundahis is certainly the most important one extant, although comparison with other MSS. proves that its writer was rather careless, and frequently omitted words and phrases. The

loss of fol. 121, though it has hitherto left an inconvenient gap in the text (not filled up by other MSS.), is more than compensated by the three extra chapters which this MS. and its copies have hitherto alone supplied. The text on the lost folio was supposed by Anquetil to have contained a whole chapter besides portions of the two adjacent ones; this is now known to be a mistake, Anquetil's Chap. XXVIII being quite imaginary; the end of Chap. XXVII has long been supplied from other MSS., but the beginning of the next chapter has hitherto been missing.

Only two copies of K20 appear to be known to Europeans; the best of these is the copy brought from Surat by Anquetil, No. 7 of his collection of manuscripts, now in the National Library at Paris; this was written in A. D. 1734, when K20 appears to have been nearly in its present imperfect state, though it may have had some 15 folios more at the end. This copy seems to have been carefully written; but the same cannot be said of the other copy, No. 21 in the University Library at Kopenhagen, which is full of blunders, both of commission and omission, and can hardly have been written by so good a Pahlavi scholar as Dastûr Dârâb, Anquetil's instructor, although attributed to him.

K20 b consists of nineteen loose folios¹, found by Westergaard among some miscellaneous fragments in the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the University Library at Kopenhagen, and now forming No. 20b in that collection. The first two folios are lost, but the third folio commences with the Pahlavi equivalent of the words 'knew that Aharman exists' (Bund. Chap. I, 8), and the text continues to the end of Chap. XI, 1, where it leaps at once (in the middle of a line on the fifteenth folio) to Chap. XXX, 15, 'one brother who is righteous,' whence the text continues to the end of Chap. XXXI, 15, which is followed by Chaps. XXXII, XXXIV, as in K20. This

¹ I am indebted to the late Professor N. L. Westergaard for all information about this MS., and also for a tracing of the Pahlavi text of so much of Chap. XXXI as is contained in it.

MS. is not very old, and contains merely a fragment of the text; but its value consists in its not being a descendant of either K20 or M6, as it clearly represents a third line of descent from their common original. It agrees with K20 in the general arrangement of its chapters, so far as they go, and also in containing Chap. XXXI; but it differs from it in some of the details of that chapter, and agrees with M6 in some verbal peculiarities elsewhere; it has not, however, been collated in any other chapter. The omission of nearly twenty chapters, in the centre of the work, indicates that some one of the MSS. from which it is descended, had lost many of its central folios before it was copied, and that the copyist did not notice the deficiency; such unnoticed omissions frequently occur in Pahlavi manuscripts.

M6 is the very old codex brought to Europe by Haug in 1866, and now No. 6 of the Haug collection in the State Library at Munich. It consists of 240 folios of very old, but well-preserved, Indian paper of large octavo size (to which thirteen others, of rather later date, have been prefixed) bound in two volumes. This MS. contains nineteen Pahlavi texts, written from seventeen to twenty-two lines to the page, and some of them accompanied by Avesta; eleven of these texts are also found in K20, and the Bundahis is the fourteenth of the nineteen, occupying fols. 53-99 of the second volume. Two of the other texts have dated colophons, the dates being fifty days apart in A. Y. 766 (A. D. 1397), and as there are 150 folios between the two dates there is every probability that they are the actual dates on which the two colophons were written. The arrangement of the Bundahis in this MS. is different from that in K20, giving the chapters in the following order:—Chaps. XV-XXIII, I-XIV, XXIV-XXVII, XXX, XXXII, XXXIV, and omitting Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, and XXXI. These omissions and the misplacement of Chaps. I-XIV render it probable that the MS., from which the Bundahis in M6 was copied, was already in a state of decay; and this supposition is confirmed by upwards of fifty peculiar mistakes, scattered over most parts of the

text in M6, which are evidently due to the illegibility of the original from which it was copied, or to its illegible words having been touched up by an ignorant writer, instances of which are not uncommon in old Pahlavi MSS. Eliminating these errors, for which the writer of M6 cannot be held responsible, he seems to have been a more careful copyist than the writer of K20, and supplies several words and phrases omitted by the latter. The close correspondence of K20 and M6 in most other places, renders it probable that they were copied from the same original, in which case K20 must have been written several years earlier than M6, before the original MS. became decayed and difficult to read. It is possible, however, that K20 was copied from an early copy of the original of M6; in which case the date of K20 is more uncertain, and may even be later than that of M6.

Several MSS. of the Bundahis descended from M6 are in existence. One is in the MS. No. 121 of the Ouseley collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and contains the chapters in the following order:—Chaps. XV–XXIII, I–VII, 17 (to ‘Arag river’), XII–XIV, XXIV–XXVII, XXX, VII, 12–XI; followed by Sls. Chap. XX, 4–17, also derived from M6. Another is in the library of Dastûr Jâmâspji Mino-chiharji at Bombay, and contains the chapters also in a dislocated state (due to the misplacement of folios in some former MS.) as follows:—Chaps. XV–XXIII, I–XI, 5 (to ‘and the evil spirit’), XII, 2 (from ‘Siḱidâv’)—XII, 12 (first word), XI, 5 (from ‘produced most for Khvanîras’)—XII, 2 (to ‘and Kôndras, Mount’), XXX, 32 (from ‘the renovation arises in’)—XXX, 33, XXXII, XXXIV, Sls. Chap. XVIII, Bund. Chaps. XII, 12 (from ‘Aîrak’)—XIV, XXIV–XXVII, XXX. A third is in the library of Dastûr Nôshirvânji Jâmâspji at Poona, and contains the text in the same order as M6. A fragment of the Pahlavi text of the Bundahis, also descended from M6, occupies eight folios in the Additional Oriental MS. No. 22,378 in the Library of the British Museum; it contains Chaps. XVIII, XIX, 17, and XX, 1–2 (to ‘one from the other’).

There are also several Pâzand manuscripts of the Bun-

dahis, written in Avesta characters, and likewise derived from M6. One of the best of these is No. 22 of the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the India Office Library at London; it is old, and has the date A.Y. 936 (A.D. 1567) in a Pahlavi colophon on fol. 111, but this may have been copied from an older MS.; its contents are arranged as follows:—Chaps. XVIII–XXIII, I–XIV, XXIV–XXVII, XXX, XXXII, XXXIV, followed by several short Pâzand texts, only part of which are derived from M6, and the last of them being left incomplete by the loss of the folios which originally formed the end of the volume; instead of these lost folios others, containing Chaps. XV–XVII, have been added and bound up with the rest. Another MS., No. 7 in the same collection, which is dated A.Y. 1174 (A.D. 1805), is a modern copy derived from No. 22 through one or more intervening MSS.¹; it contains precisely the same text, but with many variations in orthography, indicative of the very uncertain character of Pâzand spelling. Two fragments of the Pâzand text are also contained in the MSS. No. 121 at Oxford, already mentioned; they consist of Chaps. V, 3–7 (to ‘would have known the secret’) and XXV, 18–22. Another fragment, evidently copied from an old MS., is found on fols. 34, 35 of the Rivâyat MS. No. 8 of the collection in the India Office Library; it consists of Chap. XVIII, 1–8.

The Pâzand text of the Bundahis, derived from M6, is also written in Persian characters in M7 (No. 7 of the Haug collection at Munich), dated A.Y. 1178 (A.D. 1809). It is interlined by Persian glosses, word for word, and consists of Chaps. XVIII–XXIII, I–XIV, XXIV–XXVII, and XXX on fols. 81–119, with Chaps. XV–XVII on fols. 120–126, a repetition of Chap. XV and part of XVI on fols. 223–227, and Chap. XXXII on fol. 232.

Thus far, it will be noticed, we have two good independent authorities, K20 and M6, for ascertaining the text of the Bundahis in the fourteenth century, so far as Chaps. I–

¹ This is proved by an omission in fol. 40, which clearly indicates the loss of a folio in an intermediate MS.

XXVII, XXX, XXXII, and XXXIV are concerned; and we have also, in K20b, a second authority for so much of Chap. XXXI as occurs in K20; but for Chaps. XXVIII and XXIX we have nothing but K20 to rely on, and part of Chap. XXVIII is lost in that manuscript. Such was the unsatisfactory state of that part of the text until Dec. 1877, when information about the MS. TD was received, followed by further details and a copy of Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, and XXXI-XXXIII in Oct. 1878¹.

TD is a manuscript of the Bundahis which contains a much more extensive text than the MSS. already described, but whether it be an extension of the hitherto-received text, or the received text be an abridgement of this longer one, is likely to be a matter of dispute among Pahlavi scholars until the whole of the new text has been thoroughly examined. At any rate, the contents of this MS., combined with those of some MSS. of the Dāḏistān-i Dīnik, afford a means of fixing the date of this recension of the Bundahis, as will be seen hereafter.

This MS. belongs to a young Mobad named Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria in Bombay, and was brought from Persia a few years ago by a Mobad named Khodabakhsh Farod Abadan. It occupies the first 103 folios of the volume containing it, and is followed by 112 more folios containing the Nirangistān. The first original folio, which contained the text as far as Chap. I, 5 (to 'endless light'), has been lost and replaced by another (which, however, is now old) containing some introductory sentences, besides the missing text. The last original folio of the Bundahis, containing the last five lines of the last chapter, has also been lost and replaced by another modern folio, which contains the missing text followed by two colophons, both expressing approval of the text, and asserting that the MS. was written by Gôpatshah Rûstâm Bôndâr. The first of these colophons

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Khurshedji Rustamji Cama, of Bombay (who is well known for the interest he takes in all matters relating to the ancient customs and history of his fellow-countrymen), for obtaining this information, and to the owner of the MS. for his liberality in supplying me with all the details and extracts mentioned in the text.

is undated, but gives the testimony of Dastûr Rûstâm¹ Gûstâsp Ardâshîr, who is known to have written another MS. dated A.Y. 1068 (A.D. 1699). The second colophon is by Dastûr Jamshêd Jâmâsp Hakîm, and is dated A.Y. 1113 (A.D. 1743), which was probably the date when this last folio was supplied to complete the old defective MS.

With regard to the age of the older part of this MS. we can arrive at an approximation in the following manner :— A valuable MS. of the *Dâdîstân-i Dînîk*, which also belongs to Tehmuras Dinshawji, was written (according to a colophon which it contains) by Gôpatshah Rûstôm² Bândâr Malkâ-mardân in the land of Kirmân, who was evidently the same person as the writer of TD. Another MS. of the *Dâdîstân-i Dînîk* was written by Marzapân Frêdûn Vâhrôm Rûstâm Bôndâr Malkâ-mardân Dîn-ayâr, also in the land of Kirmân, in A.Y. 941 (A.D. 1572). Comparing these two genealogies together it seems evident that Gôpatshah was a brother of Vâhrôm, the grandfather of Marzapân, and, therefore, a grand-uncle of Marzapân himself. Allowing for these two generations, it is probable that Gôpatshah wrote TD about A.Y. 900 (say A.D. 1530); although instances have occurred in which a son has written a MS. at an earlier date than that of one written by his father.

The introductory sentences on the first restored folio are evidently a modern addition to the text, after it had acquired the name of Bundahis; but they seem to have been copied from some other MS., as the copyist appears to have hardly understood them, having written them continuously with the beginning of the text, without break or stop. The spelling is modern, but that may be due to the copyist; and the language is difficult, but may be translated as follows³:—

‘The propitiation of the creator Aûharmazd, the radiant,

¹ This Dastûr is said to have sprung from the laity, and not from a priestly family.

² The vowels â and ô (or û) often interchange in Pahlavi MSS. from Persia, probably owing to peculiarities of dialect, and the very broad sound of Persian â, like English a in call.

³ English words in italics are additions to complete the sense.

glorious, omniscient, wise, powerful, and supreme, *by what is well-thought, well-said, and well-done in thought, word, and deed*, and the good augury of all the celestial angels *and* terrestrial angels upon the virtuous creation, I beseech.

‘Written at the second fortunate conjunction (akhtar) in the high-priestship (dastûrih) of the God-devoted, all-sagacious cultivator of righteousness, the lover of good works who is God-discerning, spirit-surveying, *and* approved by the good, the high-priest of the good religion of the Mazdayasnians, the glorified¹ Spendyâd son of Mâh-vindâd, son of Rûstôm, son of Shatrôyâr.

‘The writing² of the Bûdahis *was* set going by the coming of the Arabs to the country of Iran, whose heterodoxy (dûs-dînih) and ignorance have arisen from not understanding the mysteries of Kayân³ orthodoxy (hû-dînôîh) and of those revered by the upholders of the religion. From their deep seats it draws the purport of benedictions, *and* from dubious thinking of actions *it draws* words of true meaning, the disclosure of which is entertaining knowledge.

‘On account of evil times, even he of the undecayed family of the Kayâns and the Kayân upholders of the religion are mingled with the obedient and just of those heterodox; and by the upper *class* the words of the orthodox, uttered in assembled worship, are considered as filthy vice. He also whose wish was to learn propriety (varâg) through this treatise (farhâng), might provide *it* for himself, from various places, by trouble and day and night painstaking, *but* was not able.’

The text of Chap. I then commences (without any intermediate stop) with the words zak zand-âkâsîh, ‘that knowledge of tradition.’ As the whole text of the Bundahis occupies about 203 pages in TD, and each page contains

¹ Literally, ‘immortal-souled,’ a term implying generally that the person is dead; but it seems to have been applied to King Khûsrô I (Nôshirvân) during his lifetime. The time when this priest lived has yet to be discovered.

² Reading zektîbûn-i, equivalent to Pâz. nivîs-i; the MS. has zak tîbnâ.

³ The hero tribe or princely race of the Kayânian dynasty, from which later Persian rulers have fancied themselves descended.

seventeen lines rather longer than those in K20, it is evident that the text in TD must be more than twice the length of that in K20, which occupied originally about eighty-three pages of twenty lines each. This additional text consists not only of additional matter in many of the chapters, but also of extra chapters, which give the work a more complete appearance than it presents in the manuscripts hitherto known. The whole number of chapters in TD appear to be forty-two, the general character of the contents of which may be gathered from the following list of the headings of each chapter, with the space it occupies in TD, and a reference to the corresponding chapter of the translation in this volume (such chapters as seem to be entirely wanting in K20 being marked with an asterisk):—

1. The knowledge of tradition, first about Aûharmazd's original creation and the antagonism of the evil spirit, afterwards about the nature of the creatures of the world, from the original creation till the end ; 19 pages ; see Chap. I.

2. On the formation of light ; 11 pages ; see Chap. II.

3. The rush of the destroyer at the creatures ; 6 pages ; see Chaps. III, IV.

4. On the opposition of the two spirits, that is, in what manner the arch-fiends have come spiritually in opposition to the celestial angels ; 10 pages ; see Chap. V for two of the middle pages.

5. On the waging of the conflict (*ârdîk*) of the creations of the world, encountering the evil spirit ; 1 page ; see Chap. VI.

6. The second conflict the water waged ; 3 pages ; see Chap. VII.

7. The third conflict the earth waged ; 1 page ; see Chap. VIII.

8. The fourth conflict the plants waged ; $\frac{1}{2}$ page ; see Chap. IX.

9. The fifth conflict the primeval ox waged ; $\frac{1}{2}$ page ; see Chap. X.

*10. The sixth conflict *Gâyômar*d waged ; $1\frac{1}{2}$ page.

*11. The seventh conflict the fire waged ; $\frac{1}{2}$ page.

*12. The eighth conflict the constellations waged ; $\frac{1}{2}$ page.

*13. The ninth conflict the celestial angels waged with the evil spirit ; three lines.

*14. Tenth, the stars practised non-intermeddling (agû-mêgîsn) ; $\frac{1}{2}$ page.

*15. On the species of those creations ; $2\frac{1}{2}$ pages.

16. On the nature of lands ; $1\frac{1}{2}$ page ; see Chap. XI.

17. On the nature of mountains ; $4\frac{1}{2}$ pages ; see Chap. XII.

18. On the nature of seas ; $2\frac{1}{2}$ pages ; see Chap. XIII.

19. On the nature of rivers ; $5\frac{1}{2}$ pages ; see Chaps. XX, XXI.

20. On the nature of lakes ; $1\frac{1}{2}$ page ; see Chap. XXII.

21. On the nature of the five classes of animals ; $5\frac{1}{2}$ pages ; see Chap. XIV.

22. On the nature of men ; $7\frac{1}{2}$ pages ; see Chap. XV¹.

23. On the nature of generation of every kind ; 5 pages ; see Chap. XVI.

24. On the nature of plants ; $3\frac{1}{2}$ pages ; see Chap. XXVII.

25. On the chieftainship of men and animals *and* every single thing ; $2\frac{1}{2}$ pages ; see Chap. XXIV.

26. On the nature of fire ; $4\frac{1}{2}$ pages ; see Chap. XVII.

*27. On the nature of sleep ; $2\frac{1}{2}$ pages.

*28. On the nature of wind and cloud and rain ; $9\frac{1}{2}$ pages.

*29. On the nature of noxious creatures ; $4\frac{1}{2}$ pages².

*30. On the nature of the wolf species ; 2 pages.

31. On things of every kind that are created by the spirits³, and the opposition which came upon them ; $7\frac{3}{4}$ pages ; see Chaps. XVIII, XIX.

32. On the religious year ; 4 pages ; see Chaps. XXV, XXVI.

*33. On the great exploits of the celestial angels ; $17\frac{1}{2}$ pages.

34. On the evil-doing of Aharman and the demons ; 7 pages, as in Chap. XXVIII.

¹ TD contains half a page more near the beginning, and a page and a half more at the end.

² Probably Chap. XXIII of the translation forms a part either of this chapter or the next.

³ This word is doubtful.

*35. On the body of man *and* the opinion of the world¹; 7 pages.

36. On the *spiritual* chieftainship of the regions of the earth; 3½ pages, as in Chap. XXIX.

*37. On the *Kinvad* bridge *and* the souls of the departed; 5½ pages.

*38. On the celebrated provinces of the country of Iran, the residence of the Kayâns; 5 pages².

*39. On the calamities of various millenniums happening to the country of Iran; 8½ pages³.

40. On the resurrection and future existence; 6½ pages; see Chap. XXX.

41. On the race and offspring of the Kayâns; 8½ pages, as in Chaps. XXXI-XXXIII.

42. On the computation of years of the Arabs; 2¼ pages; see Chap. XXXIV.

Comparing this list of contents with the text in K20, as published in Westergaard's lithographed facsimile edition, it appears that TD contains, not only fifteen extra chapters, but also very much additional matter in the chapters corresponding to Chaps. I, II, V, XVI, XXVIII, and XXXI of the translation in this volume, and smaller additions to those corresponding to Chaps. III, IV, XV, XVII, and XXXIV. The arrangement of the chapters in TD is also much more methodical than in the Indian MSS., especially with regard to Chaps. XX, XXI, XXII, and XXVII, which evidently occupy their proper position in TD; and so far as Chap. XX is concerned, this arrangement is confirmed by the insertion of its first sentence between Chaps. XIII and XIV in the Indian MSS., which indicates that the whole chapter must have been in that position in some older copy. In fact, the Indian MSS. must probably be now regarded merely as collections of

¹ The meaning is doubtful and must depend upon the context.

² This chapter begins with a translation of the first fargard of the Vendidad, and concludes with an account of buildings erected by various kings.

³ Containing an account of the kings reigning in the various millenniums, and concluding with prophecies similar to those in the Bahman Yast.

extracts from the original work ; this has been long suspected from the fragmentary character of the text they contain, but it could hardly be proved until a more complete text had been discovered.

Whether TD may be considered as a copy of the text as it stood originally, or merely of an after recension of the work, can hardly be determined with certainty until the whole contents of the manuscript have been carefully examined ; it is, therefore, to be hoped that its owner will be induced to publish a lithographed facsimile of the whole, after the manner of Westergaard's edition. So far as appears in the lengthy and valuable extracts, with which he has kindly favoured me, no decided difference of style can be detected between the additional matter and the text hitherto known, nor any inconsistencies more striking than such as sometimes occur in the Indian MSS. On the other hand, it will be noticed that heading No. 25 in the list of contents seems to be misplaced, which is an argument against the text being in its original state ; and the style of the Bundahis is so much less involved and obscure than that of the Selections of *Zâd-spâram* (see Appendix to the Bundahis), which treat of some of the same subjects, that it may be fairly suspected of having been written originally in a different age. But the writer of the text, as it appears in TD, calls *Zâd-spâram*¹ one of his contemporaries (see Chap. XXXIII, 10, 11 of the translation) ; it may, therefore, be suspected that he merely re-edited an old text with some additions of his own, which, however, are rather difficult to distinguish from the rest. No stress can be laid upon peculiarities of orthography in TD, as they are, in all likelihood, attributable to copyists long subsequent to *Zâd-spâram*'s contemporaries.

Any future translator of the Bundahis will probably have to take the text in TD as the nearest 'accessible approach to the original work ; but the present translation is based, as heretofore, upon the text in K20, corrected in many places from M6, but with due care not to adopt

¹ He writes the name *Zâd-sparham*.

readings which seem due to the illegibility of the original from which M6 was copied, as already explained. In Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, XXXI, XXXII, and XXXIII, however, TD has been taken as a principal authority, merely checked by K20, and having its additional passages carefully indicated; and in Chap. XXXI, K20b has also been consulted.

Since the present translation was printed, any lingering doubts, as to the genuineness of the text in TD, have been, in a great measure, dissipated by the discovery that a small fragment¹ of an old MS. of the Bundahis, which has long been in Europe, is evidently a portion of a text of similar character to TD, and of exactly the same extent. This small fragment consists of two folios belonging to an old MS. brought from Persia by the late Professor Westergaard in 1843-44, and which is evidently the codex mentioned by him in the preface to his *Zend-Avesta*, p. 8, note 3. These two folios, which are numbered 130 and 131 in Persian words, now form the commencement of this old mutilated MS., of which the first 129 folios have been lost. They contain very little more than one page of the Bundahis text, namely, the last sentences of the last chapter (corresponding to Bund. XXXIV, 7-9), followed by a colophon occupying less than two pages. This fragment of the text contains some additional details not found in the Indian MSS., as well as a few other variations of no great importance. It may be translated as follows:—

‘[. . . Sâhm² was in those *reigns* of Aûzôbô, Kavâd, and Mânûskîhar.] Kaî-Kâyûs, till *his* going to the sky, seventy-five years, and after that, seventy-five years, altogether a hundred and fifty years; Kaî-Khûsrôbô sixty

¹ I am indebted to Professor G. Hoffmann, of Kiel, for directing my attention to this fragment, and also for kindly sending me a facsimile of it. It had been recognised as a portion of the Bundahis by Dr. Andreas some years ago, and probably by the owner of the MS., the late Professor Westergaard, long before that.

² See Bund. XXXI, 27. As the beginning of this sentence is lost, its translation is uncertain. Details not found in K20 and M6 are here enclosed in brackets, and words added by the translator to complete the sense are printed in italics.

years; Kai-Lôharâsp a hundred and twenty years; Kai-Vistâsp, till the coming of the religion, thirty years; [total (mar) one thousand years¹. Then the millennium reign came to Capricornus, and Zaratûhast² the Spitâmân, with tidings (pêt khambarîh) from the creator Aûharmazd, came to King Vistâsp; and Vistâsp was king,] after receiving the religion, ninety years.

‘Vohûman, son of Spend-dâd, a hundred and twelve years; Hûmâi, daughter of Vohûman, thirty years; Dârâi, son of Kîhar-âzâd, that is, of the daughter of Vohûman, twelve years; Dârâi, son of Dârâi, fourteen years; and Alexander the Rûman³ fourteen years.

‘The Askânians should bear the title in an uninterrupted sovereignty two hundred and so many⁴ years; and Artakhshatar, son of Pâpak, and the number of the Sâsânians bear it four hundred and sixty years, until the withering Arabs obtained a place⁵ [as far as the year 447 of the Persians; now it is the Persian year 527]⁶.

The colophon, which follows, states that the MS. was finished on the thirteenth day of the ninth month A.Y. 936 (A.D. 1567), and was written by Mitrô-âpân, son of Anôshak-rûbân, son of Rûstâm. This MS. is, therefore, of nearly the same age as TD; but there has been no opportunity of collating the fragment of it, which is still extant, with the corresponding portion of TD. That it was a MS. of the same character as TD (that is, one containing the same text as K20, but with much additional matter) appears clearly

¹ From the beginning of Frêdûn's reign, when the millennium of Sagittarius commenced.

² The usual way of spelling Zaratûst in old MSS., excepting K20 and a few others.

³ Here written correctly Alaksandar-i Arûmâi.

⁴ Reading va and; as the final letter is d and not ď it cannot be read nâvad as a variant of navad, ‘ninety.’

⁵ The words are, vad gînak ayâft khûskô-i Tâzîkânô, but the exact meaning is rather doubtful.

⁶ The last date is doubtful, as the Pahlavi text gives the ciphers only for ‘five and twenty-seven,’ omitting that for ‘hundred.’ These Persian dates must either have been added by some former copyist, or Chap. XXXIV must have been appended to the Bundahis at a later date than the ninth century, when the preceding genealogical chapters were probably added to the original work (see p. xliii). The Persian year 527 was A. D. 1158.

from the fragment translated above. Regarding its original extent, it is possible to make an approximate estimate, by calculating the quantity of text which the 129 lost folios must have contained, from the quantity actually existing on folio 130. According to this calculation, the original extent of the text of the Bundahis in this MS. must have been very nearly 30,000 words; and it is remarkable that a similar calculation of the extent of the text in TD, based upon the actual contents of ten folios out of 103, gives precisely the same result. This coincidence is a strong argument in favour of the absolute identity of the text lost from Westergaard's MS. with that actually existing in TD; it shows, further, that the original extent of the Bundahis may now be safely estimated at 30,000 words, instead of the 13,000 contained in K20 when that MS. was complete.

That this fragment belonged to a separate MS., and is not the folio missing from the end of TD, is shown not only by its containing more of the text than is said to be missing, but also by the first folio of the fragment being numbered 130, instead of 103, and by its containing fifteen lines to the page, instead of seventeen, as would be necessary in order to correspond with TD.

Regarding the age of the Bundahis many opinions have been hazarded, but as they have been chiefly based upon minute details of supposed internal evidence evolved from each writer's special misinterpretation of the text, it is unnecessary to detail them. The only indication of its age that can be fairly obtained from internal evidence, is that the text of the Bundahis could not have been completed, in its present form, until after the Muhammadan conquest of Persia (A. D. 651). This is shown not only by the statements that the sovereignty 'went to the Arabs' (Chap. XXXIV, 9), that 'now, *through* the invasion of the Arabs, they (the negroes) are again diffused through the country of Iran' (Chap. XXIII, 3), and that 'whoever keeps the year by the revolution of the moon mingles summer with winter *and* winter with summer' (Chap. XXV, 19, referring probably to the Muhammadan year not corresponding with the seasons), but also, more positively

by the following translation of an extract from Chap. 39 in TD :—

‘And when the sovereignty came to Yazdakard he exercised sovereignty twenty years, *and* then the Arabs rushed into the country of Iran in great multitude. Yazdakard did not prosper (*lâ sâkaftō*) in warfare with them, *and* went to Khûrâsân and Tûrkistân to seek horses, men, and assistance, and was slain by them there. The son of Yazdakard went to the Hindûs and fetched an army of champions; before it came, conducted unto Khûrâsân, that army of champions dispersed. The country of Iran remained with the Arabs, and their own irreligious law was propagated by them, and many ancestral customs were destroyed; the religion of the Mazdayasnians was weakened, *and* washing of corpses, burial of corpses, *and* eating of dead matter were put in practice. From the original creation until this day evil more grievous than this *has* not happened, for through their evil deeds—on account of want, foreign habits (*Anîrânîh*), hostile acts, bad decrees, and bad religion—ruin, want, and other evils have taken lodgment.’

None of these passages could have been written before the Muhammadan conquest; but the writer, or editor, of the text as it appears in TD, supplies the means of approximating much more closely to the date of his work, in a passage in Chap. 41 of TD, in which he mentions the names of several of his contemporaries (see Chap. XXXIII, 10, 11). Among these, as already noticed, he mentions ‘*Zâd-sparham son of Yûdân-Yim*,’ who must have been the writer of the Selections of *Zâd-sparam*, a translation of which is added as an appendix to the *Bundahis* in this volume. This writer was the brother of *Mânûskîhar* son of Yûdân-Yim, who wrote the *Dâdîstân-i Dînik*¹, and from colophons found in certain MSS. of the *Dâdîstân* (which will be more particularly described in the next section of this introduction) it appears that this *Mânûskîhar* was

¹ It is quite possible that *Mânûskîhar* was also the reviser of the *Bundahis*; see the note on *Dâdakîh-i Ashôvahistô* in Chap. XXXIII, 10.

high-priest of Pârs and Kîrmân in A. Y. 250 (A. D. 881). This date may, therefore, be taken as a very close approximation to the time at which the Bundahis probably assumed the form we find in TD; but that MS., having been written about 650 years later, can hardly have been copied direct from the original. Whether that original was merely a new edition of an older Pahlavi work, as may be suspected from the simplicity of its language, or whether it was first translated, for the most part, from the Avesta of the Dâmdâd Nask, in the ninth century, we have no means of determining with certainty. Judging, however, from Chap. I, 1, the original Bundahis probably ended with the account of the resurrection (Chap. XXX), and the extra chapters, containing genealogical and chronological details (matters not mentioned in Chap. I, 1), together with all allusions to the Arabs, were probably added by the revising editor in the ninth century. The last, or chronological, chapter may even have been added at a later date.

A Gugarâti translation, or rather paraphrase, of the Bundahis was published in 1819 by Edal Dârâb Jamshêd Jâmâsp Âsâ, and a revised edition of it was published by Peshutan Rustam in 1877¹. In the preface to the latter edition it is stated that the translator made use of two MSS., one being a copy of a manuscript written in Iran in A. Y. 776 by Rustamji Meherwanji Margabân Sheheriâr², and the other a MS. written in India by Dastûr Jamshêdji Jâmâspji in A. Y. 1139³. It is also mentioned that he was four years at work upon his translation. The editor of the new edition states that he has laboured to

¹ Bundeheš ketâb, iâne duniâ-ni awal-thi te âkher sudhi pedâes-ni sahrûât-ni hakikat; bigi-vâr sudhârîne kâpâwanâr, Peshutan bin Rustam; Mumbai, 1877.

² There is no doubt whatever that the writer of the preface is referring to M6, although his description is incorrect. M6 was written at Bhrôk in India A. Y. 766 by Pêshôtan Râm Kâmdîn Shaharyâr Nêryôsang Shâhmard Shaharyâr Bâhrâm Âûrmazdyâr Râmyâr; but some portion of it (probably not the Bundahis) was copied from a MS. written A. Y. 618 (A. D. 1249) by Rûstam Mihir-âpân Marzapân Dahisn-ayâr, who must be the copyist mentioned in the preface to the Gugarâti translation.

³ This is probably the copy derived from M6, and mentioned in p. xxx as being now in the library of Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji.

improve the work by collecting all the further information he could find, on the various subjects, in many other Pahlavi works. The result of all this labour is not so much a mere translation of the Bundahis, as a larger work upon the same subject, or a paraphrase more methodically arranged, as may be seen from the following summary of its contents:—

The headings of the fifty-nine chapters, which form the first part of the work, are:—Ahuramazd's covenant, account of the sky, of the first twelve things created, of Mount Alborg, of the twelve signs of the zodiac, of the stars, of the soul, of the first practices adopted by the creatures of the evil spirit Ahereman, of Ahereman's first breaking into the sky, of Ahereman's coming upon the primeval ox, of Ahereman's arrival in the fire, of Ahereman's coming upon Gaiomard, of the coming of Ahuramazd and Ahereman upon Gaiomard at the time of his creation, of the lustre residing in both spirits; further account of the arrangement of the sky, another account of all the mountains, of depressions for water, of great and small rivers, of the eighteen rivers of fresh water, of the seven external and seven internal liquids in the bodies of men, of the period in which water falling on the earth arrives at its destination, of the three spiritual rivers, of the star Tehestar's destroying the noxious creatures which Ahereman had distributed over the earth, of the prophet Zarathost's asking the creator Ahuramazd how long these noxious creatures will remain in the latter millenniums, of driving the poison of the noxious creatures out of the earth, of the divisions of the land, of the creator Ahuramazd's placing valiant stars as club-bearers over the heads of the demons, of all the things produced by the passing away of the primeval ox, of the 282 species of beasts and birds, of the bird named Kamros, of the bird named Karsapad and the hollow of Vargamkard, of the birds who are enemies opposed to the demons and fiends, of the bitter and sweet plants among the fifty-five kinds of grain and twelve kinds of herbs, of the flowers of the thirty days, of the revolution of the sun and moon and stars, and how

night falls, and how the day becomes light, of the seven regions of the earth, of depressions, of the creatures of the sea, of the flow and ebb of the tide, of the three-legged ass, of the Gâhambârs, of Rapithvan, of the revolution of the seasons, of the production of mankind from the passing away of Gaiomard, of the production of offspring from the seed of men, of all fires, of all the clever work produced in the reign of King Jamshed and the production of the ape and bear, of the production of the Abyssinian and negro from Zohâk, of the splendour and glory of King Jamshed, of the soul of Kersâsp, of Kersâsp's soul being the first to rise, of the names of the prophet Zarathost's pedigree, of his going out into the world, of his children, of the orders given by Ahereman to the demons when the creator Ahuramazd created the creatures, of the weeping and raging of the evil spirit Ahereman, of the weeping of the demon of Wrath in the presence of Ahereman when the prophet Zarathost brought the religion, of the computation of twelve thousand years.

The headings of the thirteen chapters, which form the second part, are:—Account of the last millenniums, of the appearance of Hosedar-bâmi, of his going out into the world, of the appearance of Hosedar-mâh, of Sosios, of the fifty-seven years, of giving the light of the sun to men on the day of the resurrection, of the rising again of the whole of mankind on that day, of the resurrection, of the means of resurrection, of the annihilation of the evil spirit Ahereman and the demons and fiends on the day of resurrection, of the creator Ahuramazd's making the earth and sky one after the resurrection, of the proceedings of all creatures after the resurrection.

The third part contains an abstract of the contents of the hundred chapters of the Sad-dar Bundahis, and concludes with an account of the ceremonial formula practised when tying the kusti or sacred thread-girdle.

4. THE SELECTIONS OF ZÂD-SPARAM.

In some manuscripts of the *Dâdistân-i Dînîk* the ninety-two questions and answers, which usually go by that name, are preceded and followed by Pahlavi texts which are each nearly equal in extent to the questions and answers, and treat of a variety of subjects, somewhat in the manner of a *Rivâyat*. Of the texts which follow the questions and answers the following are the principal :—

Incantations for fever, &c.; indications afforded by natural marks on the body; about the *hamîstakân* ('the ever-stationary,' or neutral state of future existence) and the different grades in heaven; copy of an epistle¹ from Herbad *Mânûskîhar* son of *Yûdân-Yim*², which he addressed to the good people of *Sîrkân*³, about the decisions pronounced by Herbad *Zâd-spam* son of *Yûdân-Yim*; copy of a letter from Herbad *Mânûskîhar* son of *Yûdân-Yim* to his brother, Herbad *Zâd-spam*, on the same subject, and replying to a letter of his written from *Nivshâpûhar*; copy of a notice by Herbad *Mânûskîhar*, son of *Yûdân-Yim* and high-priest (*rad*) of *Pârs* and *Kîrmân*, of the necessity of fifteenfold ablution on account of grievous sin, written and sealed in the third month A.Y. 250 (A.D. 881); memoranda and writings called 'Selections of *Zâd-spam* son of *Yûdân-Yim*,' the first part treating of many of the same subjects as the *Bundahis*, together

¹ This long epistle contains one statement which is important in its bearing upon the age of certain Pahlavi writings. It states that *Nishahpûhar* was in the council of *Anôshak-rûbân Khûsrô*, king of kings and son of *Kavâd*, also that he was *Mobad* of *Mobads* and a commentator. Now this is the name of a commentator quoted in the Pahlavi *Vend.* III, 151, V, 112, VIII, 64, and very frequently in the *Nîrangistân*; it is also a title applied to *Ardâ-Vîrâf* (see *AV.* J. 35). These facts seem to limit the age of the last revision of the Pahlavi *Vendidad*, and of the composition of the Pahlavi *Nîrangistân* and *Ardâ-Vîrâf-nâmak* to the time of King *Khûsrô Nôshirvân* (A.D. 531-579). The statement depends, of course, upon the accuracy of a tradition three centuries old, as this epistle must have been written about A.D. 880.

² Some Parsis read this name *Gôshnajam*, others *Yûdân-dam*.

³ Mr. Tehmuras Dinshawji thinks this is the place now called *Sîrgan*, about thirty parasangs south of *Kîrmân*, on the road to *Bandar Abbâs*, which is no doubt the case.

with legends regarding Zaratûst and his family ; the second part about the formation of men out of body, life, and soul ; and the third part about the details of the renovation of the universe. The last part of these Selections is incomplete in all known MSS., and is followed by some fragments of a further series of questions and answers regarding the omniscient wisdom, the evil spirit, Kangdez, the enclosure formed by Yim, &c.

A translation of so much of the Selections of *Zâd-spâram* as treats of the same subjects as the *Bundahis*, has been added as an appendix to the translation of that work in this volume, because the language used in these Selections seems to have an important bearing upon the question of the age of the *Bundahis*. The time when the Selections themselves were written is fixed with considerable precision by the date (A. D. 881), when their author's brother, *Mânûskîhar*, issued his public notice, as mentioned above. But *Zâd-spâram* uses, in many places, precisely the same words as those employed in the *Bundahis*, interspersed with much matter written in a more declamatory style ; it is, therefore, evident that he had the *Bundahis* before him to quote from, and that work must consequently have been written either by one of his contemporaries, or by an older writer. So far the Selections merely confirm the information already obtained more directly from TD (see p. xxxviii) ; but the involved style of their language seems to prove more than this. In fact, in none of the text of the *Dâdîstân-i Dinik* and its accompaniments is there much of the simplicity of style and directness of purpose which are the chief characteristics of most of the language of the *Bundahis*. So far, therefore, as style can be considered a mark of age, rather than a mere personal peculiarity of a contemporary writer, the contrast between the straightforward language of the *Bundahis* and the laboured sentences of *Mânûskîhar* and *Zâd-spâram*, sons of *Yûdân-Yim*, tends to prove that the bulk of the *Bundahis* was already an old work in their days, and was probably saved from oblivion through their writings or influence. That this original *Bundahis* or *Zand-âkâs* was an abridged translation of the *Avesta* of the

Dâmdâd Nask appears pretty evident from *Zâd-spâram's* remarks in Chap. IX, 1, 16 of his Selections.

The first part of these Selections consists of 'sayings' about the meeting of the beneficent and evil spirits, and the first portion of these 'sayings' (divided into eleven chapters in the translation) is chiefly a paraphrase of Chaps. I–XVII of the *Bundahis* (omitting Chaps. II, V, and XVI). It describes the original state of the two spirits, their meeting and covenant, with a paraphrase of the *Ahûnavar* formula; the production of the first creatures, including time; the incursion of the evil spirit and his temporary success in deranging the creation, with the reason why he was unable to destroy the primitive man for thirty years; followed by the seven contests he carried on with the sky, water, earth, plants, animals, man, and fire, respectively, detailing how each of these creations was modified in consequence of the incursion of the evil spirit. In the account of the first of these contests the Pahlavi translation of one stanza in the *Gâthas* is quoted verbatim, showing that the same Pahlavi version of the *Yasna* was used in the ninth century as now exists. The remainder of these 'sayings,' having no particular connection with the *Bundahis*, has not been translated.

With regard to the Pahlavi text of the Selections, the present translator has been compelled to rely upon a single manuscript of the *Dâdistân-i Dînik*, brought by Westergaard from Kirmân¹ in 1843, and now No. 35 of the collection of *Avesta* and Pahlavi MSS. in the University Library at Copenhagen; it may, therefore, be called K35. This MS. is incomplete, having lost nearly one-third of its original bulk, but still contains 181 folios of large octavo size, written fifteen to seventeen lines to the page; the first seventy-one folios of the work have been lost, and about thirty-five folios are also missing from the end; but the whole of the ninety-two questions and answers, together with one-third of the

¹ That is, so far as the late Professor Westergaard could remember in 1878, when he kindly lent me the MS. for collation with my copy of the text, already obtained from more recent MSS. in Bombay, the best of which turned out to be a copy of K35.

texts which usually precede them, and three-fifths of those which usually follow them, are still remaining. This MS. has lost its date, but a copy¹ of it exists in Bombay (written when it was complete) which ends with a colophon dated A. Y. 941 (A. D. 1572), as detailed in p. xxxiii; this may either be the actual date of that copy, or it may have been merely copied from K35, which cannot be much older. The latter supposition appears the more probable, as this colophon seems to be left incomplete by the loss of the last folio in the Bombay copy, and may, therefore, have been followed by another colophon giving a later date.

This copy of K35 was, no doubt, originally complete, but has lost many of its folios in the course of time; most of the missing text has been restored from another MS., but there are still twelve or more folios missing from the latter part of the work; it contains, however, all that portion of the Selections which is translated in this volume, but has, of course, no authority independent of K35. The other MS. in Bombay, from which some of the missing text was recovered, is in the library of Dastūr Jāmāspji Minochiharji; it is a modern copy, written at different periods from forty to sixty years ago, and is incomplete, as it contains only one-fourth of the texts which usually follow the ninety-two questions and answers, and includes no portion of the Selections of *Zād-spāram*.

Another MS. of the *Dādistān-i Dīnik* and its accompaniments, written also at Kirmān, but two generations earlier than K35 (say, about A. D. 1530), has been already mentioned (see p. xxxiii). It is said still to contain 227 folios, though its first seventy folios are missing; it must, therefore, begin very near the same place as K35, but extends much further, as it supplies about half the text still missing from the

¹ The fact of its being a copy of K35 is proved by strong circumstantial evidence. In the first place, it contains several false readings which are clearly due to mis-shapen letters and accidental marks in K35, so that it is evidently descended from that MS. But it is further proved to have been copied direct from that MS., by the last words in thirty-two of its pages having been marked with interlined circles in K35; the circle having been the copyist's mark for finding his place, when beginning a new page after turning over his folios.

Bombay copy of K35, though it has lost about fourteen folios at the end. This MS. must be either the original from which K35 was copied, or an independent authority of equal value, but it has not been available for settling the text of the Selections for the present translation.

5. THE BAHMAN YAST.

The Bahman Yast, usually called the 'Zand of the Vohûman Yast,' professes to be a prophetical work, in which Aûharmazd gives Zaratûst an account of what was to happen to the Iranian nation and religion in the future.

It begins with an introduction (Chap. I) which states that, according to the Stûdgar Nask, Zaratûst having asked Aûharmazd for immortality, was supplied temporarily with omniscient wisdom, and had a vision of a tree with four branches of different metals which were explained to him as symbolical of four different periods, the times of Vistâsp, of Arđakhshîr the Kayânian, of Khûsrô Nôshirvân, and of certain demons or idolators who were to appear at the end of a thousand years. It states, further, that the commentaries of the Vohûman, Horvadađ, and Âstâd Yasts mentioned the heretic Mazdak, and that Khûsrô Nôshirvân summoned a council of high-priests and commentators, and ordered them not to conceal these Yasts, but to teach the commentary only among their own relations.

The text then proceeds (Chap. II) to give the details of the commentary on the Vohûman Yast as follows:—Zaratûst, having again asked Aûharmazd for immortality, is refused, but is again supplied with omniscient wisdom for a week, during which time he sees, among other things, a tree with seven branches of different metals, which are again explained to him as denoting the seven ages of the religion, its six ages of triumph in the reigns of Vistâsp, of Arđakhshîr the Kayânian, of one of the Askânian kings, of Arđakhshîr Pâpakân and Shahpûr I and II, of Vâhrâm Gôr, and of Khûsrô Nôshirvân, and its seventh age of adversity when

Iran is to be invaded from the east by hordes of demons or idolators with dishevelled hair, who are to work much mischief, so as to destroy the greater part of the nation and mislead the rest, until the religion becomes nearly extinct. The details of this mischief, written in a tone of lamentation, constitute the greater part of the text, which also notices that the sovereignty will pass from the Arabs, Rûmans, and these leathern-belted demons (Tûrks) to other Tûrks and non-Tûranians who are worse than themselves.

Distressed at this narrative Zarâtûst asks Aûharmazd (Chap. III, 1) how the religion is to be restored, and these demons destroyed? He is informed that, in the course of time, other fiends with red banners, red weapons, and red hats, who seem to be Christians, will appear in the north-west, and will advance either to the Arvand (Tigris) or the Euphrates, driving back the former demons who will assemble all their allies to a great conflict, one of the three great battles of the religions of the world, in which the wicked will be so utterly destroyed that none will be left to pass into the next millennium.

Zarâtûst enquires (III, 12) how so many can perish, and is informed that, after the demons with dishevelled hair appear, Hûshêdar, the first of the last three apostles, is born near Lake Frazdân; and when he begins to confer with Aûharmazd a Kayân prince is born in the direction of K'înistân (Samarkand), who is called Vâhrâm the Vargâvand, and when he is thirty years old he collects a large army of Hindu (Bactrian) and K'îni (Samarkandian) troops, and advances into Iran, where he is reinforced by a numerous army of Iranian warriors, and defeats the demon races with immense slaughter, in the great conflict already mentioned, so that there will be only one man left to a thousand women.

The writer then proceeds to describe the supernatural agencies employed to produce this result: how the evil spirit (III, 24) comes to the assistance of the demon-worshippers; how Aûharmazd sends his angels to Kangdez, to summon Pêshyôtanû, the immortal son of Vistâsp, with his disciples, to re-establish the sacred fires and restore the

religious ceremonies ; and how the angels assist them against the evil spirits, so that Vâhrâm the Vargâvand is enabled to destroy the fiendish races, as already detailed, and Pêshyôtanû becomes supreme high-priest of the Iranian world.

Finally, the writer gives some details regarding the missions of the last three apostles, returning for that purpose (III, 44) to the birth of Hûshêdar, the first of the three, whose millennium witnesses both the invasion and the destruction of the fiendish races. Hûshêdar proves his apostolic authority, to the satisfaction of Vargâvand and the people, by making the sun stand still for ten days and nights. His mission is to 'bring the creatures back to their proper state;' and it is not till near the end of his millennium that Pêshyôtanû appears, as before described. As this millennium begins with the invasion of the fiendish races and the fall of the Sasanian dynasty, it must have terminated in the seventeenth century, unless it was to last more than a thousand years. A very brief account is then given of the millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh, the second of the three apostles, whose mission is to make 'the creatures more progressive' and to destroy 'the fiend of serpent origin' (Az-i Dahâk). During his millennium (which appears to be now in progress) mankind become so skilled in medicine that they do not readily die ; but owing to their toleration of heretics the evil spirit once more attains power, and releases Az-i Dahâk, from his confinement in Mount Dimâvand, to work evil in the world, till Aûharmazd sends his angels to rouse Keresâsp the Sâ mân, who rises from his trance and kills Az-i Dahâk with his club at the end of the millennium. Afterwards, Sôshyans, the last apostle, appears to 'make the creatures again pure;' when the resurrection takes place and the future existence commences.

Whether this text, as now extant, be the original commentary or zand of the Vohûman Yast admits of doubt, since it appears to quote that commentary (Chap. II, 1) as an authority for its statements ; it is, therefore, most probably, only an epitome of the original commentary. Such an epitome would naturally quote many passages verbatim

from the original work, which ought to bear traces of translation from an Avesta text, as its title *zand* implies a Pahlavi translation from the Avesta (see p. x). There are, in fact, many such traces in this epitome, as indicated by the numerous sentences beginning with a verb, the mode of addressing *Aûharmazd*, the quotation of different opinions from various commentators, and other minor peculiarities. Some of these might be the result of careful imitation of other commentaries, but it seems more likely that they are occasioned by literal translation from an original Avesta text. In speculating, therefore, upon the contents of the *Bahman Yast* it is necessary to remember that we are most probably dealing with a composite work, whose statements may be referred to the three different ages of the Avesta original, the Pahlavi translation and commentary, and the Pahlavi epitome of the latter; and that this last form of the text is the only old version now extant.

With regard to the age of the work we have the external evidence that a copy of it exists in a manuscript (K20) written about five hundred years ago, and that this copy is evidently descended from older manuscripts as it contains several clerical blunders incompatible with any idea of its being the original manuscript, as witness the omissions noted in Chaps. II, 10, 13, 14, 22, 27, 45, III, 30, 32, the misplacement of II, 18, and many miswritings of single words. Owing to the threefold character of the work, already noticed, the internal evidence of its age can only apply to its last recension in the form of an epitome, as an oriental editor (to say nothing of others) generally considers himself at liberty to alter and add to his text, if he does not understand it, or thinks he can improve it. That this liberty has been freely exercised, with regard to these professed prophecies, is shown by the identification of the four prophetic ages of the *Stûdgar Nask* in the first chapter of the *Bahman Yast* being different from that given in the *Dinkard*. The *Dinkard* quotes the *Stûdgar Nask* (that is, its Pahlavi version) as identifying the iron age with some period of religious indifference subsequent to the time of *Âtarô-pâd* son of *Mâraspend*, the supreme high-priest and

prime minister of Shahpûr II (A.D. 309-379); but the Bahman Yast (Chap. I, 5) quotes the Nask as identifying the same age with the reign of an idolatrous race subsequent to the time of Khûsrô Nôshirvân (A.D. 531-579). This example is sufficient to show that the compiler of the extant epitome of the Bahman Yast commentary largely availed himself of his editorial license, and it indicates the difficulty of distinguishing his statements from those of the former editors. At the same time it proves that the epitome could not have been compiled till after Iran had been overrun by a foreign race subsequent to the reign of Khûsrô Nôshirvân. It is remarkable that the compiler does not mention any later Sasanian king, that he does not allude to Muhammadanism, and speaks of the foreign invaders as Turanians and Christians, only mentioning Arabs incidentally in later times; at the same time the foreign invasion (which lasts a thousand years) is of too permanent a character to allow of its having reference merely to the troublous times of Nôshirvân's successor.

Perhaps the most reasonable hypotheses that can be founded upon these facts are, first, that the original zand or commentary of the Bahman Yast was written and translated from the Avesta in the latter part of the reign of Khûsrô Nôshirvân, or very shortly afterwards, which would account for no later king being mentioned by name; and, secondly, that the epitome now extant was compiled by some writer who lived so long after the Arab invasion that the details of their inroad had become obscured by the more recent successes of Turanian rulers, such as the Ghaznavîs and Salgûqs of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It is hardly possible that the epitomist could have lived as late as the time of Gingîz Khân, the great Mongol conqueror (A.D. 1206-1227), as that would bring him within 150 years of the date of the extant manuscript of his work, which has no appearance of being an immediate copy of the original; but the rule of the Salgûqs would certainly have afforded him sufficient materials for his long description of the iron age. The Avesta of the Bahman Yast was probably compiled from older sources (like the rest of the Avesta) during

the reigns of the earlier Sasanian monarchs; but it was, no doubt, very different in its details from the epitome of its commentary which still exists.

These hypotheses, regarding the threefold origin of the present form of this Yast, derive some confirmation from the inconsistencies in its chronological details; especially those relating to the periods of the invaders' reign and of Hūshêdar's birth. The Zoroastrians have for ages been expecting the appearance of Hūshêdar, the first of their last three apostles, but have always had to postpone their expectations from time to time, like the Jews and other interpreters of prophecy; so that they are still looking forward into the future for his advent, although his millennium has long since expired according to the chronology adopted in the Bahman Yast. This chronology, of course, represents the expectations of Zoroastrians in past times, and seems to express three different opinions. First, we have the statement that the last great battle of the demon-races is to take place at the end of Zaratûst's millennium (see Chap. III, 9), when the wicked will be so destroyed (compare III, 22, 23) that none will pass into the next millennium (III, 11), which is that of Hūshêdar (III, 43). And that the reign of evil is to precede the end of Zaratûst's millennium is evidently assumed also in Chap. II, 41, 63. Such opinions may reasonably be traced to the original Avesta writer, who must have expected only a short reign of evil to arise and fall near the latter end of Zaratûst's millennium, which was still far in the future, and to be followed by the appearance of Hūshêdar to restore the 'good' religion. Secondly, we are told (I, 5, II, 22, 24, 31) that the invasion of the demon-races, with its attendant evils, is to take place when Zaratûst's millennium is ended; on their appearance Hūshêdar is born (III, 13), and when he is thirty years old (compare III, 14 with III, 44) Vâhrâm the Vargâvand is also born, who at the age of thirty (III, 17) advances into Iran with an innumerable army to destroy the invaders. Such statements may be attributed to the original Pahlavi translator and commentator who, writing about A.D. 570-590, would have before his eyes the disastrous

reign of Aûharmazd IV, the son and successor of Khûsrô Nôshirvân, together with the prowess of the famous Persian general Bahrâm Kôpîn, which drove out all invaders. This writer evidently expected the reign of the demon-races to last less than a century, but still at some period in the near future; merely illustrating his theme by details of the disasters and wars of his own time. Thirdly, we find it stated (III, 44) that Hûshêdar will be born in 1600, which seems to mean the sixteen hundredth year of Zaratûst's millennium, or six hundredth of his own (say A.D. 1193-1235), also that the reign of the demon-races is to last a thousand years (III, 34), and that Pêshyôtanû does not come to restore the religion till near the end of the millennium (III, 51); it also appears (III, 49) that Vargâvand occupies a prominent position when Hûshêdar comes from his conference with Aûharmazd at thirty years of age (III, 44, 45). Such details were probably inserted by the compiler of the epitome, who had to admit the facts that the reign of the demon-races had already lasted for centuries, and that Hûshêdar had not yet appeared. To get over these difficulties he probably adopted the opinions current in his day, and postponed the advent of Hûshêdar till the beginning of the next century in his millennium, and put off the destruction of the wicked, as a more hopeless matter, till near the end of the millennium. Both these periods are now long since past, and the present Zoroastrians have still to postpone the fulfilment of the prophecies connected with their last three apostles, or else to understand them in a less literal fashion than heretofore.

For the Pahlavi text of the Bahman Yast the translator has to rely upon the single old manuscript K20, already described (p. xxvii), in which it occupies the 13½ folios immediately following the Bundahis; these folios are much worn, and a few words have been torn off some of them, but nearly all of these missing words can be restored by aid of the Pâzand version. The Pahlavi text is also found in the modern copies of K20 at Paris and Kopenhagen, but these copies (P7 and K21) have no authority independent of K20. In India this text has long been exceedingly rare,

and whether any copy of it exists, independent of K20, is doubtful.

The Pâzand version is more common in Parsi libraries, but contains a very imperfect text. Of this version two modern copies have been consulted; one of these occupies fols. 38-62 of a small manuscript, No. 22 of the Haug collection in the State Library at Munich; the other is a copy of a manuscript in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis in Bombay. Both these MSS. are evidently descended from the same original, which must have been a very imperfect transliteration of a Pahlavi text closely resembling that of K20, but yet independent of that MS., as a few words omitted in K20 are supplied by these Pâzand MSS. (see B.Yt. II, 13, 14, 22, &c.) To a certain extent, therefore, these Pâzand MSS. are of some assistance in settling the text of a few sentences, but the greater part of their contents is so imperfect as to be utterly unintelligible; they not only omit Chaps. I, 1-8, II, 17, 30-32, 40, III, 9, 12, 17-44, 58-63 entirely, but also words and phrases from nearly every other section of the text. Adhering scrupulously to the Pahlavi original for a few consecutive words, and then widely departing from it by misreading or omitting all difficult words and passages, this Pâzand version is a complete contrast to the Pâzand writings of Nêryôsang, being of little use to the reader beyond showing the extremely low ebb to which Pahlavi learning must have fallen, among the Parsis, before such unintelligible writings could have been accepted as Pâzand texts.

There is also a Persian version of the Bahman Yast, a copy of which, written A.D. 1676, is contained in a large Rivâyat MS. No. 29, belonging to the University Library at Bombay. According to the colophon of this Persian version it was composed in A.D. 1496 by Rustam Isfendiyâr of Yazd, from an Avesta (Pâzand) MS. belonging to his brother Jamshêd. This Persian version contains less than three per cent of Arabic words, and is more of a paraphrase than a translation, but it adheres very closely to the meaning of the Pahlavi text from Chaps. I, 1 to III, 9, where a dislocation occurs, evidently owing either to the displacement

of two folios in an older MS., or to the second page of a folio being copied before the first, so that §§ 10-14 follow §§ 15-22. From the middle of § 22 the folios of the older MS. seem to have been lost as far as the end of Hûshêdar's millennium (§ 51), to which point the Persian version leaps, but the remainder of this paraphrase is much more diffuse than the Bahman Yast, and is evidently derived from some other Pahlavi work.

This conclusion of the Persian version describes how adversity departs from the world, and ten people are satisfied with the milk of one cow, when Hûshêdar-mâh appears and his millennium commences. On his coming from his conference with Aûharmazd the sun stands still for twenty days and nights, in consequence of which two-thirds of the people in the world believe in the religion. Meat is no longer eaten, but only milk and butter, and a hundred people are satisfied with the milk of one cow. Hûshêdar-mâh destroys the terrible serpent, which accompanies apostasy, by means of the divine glory and Avesta formulas; he clears all noxious creatures out of the world, and wild animals live harmlessly among mankind; the fiends of apostasy and deceit depart from the world, which becomes populous and delightful, and mankind abstain from falsehood. After the five-hundredth year of Hûshêdar-mâh has passed away, Sôshyans (Sâsân) appears, and destroys the fiend who torments fire. The sun stands still for thirty days and nights, when all mankind believe in the religion, and the year becomes exactly 360 days. Dahâk escapes from his confinement, and reigns for a day and a half in the world with much tyranny; when Sôshyans rouses Sâm Narimân, who accepts the religion and becomes immortal. Sâm calls upon Dahâk to accept the religion, but the latter proposes that they should together seize upon heaven for themselves, whereupon Sâm kills him. All evil having departed from the world mankind become like the archangels, and the resurrection takes place, which is described with many of the same details as are mentioned in Bund. XXX.

Accompanying this Persian version in B29 is another

fragment from the same source, which treats of the same subjects as the third chapter of the Bahman Yast, but is differently arranged. It confines itself to the millennium of Hûshêdar, and may possibly be some modification of the contents of the folios missing from the version described above. After some introductory matter this fragment contains a paraphrase (less accurate than the preceding) of Chap. III, 23-49 of the Bahman Yast; it then proceeds to state that Hûshêdar destroys the wolf race, so that wolves, thieves, highway robbers, and criminals cease to exist. When Hûshêdar's three-hundredth year has passed away the winter of Malkôs arrives and destroys all animals and vegetation, and only one man survives out of ten thousand; after which the world is repopled from the enclosure made by Yim. Then comes the gathering of the nations to the great battle on the Euphrates, where the slaughter is so great that the water of the river becomes red, and the survivors wade in blood up to their horses' girths. Afterwards, the Kayân king, Vargâvand, advances from the frontiers of India and takes possession of Iran to the great delight of the inhabitants, but only after a great battle; and then Pêshyôtanû is summoned from Kangdez to restore the religious ceremonies.

A German translation of some passages in the Bahman Yast, with a brief summary of the greater part of the remainder, was published in 1860 in Spiegel's *Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen*, pp. 128-135.

6. THE SHÂYAST LÂ-SHÂYAST.

Another treatise which must be referred to about the same age as the Bundahis, though of a very different character, is the Shâyast lâ-shâyast or 'the proper and improper.' It is a compilation of miscellaneous laws and customs regarding sin and impurity, with other memoranda about ceremonies and religious subjects in general. Its name has, no doubt, been given to it in modern times¹, and has pro-

¹ But perhaps before the compilation of the prose Sad-dar Bundahis, or Bundahis of a hundred chapters, which seems to refer to the Shâyast lâ-shâyast

bably arisen from the frequent use it makes of the words *shâyad*, 'it is fit or proper,' and *lâ shâyad*, 'it is not fit or proper.' And, owing to its resemblance to those Persian miscellanies of traditional memoranda called *Rivâyats*, it has also been named the *Pahlavi Rivâyat*, though chiefly by Europeans.

It consists of two parts, which are often put together in modern MSS., and bear the same name, but are widely separated in the oldest MSS. These two parts, consisting respectively of Chaps. I-X and XI-XIV in the present translation, are evidently two distinct treatises on the same and similar subjects, but of nearly the same age. That they were compiled by two different persons, who had access to nearly the same authorities, appears evident from Chaps. XI, 1, 2, XII, 11, 13-16, 18, 20 being repetitions of Chaps. I, 1, 2, X, 4, 20-23, 7, 31, with only slight alterations; such repetitions as would hardly be made in a single treatise by the same writer. Minor repetitions in the first part, such as those of some phrases in Chaps. II, 65, IV, 14, repeated in Chap. X, 24, 33, might readily be made by the same writer in different parts of the same treatise. To these two parts of the *Shâyast lâ-shâyast* a third part has been added in the present translation, as an appendix, consisting of a number of miscellaneous passages of a somewhat similar character, which are found in the same old MSS. that contain the first two parts, but which cannot be attributed either to the same writers or the same age as those parts.

The first part commences with the names and amounts of the various degrees of sin, and the names of the chief commentators on the *Vendidad*. It then gives long details regarding the precautions to be taken with reference to corpses and menstruous women, and the impurity they occasion; besides mentioning (Chap. II, 33-35) the pollution

in its opening words, as follows:—'This book is on "the proper and improper" which is brought out from the good, pure religion of the Mazda-yasnians;' though this term may possibly relate to its own contents. There is also a Persian treatise called *Shâyast na-shâyast*, which gives a good deal of information obtained from the Persian *Rivâyats*, and copies of which are contained in the MSS. Nos. 56 and 116 of the Ouseley collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

caused by a serpent. It next describes the proper size and materials of the sacred thread-girdle and shirt, giving some details about the sins of running about uncovered and walking with one boot, and thence proceeding to the sin of unseasonable chatter. Details are then given about good works, and those who can and cannot perform them ; in which reference is made to Christians, Jews, and those of other persuasions (Chap. VI, 7). The next subjects treated of are reverencing the sun and fire, the sin of extinguishing fire, confession and renunciation of sin, atonement for sins, especially mortal sins, both those affecting others and those only affecting one's own soul ; with a digression (Chap. VIII, 3) prohibiting the rich from hunting. The remainder of this first treatise is of a miscellaneous character, referring to the following subjects :—The Hâsar of time, priests passing away in idolatry, the discussion of religion, ceremonies not done aright, throwing a corpse into the sea, evil of eating in the dark, the four kinds of worship, when the angels should be invoked in worship, the ephemeral nature of life, proper looseness for a girdle, when the sacred cake set aside for the guardian spirits can be used, maintaining a fire where a woman is pregnant, providing a tank for ablution, the Gâthas not to be recited over the dead, food and drink not to be thrown away to the north at night, unlawful slaughter of animals, how the corpse of a pregnant woman should be carried, forgiveness of trespasses, evil of walking without boots, when the sacred girdle is to be assumed, breaking the spell of an inward prayer, ten women wanted at childbirth, and how the infant is to be treated, sin of beating an innocent person, evil of a false judge, men and women who do not marry, a toothpick must be free from bark, acknowledging the children of a handmaid, advantage of offspring and of excess in almsgiving, prayer on lying down and getting up, Avesta not to be mumbled, doubtful actions to be avoided or consulted about, evil of laughing during prayer, crowing of a hen, treatment of a hedgehog, after a violent death corruption does not set in immediately, necessity of a dog's gaze, putrid meat and hairy cakes or butter unfit for ceremonies, when a woman can do priestly duty, &c.

The second part also commences with the names and amounts of the various degrees of sin, followed by the proper meat-offerings for various angels and guardian spirits. Next come miscellaneous observations on the following subjects:—The simplest form of worship, necessity of submitting to a high-priest, advantage of a fire in the house, sin of clothing the dead, presentation of holy-water to the nearest fire after a death, nail-parings to be prayed over, advantage of light at childbirth, offerings to the angels, maintaining a fire where a woman is pregnant and a child is born, a toothpick must be free from bark, acknowledging the children of a handmaid, advantage of offspring and of excess in almsgiving, evil of drawing well-water at night, food not to be thrown away to the north at night, advantage of prayer at feasts, treatment of a hedgehog, praying when washing the face, the proper choice of a purifying priest, no one should be hopeless of heaven, necessity of a wife being religious as well as her husband, the ceremonies which are good works, and the cause of sneezing, yawning, and sighing. These are followed by a long account of the mystic signification of the Gâthas, with some information as to the errors which may be committed in consecrating the sacred cakes, and how the beginning of the morning watch is to be determined.

The third part, or appendix, commences with an account of how each of the archangels can be best propitiated, by a proper regard for the particular worldly existence which he specially protects. This is followed by a statement of the various degrees of sin, and of the amount of good works attributed to various ceremonies. Then come some account of the ceremonies after a death, particulars of those who have no part in the resurrection, the duty of submission to the priesthood, whether evil may be done for the sake of good, the place where people will rise from the dead, Aêshm's complaint to Aharman of the three things he could not injure in the world, the occasions on which the Ahunavar formula should be recited, and the number of recitals that are requisite, &c. And, finally, statements of the lengths of midday and afternoon shadows, blessings invoked

from the thirty angels and archangels who preside over the days of the month, and the special epithets of the same.

With regard to the age of this treatise we have no precise information. All three parts are found in a MS. (M6) which was written in A.D. 1397 (see p. xxix), and nearly the whole is also found in the MS. K20, which may be a few years older (see p. xxvii), and in which the first part of the *Shâyast lâ-shâyast* is followed by a Persian colophon dated A.Y. 700 (A.D. 1331), copied probably from an older MS. The text in both these old MSS. seems to have been derived almost direct from the same original, which must have been so old when M6 was written that the copyist found some words illegible (see notes on Chaps. VIII, 19, X, 34, XII, 14, 15, &c.) Now it is known from a colophon that a portion of M6, containing the book of *Arđâ-Virâf* and the tale of *Gôst-i Fryânô*, was copied from a MS. written in A.D. 1249; and we may safely conclude that the *Shâyast lâ-shâyast* was copied, either from the same MS., or from one fully as old. So far, therefore, as external evidence goes, there is every reason to suppose that the whole of the *Shâyast lâ-shâyast*, with its appendix¹, was existing in a MS. written about 630 years ago.

But internal evidence points to a far higher antiquity for the first two parts, as the compilers of those treatises evidently had access, not only to several old commentaries, but also to many of the *Nasks*, which have long been lost. Thus, the first treatise contains quotations from the commentaries of *Afarg*, *Gôgôsp*, *Kûshtanô-bûgêd*, *Mêdôk-mâh*, *Rôshan*, and *Sôshyans*, which are all frequently quoted in the Pahlavi translation of the *Vendidad* (see Sls. I, 3, 4, notes); besides mentioning the opinions of *Mard-bûd*, *Néryôsang*, *Nôsâi Bûrz-Mitrô*, and *Vand-Aûharmazd*, who are rarely or never mentioned in the Pahlavi *Vendidad*. It also quotes no less than eleven of the twenty *Nasks* or books of the complete Mazdayasnian literature which are no longer extant, besides the *Vendidad*, the only *Nask* that still survives in the full extent it had in Sasanian times.

¹ Except Chaps. XXII, XXIII (see the note on the heading of Chap. XXII).

The Nasks quoted are the *Stûdgar* (Sls. X, 8), the *Bagh* (X, 26), the *Dâmdâd* (X, 22), the *Pâzôn* (IX, 9), the *Ratûs-tâtîh* (X, 29), the *Kîdrast* (X, 28), the *Spend* (X, 4), the *Nihâdûm* (X, 3, 22, 23), the *Dûbâsrûgêd* (X, 13), the *Hûspâram* (X, 21), and the *Sakâdûm* (X, 25), very few of which are mentioned even in the Pahlavi Vendidad. The second treatise mentions only one commentator, Vand-Aûharmazd, but it quotes eight of the Nasks no longer extant; these are the *Stûdgar* (Sls. XII, 32), the *Dâmdâd* (XII, 5, 15), the *Spend* (XII, 3, 11, 15, 29), the *Bâg-yasnô* (XII, 17), the *Nihâdûm* (XII, 15, 16), the *Hûspâram* (XII, 1, 7, 14, 31, XIII, 17), the *Sakâdûm* (XII, 2, 10, 12, XIII, 30), and the *Hâdôkht* (XII, 19, 30, XIII, 6, 10).

Of two of these Nasks, the *Bagh* and *Hâdôkht*, a few fragments may still survive (see notes on Sls. X, 26, Haug's Essays, p. 134, B. Yt. III, 25), but those of the latter Nask do not appear to contain the passages quoted in the *Shâyast lâ-shâyast*. With regard to the rest we only know that the *Dâmdâd*, *Hûspâram*, and *Sakâdûm* must have been still in existence about A.D. 881, as they are quoted in the writings of *Zâd-sparam* and *Mânûskîhar*, sons of *Yûdân-Yim*, who lived at that time (see pp. xlii, xlvi); and the *Nihâdûm* and *Hûspâram* are also quoted in the Pahlavi Vendidad. It is true that the *Dînkard* gives copious information about the contents of all the Nasks, with two or three exceptions; and the *Dînkard* seems to have assumed its present form about A.D. 900 (see Bund. XXXIII, 11, notes); but its last editor was evidently merely a compiler of old fragments, so there is no certainty that many of the Nasks actually existed in his time.

Thus far, therefore, the internal evidence seems to prove that the two treatises called *Shâyast lâ-shâyast*, which constitute the first two parts of the present translation, are more than a thousand years old. On the other hand, they cannot be more than three centuries older, because they frequently quote passages from the Pahlavi Vendidad which, as we have seen (p. xlvi, note 1), could not have assumed its present form before the time of *Khûsrô Nôshir-vân* (A.D. 531-579). As they contain no reference to any

interference of the governing powers with the religion or priesthood, it is probable that they were written before the Muhammadan conquest (A.D. 636-651), although they do not mention the existence of any 'king of the kings,' the usual title of the Sasanian monarchs. And this probability is increased by there being no direct mention of Muhammadanism among the contemporary religions named in Chap. VI, 7, unless we assume that passage to be a quotation from an earlier book. We may, therefore, conclude, with tolerable certainty, that the Pahlavi text of the first two parts of the present translation of the *Shâyast lâ-shâyast* was compiled some time in the seventh century; but, like the *Bundahis* and *Bahman Yast*, it was, for the most part, a compilation of extracts and translations from far older writings, and may also have been rearranged shortly after the Muhammadan conquest.

The fragments which are collected in the appendix, or third part of the present translation, are probably of various ages, and several of them may not be more than seven centuries old. The commentator *Bakht-âfrîd*, whose work (now lost) is quoted in Chap. XX, 11, may have lived in the time of *Khûsrô Nôshirvân* (see B. Yt. I, 7). And Chap. XXI must certainly have been written in Persia, as the lengths of noonday shadows which it mentions are only suitable for 32° north latitude. As regards the last two chapters we have no evidence that they are quite five centuries old.

For the Pahlavi text of the *Shâyast lâ-shâyast* and its appendix we have not only the very old codex M6 (see p. xxix) for the whole of it, but also the equally old codex K20 (see p. xxvii) for all but Chaps. XV-XVII, XX, XXII, and XXIII in the appendix. In M6 the first two parts are separated by twenty folios, containing the *Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk*, and the second part is separated from the first three chapters of the appendix by four folios, containing the *Patit-i Khûd*; the next three chapters of the appendix are from the latter end of the second volume of M6, Chap. XXI is from the middle of the same, and the last two chapters are from some additional folios at the beginning of the

first volume. In K20 the first two parts are separated by ninety-two folios, containing the Farhang-i Oim-khadûk, Bundahis, Bahman Yast, and several other Pahlavi and Avesta texts; Chap. XVIII precedes the first part, Chap. XIX precedes the second part, and Chap. XXI is in an earlier part of the MS.

Derived from K20 are the two modern copies P7 and K21 (see p. xxviii). Derived from M6 are the modern copy of the first two parts in M9 (No. 9 of the Haug collection in the State Library at Munich), a copy of Chaps. XIV, XV in L15 (No. 15 of the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the India Office Library at London), a copy of Chap. XX, 4-17 in O121 (No. 121 of the Ouseley collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, see p. xxx), and a copy of Chap. XVIII in Dastûr Jâmâspji's MS. of the Bundahis at Bombay. While an independent Pahlavi version of Chap. XXIII occurs in a very old codex in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis at Bombay, which version has been used for the text of the present translation, because that chapter is incomplete in M6.

Pâzand versions of some of the chapters, chiefly in the appendix, are to be found in some MSS., but all derived apparently from M6. Thus, in the Pâzand MSS. L7 and L22 (Nos. 7 and 22 in the India Office Library at London, see p. xxxi), written in Avesta characters, Chaps. XVIII, XX, XV follow the last chapter of the Bundahis, and Chap. XIV occurs a few folios further on. And in the Pâzand MS. M7 (No. 7 of the Haug collection in the State Library at Munich), written in Persian characters, the following detached passages occur in a miscellaneous collection of extracts (fols. 126-133):—Chaps. XX, 14-16, X, 18, 19, IX, 9, 10, XX, 12, 13, 4, 5, VIII, 2, 4-14, XX, 11. A Persian version of Chap. XVIII also occurs in M5 (No. 5 of the same collection) on fol. 54.

It does not appear that the Shâyast lâ-shâyast has ever been hitherto translated into any European language¹, nor

¹ Except Chap. XVIII, which was translated into German by Justi, as the last chapter of his translation of the Bundahis (see p. xxvi).

is any Persian or Gugarâti translation of it known to the present translator, though a good deal of the matter it contains may be found in the Persian Rivâyats, but generally given in a different form. Owing to the technical character of the treatise, it is hazardous for any one but a Parsi priest to attempt to translate it, so that errors will, no doubt, be apparent to the initiated in the present translation. At the same time it must not be forgotten that the laws and customs mentioned in the text were those current in Persia twelve centuries ago, which may be expected to differ, in many details, from those of the Parsis in India at the present day. This is a consideration which a Parsi translator might be too apt to ignore; so that his thorough knowledge of present customs, though invaluable for the decipherment of ambiguous phrases, might lead him astray when dealing with clear statements of customs and rules now obsolete and, therefore, at variance with his preconceived ideas of propriety.

7. CONCLUDING REMARKS.

The Pahlavi texts selected for translation in this volume are specimens of three distinct species of writings. Thus, the Bundahis and its appendix, which deal chiefly with cosmogony, myths, and traditions, may be roughly compared to the book of Genesis. The Bahman Yast, which professes to be prophetic, may be likened unto the Apocalypse. And the Shâyast lâ-shâyast, which treats of religious laws regarding impurity, sin, ritual, and miscellaneous matters, bears some resemblance to Leviticus. But, though thus dealing with very different subjects, these texts appear to have all originated in much the same manner, a manner which is characteristic of the oldest class of the Pahlavi writings still extant. All three are full of translations from old Avesta texts, collected together probably in the latter days of the Sasanian dynasty, and finally rearranged some time after the Muhammadan conquest of Persia; so that, practically, they may be taken as representing the ideas entertained of their prehistoric religion by Persians in the

sixth century, but modified so far as to suit the taste and exigencies of the tenth.

But, notwithstanding the wide range of subjects embraced by these texts, it would be rash for the reader to assume that they afford him sufficient information for forming a decided opinion as to the character of the Parsi religion. The texts translated in this volume contain barely one-eleventh part of the religious literature extant in the Pahlavi language, without taking the Pahlavi versions of existing Avesta texts into account, which latter are even more important than the former, from a religious point of view, as they are considered more authoritative by the Parsis themselves. What proportion the literature extant may bear to that which is lost it is impossible to guess; but, omitting all consideration of the possible contents of the lost literature, it is obvious that the remaining ten-elevenths of that which is extant may contain much which would modify any opinion based merely upon the one-eleventh here translated. What the untranslated portion actually contains no one really knows. The best Pahlavi scholar can never be sure that he understands the contents of a Pahlavi text until he has fully translated it; no amount of careful reading can make him certain that he does not misunderstand some essential part of it, and were he to assert the contrary he would be merely misleading others and going astray himself. How far the translations in this volume will enable the reader to judge of the Parsi religion may perhaps be best understood by considering how far a careful perusal of the books of Genesis, Leviticus, and the Revelation, which constitute one-eleventh part of the Protestant Bible, would enable him to judge of Christianity, without any further information.

But, though these translations must be considered merely as a contribution towards a correct account of mediæval Zoroastrianism, the Bundahis does afford some very definite information upon one of the fundamental doctrines of that faith. The Parsi religion has long been represented by its opponents as a dualism; and this accusation, made in good faith by Muhammadan writers, and echoed more

incautiously by Christians, has been advanced so strenuously that it has often been admitted even by Parsis themselves, as regards the mediæval form of their faith. But neither party seems to have fairly considered how any religion which admits the personality of an evil spirit, in order to account for the existence of evil, can fail to become a dualism to a certain extent. If, therefore, the term is to be used in controversy, it behoves those who use it to define the limits of objectionable dualism with great precision, so as not to include most of the religions of the world, their own among the number.

If it be necessary for a dualism that the evil spirit be omnipresent, omniscient, almighty, or eternal, then is the Parsi religion no dualism. The Bundahis distinctly asserts that the evil spirit is not omniscient and almighty (Chap. I, 16); that his understanding is backward (I, 3, 9), so that he was not aware of the existence of Aûharmazd till he arose from the abyss and saw the light (I, 9); that he is unobservant and ignorant of the future (I, 19) till it is revealed to him by Aûharmazd (I, 21); that his creatures perish at the resurrection (I, 7, 21), and he himself becomes impotent (I, 21, III, 1) and will not be (I, 3, XXX, 32). Nowhere is he supposed to be in two places at once, or to know what is occurring elsewhere than in his own presence. So far, his powers are considerably less than those generally assigned by Christians to the devil, who is certainly represented as being a more intelligent and ubiquitous personage. On the other hand, Aharman is able to produce fiends and demons (Chap. I, 10, 24), and the noxious creatures are said to be his (III, 15, XIV, 30, XVIII, 2); in which respects he has probably rather more power than the devil, although the limits of the latter's means of producing evil are by no means well defined.

The origin and end of Aharman appear to be left as uncertain as those of the devil, and, altogether, the resemblance between these two ideas of the evil spirit is remarkably close; in fact, almost too close to admit of the possibility of their being ideas of different origin. The only important differences are that Zoroastrianism does not believe in an

eternity of evil as Christianity does] and that Christianity has been content to leave all its other ideas about the devil in a very hazy and uncertain form, while Zoroastrianism has not shrunk from carrying similar ideas to their logical conclusion. If, therefore, a belief in Aharman, as the author of evil, makes the Parsi religion a dualism, it is difficult to understand why a belief in the devil, as the author of evil, does not make Christianity also a dualism. At any rate, it is evident from the Bundahis that a Christian is treading on hazardous ground when he objects to Zoroastrianism on the score of its dualism.

Another misrepresentation of the Parsi religion is shown to have no foundation in fact, by a passage in the Selections of *Zâd-spâram*. [Several writers, both Greek and Armenian, contemporaries of the Sasanian dynasty, represent the Persians as believing that both Aûharmazd and Aharman were produced by an eternal being, who is evidently a personification of the Avesta phrase for 'boundless time.' This view was apparently confirmed by a passage in Anquetil Duperron's French translation of the Vendidad (XIX, 32-34), but this has long been known to be a mistranslation due to Anquetil's ignorance of Avesta grammar; so that the supposed doctrine of 'boundless time' being the originator of everything is not to be found in the Avesta; still it might have sprung up in Sasanian times.] But the Selections of *Zâd-spâram* (I, 24) distinctly state that Aûharmazd produced the creature *Zôrvân* (precisely the term used in the phrase 'boundless time' in the Avesta). Here 'time,' although personified, is represented as a creature of Aûharmazd, produced after the first appearance of Aharman; which contradicts the statement of the Greek and Armenian writers completely, and shows how little reliance can be placed upon the assertions of foreigners regarding matters which they view with antipathy or prejudice.

With reference to the general plan of these translations of Pahlavi texts a few remarks seem necessary. In the first place, it will be obvious to any attentive reader of this introduction that a translator of Pahlavi has not merely to translate, but also to edit, the original text; and, in some

cases, he has even to discover it. Next, as regards the translation, it has been already mentioned (p. xxvi) that the translator's object is to make it as literal as possible; in order, therefore, to check the inevitable tendency of free translation to wander from the meaning of the original text, all extra words added to complete the sense, unless most distinctly understood in the original, are italicised in the translation. And in all cases that seem doubtful the reader's attention is called to the fact by a note, though it is possible that some doubtful matters may be overlooked.

The notes deal not only with explanations that may be necessary for the general reader, but also with various readings and other details that may be useful to scholars; they are, therefore, very numerous, though some passages may still be left without sufficient explanation. References to the Vendidad, Yasna, and Visparad are made to Spiegel's edition of the original texts, not because that edition is superior, or even equal, in accuracy to that of Westergaard, but because it is the only edition which gives the Pahlavi translations, because its sections are shorter and, therefore, reference to them is more definite, and because the only English translation of the Avesta hitherto existing¹ is based upon Spiegel's edition, and is divided into the same sections.

No attempt has been made to trace any of the myths or traditions farther back than the Avesta, whence their descent is a fact that can hardly be disputed. To trace them back to earlier times, to a supposed Indo-Iranian personification or poetic distortion of meteorological phenomena, would be, in the present state of our knowledge, merely substituting plausible guesses for ascertained facts. In many cases, indeed, we have really no right to assume that an Avesta myth has descended from any such Indo-Iranian origin, as there have been ample opportunities for the infiltration of myths from other sources, yet unknown,

¹ Bleeck's Avesta; the Religious Books of the Parsees; from Professor Spiegel's German Translation; London, 1864. Not much reliance can be placed upon the correctness of this translation, owing to defects in the German one.

among the many nations with which the religion of the Avesta has come in contact, both before and since the time of Zaratûst. For, notwithstanding the ingenious rhetoric of the expounders of myths, it is still as unsafe, from a scientific point of view, to disbelieve the former existence of Zaratûst as it is to doubt that of Moses, or any other practically prehistoric personage, merely because mythic tales have gathered about his name in later times, as they always do about the memory of any individual who has become famous or revered.

In many cases the original Pahlavi word is appended, in parentheses, to its English equivalent in the translation. This has been done for the sake of explanation, when the word is technical or rare, or the translation is unusual. For, with regard to technical terms, it has been considered best, in nearly all cases, to translate them by some explanatory phrase, in preference to filling the translation with foreign words which would convey little or no distinct meaning to the general reader. Some of these technical terms have almost exact equivalents in English, such as those translated 'resurrection' and 'demon,' or can be well expressed by descriptive phrases, such as 'sacred twigs' and 'sacred cakes.' Other terms are only approximately rendered by such words as 'archangel' and 'angel;' others can hardly be expressed at all times by the same English words, but must change according to the context, such as the term variously rendered by 'worship, ceremonial, prayer, or rites.' While the meaning of some few terms is so technical, complicated, or uncertain, that it is safer to use the Pahlavi word itself, such as Tanâpûhar, Frasast, Gêti-kharîd, Dvâzdah-hômâst, &c.

The following is a list of nearly all the technical terms that have been translated, with the English equivalents generally used to express them:—Âfrîn, 'blessing;' aharmôk, 'apostate, heretic;' aharûbô, 'righteous;' aharûbô-dâd, 'alms, almsgiving;' akdînô, 'infidel;' ameshôspend, 'archangel;' armêst, 'helpless;' ast-hômand, 'material;' aûsôfrîd, 'propitiation, offering;' baghô-bakhtô, 'divine providence;' baresôm, 'sacred twigs or twig-bundle;'

baresômdân, 'twig stand;' dakhmak (Huz. khazân), 'depository for the dead;' dashtânistân, 'place for menstruation;' dînô, 'religion, revelation, religious rites;' drâyân-gûyisnîh, 'unseasonable chatter;' drevand, 'wicked;' drônô, 'sacred cake;' drûg, 'fiend;' frashakard, 'renovation of the universe;' fravâhar, 'guardian spirit;' fravarâdikân, 'days devoted to the guardian spirits;' ganrâk mainôk, 'evil spirit;' garzîsn, 'confession of sin;' gâs, 'period of the day, time;' gâsânbâr, 'season-festival;' gasnô, 'feast;' gâûs-dâk (Av. gâus hudhau), 'meat-offering, sacred butter;' gavîd-rastakân, 'the heterodox;' gîv (Av. gâus gîvya), 'sacred milk;' gômêz, 'bull's urine;' hamêmâl, 'accuser;' hamrêd, 'direct pollution, contagion;' hazârak, 'millennium;' hîkhar, 'bodily refuse;' kêr, 'duty;' kêshvar, 'region;' khayebît, 'destroyer;' khrafstar, 'noxious creature;' khvêtûk-das, 'next-of-kin marriage;' kirfak, 'good works;' kûstîk, 'sacred thread-girdle;' magh, 'stone ablution-seat;' mainôk, 'spirit;' marg-argân, 'worthy of death, mortal sin;' myazd, 'feast, sacred feast;' nasâi, 'corpse, dead matter;' nasâi katak, 'corpse chamber;' nîrang, 'religious formula, ritual;' nîrangistân, 'code of religious formulas;' nîyâ-yîsn, 'salutation;' padâm, 'mouth-veil;' pâdîyâvîh, 'ablution, ceremonial ablution;' pâhlûm ahvân, 'best existence;' paîtrêd, 'indirect pollution, infection;' parâhôm, 'hôm-juice;' parîk, 'witch;' patîîh, 'renunciation of sin;' patîyârak, 'adversary;' pôryôdkêshîh, 'primitive faith;' rad, 'chief, spiritual chief, primate, high-priest;' rîstâkhêz, 'resurrection;' satûîh, 'the three nights;' sêdâ, 'demon;' shapîk, 'sacred shirt;' shnâ-yîsn, 'propitiation, gratification;' shnûman, 'dedication formula, propitiation;' spênâk mainôk, 'beneficent spirit;' tanû-i pasînô, 'future existence;' tôgîsn, 'retribution;' tôrâ-i khadû-dâd, 'primeval ox;' vâg, 'inward prayer;' vigârisn, 'atonement for sin;' vîshâd-dûbârisnîh, 'running about uncovered;' yasnô, 'ritual;' yast, 'prayers, ritual, form of prayer, worship, consecration;' yastanô, 'to consecrate, solemnize, propitiate, reverence;' yâtûk, 'wizard;' yazdân, 'angels, sacred beings, celestial beings, God;' yazîsn,

'ceremonial, ceremony, sacred ceremony, ceremonial worship, worship, reverence, rites, prayer;' *yêdatô*, 'angel;' *zand*, 'commentary;' *zôhar* or *zôr*, 'holy-water;' *zôt*, 'officiating priest.'

With regard to the orthography of Pahlavi names and words, advantage has been taken of the system of transliteration adopted for this series of Translations of the Sacred Books of the East, by making use of italics for the purpose of distinguishing between certain Pahlavi letters which were probably pronounced very nearly alike. Thus, besides the usual letters *l* for *v* and *z* for *z*, the Pahlavi letter *ç* is often used to denote those same sounds which, in such cases, are represented by the italic letters *v* and *z*. An extension of the same mode of distinction to the letters *l* and *r* would be desirable, but has not been attempted in this volume; these two letters are usually written *l*, but in a few words they are represented by *l* or by *ç*, in which cases they would be better expressed by the italics *l* and *r*. Some attempt has been made to adhere to one uniform orthography in such names as occur frequently, but as there is no such uniformity in the various languages and writings quoted, nor even in the same manuscript, some deviations can hardly be avoided.

In conclusion it may be remarked that a translator of Pahlavi generally begins his career by undervaluing the correctness of Pahlavi texts and the literary ability of their authors, but he can hardly proceed far without finding abundant reason for altering his opinion of both. His depreciatory view of Pahlavi literature is generally due partly to want of knowledge, and partly to his trusting too much to the vile perversions of Pahlavi texts usually supplied by Pâzand writers. But as his knowledge of Pahlavi increases he becomes better able to appreciate the literary merits of the texts. If the reader should have already formed some such low estimate of the ability of Pahlavi writers, it may be hoped that these translations will afford him sufficient reason for changing his opinion; if not, they will have signally failed in doing those writers justice.

BUNDAHIS
OR
THE ORIGINAL CREATION.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. For all divisions into chapters and sections the translator is responsible, as the original text is written continuously, with very few stops marked.

2. Italics are used for any English words which are not expressed, or fully understood, in the original text, but are added to complete the sense of the translation.

3. Oriental words are usually 'spaced.' Italics occurring in them, or in names, are intended to represent certain peculiar Oriental letters. The italic consonants *d*, *n*, *v* may be pronounced as in English; but *g* should be sounded like *j*, *hv* like *wh*, *k* like *ch* in 'church,' *ṅ* like *ng*, *s* like *sh*, *z* like French *j*. For further information, see 'Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets adopted for the Translations of the Sacred Books of the East' at the end of the volume.

4. In Pahlavi words all circumflexed vowels and any final *ō* are expressed in the Pahlavi original, but all other vowels are merely understood.

5. In the translation, words in parentheses are merely explanatory of those which precede them.

6. Abbreviations used are:—Av. for Avesta. *Dâd.* for *Dâd-stân-i Dīnik*. Huz. for *Huzvâris*. Mkh. for *Mainyô-i-khard*, ed. West. Pahl. for Pahlavi. *Pâz.* for *Pâzand*. Pers. for Persian. Sans. for Sanskrit. Vend. for *Vendîdâd*, ed. Spiegel. Visp. for *Visparad*, ed. Sp. Yas. for *Yasna*, ed. Sp. Yt. for *Yast*, ed. Westergaard.

7. The manuscripts mentioned in the notes are:—

K20 (about 500 years old), No. 20 in the University Library at Copenhagen.

K20b (uncertain date), a fragment of the text, No. 20b in the same library.

M6 (written A.D. 1397), No. 6 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich.

TD (written about A.D. 1530), belonging to Mobad Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria at Bombay.

BUNDAHIS.

CHAPTER I.

o. In the name of the creator Aûharmazd.

1. The Zand-âkâs ('Zand-knowing or tradition-informed')¹, which is first about Aûharmazd's original creation and the antagonism of the evil spirit², and afterwards about the nature of the creatures from the original creation till the end, which is the future existence (tanû-t pasîñö). 2. 'As *revealed* by the religion of the Mazdayasnians, so it is declared that Aûharmazd is supreme in omniscience and goodness,

¹ The Pâzand and most of the modern Pahlavi manuscripts have, 'From the Zand-âkâs,' but the word min, 'from,' does not occur in the old manuscript K20, and is a modern addition to M6. From this opening sentence it would appear that the author of the work gave it the name Zand-âkâs.

² The Avesta Angra-mainyu, the spirit who causes adversity or anxiety (see Darmesteter's *Ormazd et Ahriman*, pp. 92-95); the Pahlavi name is, most probably, merely a corrupt transliteration of the Avesta form, and may be read Ganrâk-maîñôk, as the Avesta *Spenta-mainyu*, the spirit who causes prosperity, has become Spênâk-maîñôk in Pahlavi. This latter spirit is represented by Aûharmazd himself in the Bundahis. The Pahlavi word for 'spirit,' which is read madônad by the Parsis, and has been pronounced mînavad by some scholars and mîñôî by others, is probably a corruption of maîñôk, as its Sasanian form was minô. If it were not for the extra medial letter in ganrâk, and for the obvious partial transliteration of spênâk, it would be preferable to read ganâk, 'smiting,' and to derive it from a supposed verb gandan, 'to smite' (Av. ghna), as proposed by most Zendists. A Parsi would probably suggest gandan, 'to stink.'

and unrivalled¹ in splendour; the region of light is the place of Aûharmazd, which they call 'endless light,' and the omniscience and goodness of the unrivalled Aûharmazd is what they call 'revelation².'

3. Revelation is the explanation of both *spirits* together; one is he who is independent of unlimited time³, because Aûharmazd and the region, religion, and time of Aûharmazd were and are and ever will be; while Aharman⁴ in darkness, with backward understanding and desire for destruction, was *in* the abyss, and it is *he* who *will* not be; and the place of that destruction, and also of that darkness, is what they call the 'endlessly dark.' 4. And between them was empty space, *that* is, what they call 'air,' in which is now *their* meeting.]

5. Both are limited and unlimited spirits, for the supreme is that which they call endless light, and the abyss that which is endlessly dark, so that between them is a void, and one is not connected with

¹ Reading aham-kaî, 'without a fellow-sovereign, peerless, unrivalled, independent.' This rare word occurs three times in §§ 2, 3, and some Pâzand writers suggest the meaning 'everlasting' (by means of the Persian gloss hamîrah), which is plausible enough, but hâmakî would be an extraordinary mode of writing the very common word hamâî, 'ever.'

² The word dînô (properly dênô), Av. daêna, being traceable to a root dî, 'to see,' must originally have meant 'a vision' (see Haug's Essays on the Religion of the Parsis, 2nd ed. p. 152, note 2), whence the term has been transferred to 'religion' and all religious observances, rules, and writings; so it may be translated either by 'religion' or by 'revelation.'

³ This appears to be the meaning, but the construction of § 3 is altogether rather obscure, and suggestive of omissions in the text.

⁴ The usual name of the evil spirit; it is probably an older corruption of Angra-mainyu than Ganrâk-maînôk, and a less technical term. Its Sasanian form was Aharmanî.

the other ; and, again, both spirits are limited as to their own selves. 6. And, secondly, on account of the omniscience of Aûharmazd, both things are in the creation of Aûharmazd, the finite and the infinite; for this they know is that which is in the covenant of both spirits.] 7. And, again, the complete sovereignty of the creatures of Aûharmazd is in the future existence, and that also is unlimited for ever and everlasting; and the creatures of Aharman will perish at the time when¹ the future existence occurs, and that also is eternity.]

8. Aûharmazd, through omniscience, knew that Aharman exists, *and* whatever he schemes he infuses with malice and greediness till the end; *and* because He accomplishes the end by many means, He also produced spiritually the creatures which were necessary for those means, *and* they remained three thousand years in a spiritual *state*, so that they were unthinking² and unmoving, with intangible bodies,

9. [The evil spirit, on account of backward knowledge, was not aware of the existence of Aûharmazd;] and, afterwards, he arose from the abyss, and came in unto the light which he saw. 10. Desirous of destroying, and because of *his* malicious nature, he

¹ Substituting *amat*, 'when,' for *mûn*, 'which,' *tyo* Huzvâris forms which are frequently confounded by Pahlavi copyists because their Pâzand equivalents, *ka* and *ke*, are nearly alike.

² Reading *aminîdâr* in accordance with M6, which has *amînîdâr* in Chap. XXXIV, 1, where the same phrase occurs. Windischmann and Justi read *amûîtâr*, 'uninjured, invulnerable,' in both places. This sentence appears to refer to a preparatory creation of embryonic and immaterial existences, the prototypes, *fravashis*, spiritual counterparts, or guardian angels of the spiritual and material creatures afterwards produced.

rushed in to destroy that light of Aûharmazd unassailed by fiends, and he saw its bravery and glory were greater than his own; *so* he fled back to the gloomy darkness, and formed many demons and fiends; *and* the creatures of the destroyer arose for violence.

11. Aûharmazd, by whom the creatures of the evil spirit were seen, creatures terrible, corrupt, and bad, also considered them not commendable (bûrzišnîk).

12. Afterwards, the evil spirit saw the creatures of Aûharmazd; they appeared many creatures of delight (vâyah), enquiring creatures, and they seemed to him commendable, and he commended the creatures and creation of Aûharmazd.

13. Then Aûharmazd, with a knowledge¹ of which way the end of the matter *would be*, went to meet the evil spirit, and proposed peace to him, *and* spoke thus: 'Evil spirit! bring assistance unto my creatures, and offer praise! so that, in reward for it, ye (you and your creatures) may become immortal and undecaying, hungerless and thirstless.'

14. And the evil spirit shouted thus²: 'I *will* not depart, I *will* not provide assistance for thy creatures, I *will* not offer praise among thy creatures, and I am not of the same opinion with thee as to good things. I *will* destroy thy creatures for ever and everlasting; moreover, I *will* force all thy creatures into disaffection to thee and affection for myself.' 15. And the explanation thereof is this, that the evil spirit reflected in this manner, that

¹ The Huz. khavîtûnast stands for the Pâz. dânist with the meaning, here, of 'what is known, knowledge,' as in Persian.

² Literally, 'And it was shouted by him, the evil spirit, thus:' the usual idiom when the nominative follows the verb.

Aûharmazd was helpless as regarded him¹, therefore He proffers peace; and he did not agree, but bore on even into conflict with Him.

¶16. And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'You are not omniscient and almighty, O evil spirit! so that it is not possible for thee to destroy me, and it is not possible for thee to force my creatures so that they *will* not return to my possession.'

¶17. Then Aûharmazd, through omniscience, knew that: If I do not grant a period of contest, then it *will* be possible for him to act so that he *may* be able to cause the seduction of my creatures to himself.] As even now there are many of the intermixture of mankind who practise wrong more than right. ¶18. And Aûharmazd spoke to the evil spirit thus: 'Appoint a period! so that the intermingling of the conflict may be for nine thousand years.' For he knew that by appointing this period the evil spirit *would* be undone.]

19. ¶Then the evil spirit, unobservant and through ignorance, was content with that agreement; just like two men quarrelling together, who propose a time thus: Let us appoint such-and-such a day for a fight.

20. ¶Aûharmazd also knew this, through omniscience, that within these nine thousand years, *for* three thousand years everything proceeds *by* the will of Aûharmazd, three thousand years *there is* an intermingling of the wills of Aûharmazd and Aharman, and the last three thousand years the evil spirit is disabled, and they keep the adversary away² from the creatures.

¹ The words *dên val* stand for *dên valman*.

² That is, 'the adversary is kept away.' In Pahlavi the third

21. [Afterwards, Aôharmazd] recited the Ahunavar thus: Yathâ ahû vairyô ('as a heavenly lord is to be chosen'), &c.¹ once, *and* uttered the twenty-one words²; He also exhibited to the evil spirit His own triumph in the end, and the impotence of the evil spirit, the annihilation of the demons, and the resurrection *and* undisturbed future existence of the creatures for ever and everlasting. 22. And the evil spirit, who perceived his own impotence and the annihilation of the demons, became confounded, and fell back to the gloomy darkness; even so as is declared in revelation, that, when one of its (the Ahunavar's) three *parts* was uttered, the evil spirit contracted *his* body through fear, and when two parts of it were uttered he fell upon *his* knees, and when all of it was uttered [he became confounded

person plural is the indefinite person, as in English. These 9000 years are in addition to the 3000 mentioned in § 8, as appears more clearly in Chap. XXXIV, 1.

¹ This is the most sacred formula of the Parsis, which they have to recite frequently, not only during the performance of their ceremonies, but also in connection with most of their ordinary duties and habits. It is neither a prayer, nor a creed, but a declaratory formula in metre, consisting of one stanza of three lines, containing twenty-one Avesta words, as follows:—

Yathâ ahû vairyô, athâ ratus, ashâd kîd hakâ,
Vangheus dazdâ mananghō, skyaothnanām anghēus mazdâi,
Khshathremkâ ahurâi â, yim dregubyô dadad vâstârem.

And it may be translated in the following manner: 'As a heavenly lord is to be chosen, so is an earthly master (spiritual guide), for the sake of righteousness, *to be* a giver of the good thoughts of the actions of life towards Mazda; and the dominion is for the lord (Ahura) whom he (Mazda) has given as a protector for the poor' (see Haug's Essays on the Religion of the Parsis, 2nd ed. pp. 125, 141).

² The word *mârîk* must mean 'word' here, but in some other places it seems to mean 'syllable' or 'accented syllable.'

and impotent as to the harm he caused the creatures of Aûharmazd, *and* he remained three thousand years in confusion¹.]

23. [Aûharmazd created *his* creatures in the confusion of Aharman; first he produced Vohûman ('good thought'), by whom the progress of the creatures of Aûharmazd was advanced.

24. The evil spirit first created² Mîtôkht ('falsehood'), and then Akôman ('evil thought').

25. The first of Aûharmazd's creatures of the world *was* the sky, and his good thought (Vohûman), by good procedure³, produced the light of the world, along with which was the good religion of the Mazdayasnians; this *was* because the renovation (frashakar^d)⁴ which happens to the creatures *was* known to him. 26. Afterwards *arose* Ardava-

¹ This is the first third of the 9000 years appointed in §§ 18, 20, and the second 3000 years mentioned in Chap. XXXIV, 1.

² It is usual to consider dâdan (Huz. yehabûntan), when traceable to Av. dâ = Sans. dhâ, as meaning 'to create,' but it can hardly be proved that it means to create out of nothing, any more than any other of the Avesta verbs which it is sometimes convenient to translate by 'create.' Before basing any argument upon the use of this word it will, therefore, be safer to substitute the word 'produce' in all cases.

³ Or it may be translated, 'and from it Vohûman, by good procedure,' &c. The position here ascribed to Vohûman, or the good thought of Aûharmazd, bears some resemblance to that of the Word in John i. 1-5, but with this essential difference, that Vohûman is merely a creature of Aûharmazd, not identified with him; for the latter idea would be considered, by a Parsi, as rather inconsistent with strict monotheism. The 'light of the world' now created must be distinguished from the 'endless light' already existing with Aûharmazd in § 2.

⁴ The word frashakar^d, 'what is made durable, perpetuation,' is applied to the renovation of the universe which is to take place about the time of the resurrection, as a preparation for eternity.

hist, and then Shatvaîrô, and then Spendarmad, and then Horvada, and then Amerôdad¹.

27. From the dark world of Aharman *were* Akôman and Andar, and then Sôvar, and then Nâkahêd, and then Tâîrêv and Zâîrlê².

28. Of Aûharmazd's creatures of the world, the first *was* the sky; the second, water; the third, earth; the fourth, plants; the fifth, animals; the sixth, mankind.

CHAPTER II.

o. On the formation of the luminaries.

1. Aûharmazd produced illumination between the sky and the earth, the constellation stars and those also not of the constellations³, then the moon, and afterwards the sun, as I *shall* relate.

¹ These five, with Vohûman and Aûharmazd in his angelic capacity, constitute the seven Ameshaspends, 'undying causers of prosperity, immortal benefactors,' or archangels, who have charge of the whole material creation. They are personifications of old Avesta phrases, such as Vohû-manô, 'good thought;' Asha-vahista, 'perfect rectitude;' Khshathra-vairya, 'desirable dominion;' Spenta-ârmaiti, 'bountiful devotion;' Haurvatâd, 'completeness or health;' and Ameretâd, 'immortality.'

² These six demons are the opponents of the six archangels respectively (see Chap. XXX, 29); their names in the Avesta are, Akem-manô, 'evil thought;' Indra, Sauru, Naunghaithya, Tauru, Zairika (see Vendîdâd X, 17, 18 Sp., and XIX, 43 W.), which have been compared with the Vedic god Indra, Sarva (a name of Siva), the Nâsatyas, and Sans. tura, 'diseased,' and garas, 'decay,' respectively. For further details regarding them, see Chap. XXVIII, 7-13.

³ The word akhtar is the usual term in Pahlavi for a constellation of the zodiac; but the term apâkhtar, 'away from the akhtar,' means not only 'the north,' or away from the zodiac, but also 'a

2. First he produced the *celestial* sphere, and the constellation stars are assigned to it by him; especially these twelve whose names *are* Varak (the Lamb), Tôrâ (the Bull), Dô-patkar (the Two-figures or Gemini), Kalakang (the Crab), Sêr (the Lion), Khûsak (Virgo), Tarâzûk (the Balance), Gazdûm (the Scorpion), Nîmâsp (the Centaur or Sagittarius), Vahîk¹ (Capricornus), Dûl (the Waterpot), and Mâhîk (the Fish); 3. which, from their original creation, *were divided* into the twenty-eight subdivisions of the astronomers², of which the names are Padêvar, Pêsh-Parvîz, Parviz, Paha, Avêsar, Besn, Rakhvad, Taraha, Avra, Nahn, Miyân, Avdem, Mâshâha, Spûr, Husru, Srob, Nur, Gêl, Garafsa, Varant, Gau, Goî, Muru, Bunda, Kahtsar, Vaht, Miyân, Kaht³. 4. And all his original creations,

planet,' which is in the zodiac, but apart from the constellations. The meaning of akhtar, most suitable to the context here, appears to be the general term 'constellation.'

¹ Written Nahâzîk here, both in K2o and M6, which may be compared with Pers. nahâz, 'the leading goat of a flock;' but the usual word for 'Capricornus' is Vahîk, as in Chap. V, 6. None of the other names of the signs of the zodiac are written here in Pâzand, but it may be noted that if the ah in Vahîk were written in Pâzand (that is, in Avesta characters), the word would become the same as Nahâzîk in Pahlavi.

² Literally, 'fragments of the calculators,' khurdak-i hâmarîkân. These subdivisions are the spaces traversed daily by the moon among the stars, generally called 'lunar mansions.'

³ All these names are written in Pâzand, which accounts for their eccentric orthography, in which both K2o and M6 agree very closely. The subdivision Parviz is evidently the Pers. parvên, which includes the Pleiades, and corresponds therefore to the Sanskrit Nakshatra Kṛittikâ. This correspondence leads to the identification of the first subdivision, Padêvar, with the Nakshatra Arvinî. The Pâzand names are so corrupt that no reliance can be placed upon them, and the first step towards recovering the true

residing in the world, are committed to them¹; so that when the destroyer arrives they overcome the adversary *and* their own persecution, and the creatures are saved from those adversities.

5. *As* a specimen of a warlike army, which is destined for battle, they have ordained every single constellation of those 6480 thousand small stars as assistance; and among those constellations four chieftains, appointed on the four sides, are leaders.

6. On the recommendation of those chieftains the many unnumbered stars are specially assigned to the various quarters and various places, as the united strength *and* appointed power of those constellations. 7. As it is said that Tîstar is the chieftain of the east, Satavêš the chieftain of the west, Vanand the chieftain of the south, *and* Haptôk-ring the chieftain of the north². 8. The great *one* which they

Pahlavi names would be to transliterate the Pâzand back into Pahlavi characters. The ninth subdivision is mentioned in Chap. VII, 1 by the name Avrak.

¹ That is, to the zodiacal constellations, which are supposed to have special charge of the welfare of creation.

² Of these four constellations or stars, which are said to act as leaders, there is no doubt that Haptôk-ring, the chieftain of the north, is Ursa Major; and it is usually considered that Tîstar, the chieftain of the east, is Sirius; but the other two chieftains are not so well identified, and there may be some doubt as to the proper stations of the eastern and western chieftains. It is evident, however, that the most westerly stars, visible at any one time of the year, are those which set in the dusk of the evening; and east of these, all the stars are visible during the night as far as those which rise at daybreak, which are the most easterly stars visible at that time of the year. Tîstar or Sirius can, therefore, be considered the chieftain of the eastern stars only when it rises before daybreak, which it does at the latter end of summer; and Haptôk-ring or Ursa Major is due north at midnight (on the meridian below the pole) at about the same time of the year. These stars, there-

call a Gâh (period of the day), which they say is the great *one* of the middle of the sky, till *just* before the destroyer came was the midday (or south) *one* of the five, that is, the Rapîtvin¹.

fore, fulfil the conditions necessary for being chieftains of the east and north at the end of summer, and we must look for stars capable of being chieftains of the south and west at the same season. Now, when Ursa Major is near the meridian below the pole, Fomalhaut is the most conspicuous star near the meridian in the far south, and is probably to be identified with Vanand the chieftain of the south. And when Sirius rises some time before daybreak, Antares (in Scorpio) sets some time after dusk in the evening, and may well be identified with Satavêš the chieftain of the west. Assuming that there has been a precession of the equinoxes equivalent to two hours of time, since the idea of these chieftains (which may perhaps be traced to Avesta times) was first formed, it may be calculated that the time of year when these leading stars then best fulfilled that idea was about a month before the autumnal equinox, when Ursa Major would be due north three-quarters of an hour after midnight, and Fomalhaut due south three-quarters of an hour before midnight, Sirius would rise three hours before the sun, and Antares would set three hours after the sun. In the Avesta these leading stars are named Tistrya, Satavaêša, Vanant, and Haptôiringa (see Tistar Yt. 6, 8, 9, 12, 32, &c., Rashnu Yt. 26-28, Sîrôz. 13).

¹ This translation, though very nearly literal, must be accepted with caution. If the word mas be not a name it can hardly mean anything but 'great;' and that it refers to a constellation appears from Chap. V, 1. The word khômsâk is an irregular form of the Huz. khômsyâ, 'five,' and may refer either to the five chieftains (including 'the great one') or to the five Gâhs or periods of the day, of which Rapîtvin is the midday one (see Chap. XXV, 9). The object of the text seems to be to connect the Rapîtvin Gâh with some great mid-sky and midday constellation or star, possibly Regulus, which, about B. C. 960, must have been more in the daylight than any other important star during the seven months of summer, the only time that the Rapîtvin Gâh can be celebrated (see Chap. XXV, 7-14). Justi has, 'They call that the great one of the place, which is great in the middle of the sky; they say that before the enemy came it was always midday, that is, Rapîtvin.'

9. Aôharmazd performed the spiritual Yazisn *cere-mony* with the archangels (amêshôspendân) in the Raptvîn Gâh, and in the Yazisn he supplied every means necessary for overcoming the adversary¹.

10. He deliberated with the consciousness (bôd) *and* guardian spirits (fravâhar) of men², and the omniscient wisdom, brought forward among men, spoke thus: 'Which seems to you the more advantageous, when³ I shall present you to the world? *that* you shall contend in a bodily form with the fiend (drûg), and the fiend shall perish, and in the end I *shall* have you prepared again perfect and immortal, and in the end give you back to the world, *and* you *will* be wholly immortal, undecaying, and undisturbed; or *that* it be always necessary to provide you protection from the destroyer?'

11. Thereupon, the guardian spirits of men became of the same opinion with the omniscient wisdom about going to the world, on account of the evil *that* comes upon them, in the world, from the fiend (drûg) Aharman, and *their* becoming, at last, again unpersecuted by the adversary, perfect, and immortal, in the future existence, for ever and everlasting.

Windischmann has nearly the same, as both follow the Pâzand MSS. in reading hômîsak (as a variant of hamîsak), 'always,' instead of khômîsak.

¹ Or 'adversity.'

² These were among the fravashis already created (see Chap. I, 8).

³ Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see note to Chap. I, 7).

CHAPTER III.

1. On the rush of the destroyer at the creatures it is said, in revelation, that the evil spirit, when he saw the impotence of himself and the confederate¹ (hâm-dast) demons, owing to the righteous man², became confounded, *and* seemed in confusion three thousand years. 2. During that confusion the arch-fiends³ of the demons severally shouted thus: 'Rise up, *thou* father of us! for we *will* cause a conflict in the world, the distress and injury from which *will* become those of Aûharmazd and the archangels.'

3. Severally they twice recounted their own evil deeds, and it pleased him not; and that wicked evil spirit, through fear of the righteous man, was not able to lift up *his* head until the wicked Gêh⁴ came, at the completion of the three thousand years. 4. And she shouted to the evil spirit thus: 'Rise up, *thou* father of us! for I *will* cause that conflict in the world wherefrom the distress and injury of Aûharmazd and the archangels *will* arise.' 5. And she twice recounted severally her own evil deeds, and it pleased him not; and that wicked evil spirit

¹ The Pâzand MSS. have garôist, for the Huz. hêmnunast, 'trusted.' Windischmann and Justi have 'all.'

² Probably Gâyômarđ.

³ The word kamâarakân is literally 'those with an evil pate,' and is derived from Av. kameredha, 'the head of an evil being,' also applied to 'the evil summit' of Mount Arezûra (Vend. XIX, 140, 142), which is supposed to be at the gate of hell (see Chap. XII, 8). That the chief demons or arch-fiends are meant, appears more clearly in Chap. XXVIII, 12, 44, where the word is kamârîkân.

⁴ The personification of the impurity of menstruation.

rose not from that confusion, through fear of the righteous man.

6. And, again, the wicked Gêh shouted thus: 'Rise up, *thou* father of us! for in that conflict I *will* shed thus much vexation¹ on the righteous man and the labouring ox that, through my deeds, life *will* not be wanted, and I will destroy their living souls (nismô)²; I *will* vex the water, I *will* vex the plants, I *will* vex the fire of Aûharmazd, I *will* make the whole creation of Aûharmazd vexed.'

7. And she so recounted those evil deeds a second time, that the evil spirit was delighted and started up from that confusion; and he kissed Gêh upon the head, and the pollution which they call menstruation became apparent in Gêh.

8. He shouted to Gêh thus: 'What is thy wish? so that I may give *it* thee.' And Gêh shouted to the evil spirit thus: 'A man is the wish, so give *it* to me.'

9. The form of the evil spirit was a log-like lizard's (vazak) body, and he appeared a young man of fifteen years to Gêh, and that brought the thoughts of Gêh to him³.

¹ The word vêsh or vîsh may stand either for bêsh, 'distress, vexation,' as here assumed, or for vish, 'poison,' as translated by Windischmann and Justi in accordance with the Pâz. MSS.

² That this is the Huzvâris of rûbân, 'soul,' appears from Chap. XV, 3-5, where both words are used indifferently; but it is not given in the Huz.-Pâz. Glossary. It is evidently equivalent to Chald. nismâ, and ought probably to have the traditional pronunciation nisman, an abbreviation of nismman.

³ This seems to be the literal meaning of the sentence, and is confirmed by Chap. XXVIII, 1, but Windischmann and Justi understand that the evil spirit formed a youth for Gêh out of a toad's body. The incident in the text may be compared with Milton's idea of Satan and Sin in *Paradise Lost*, Book II, 745-765.

10. Afterwards, the evil spirit, with the confederate demons, went towards the luminaries, and he saw the sky; and he led them up, fraught with malicious intentions. 11. He stood upon one-third¹ of the inside of the sky, and he sprang, like a snake, out of the sky down to the earth.

12. *In* the month Fravardîn and the day Aûhar-mazd² he rushed in at noon, and thereby the sky was as shattered and frightened by him, as a sheep by a wolf. 13. He came on to the water which was arranged³ below the earth, and then the middle of this earth was pierced *and* entered by him. 14. Afterwards, he came to the vegetation, then to the ox, then to Gâyômarđ, and then he came to fire⁴; so, just like a fly, he rushed out upon the whole creation; and he made the world quite as injured and dark⁵ at midday as though it were in dark night. 15. And noxious creatures were diffused by him over the earth, biting and venomous, such as the snake, scorpion, frog (kalvâk), and lizard (vazak), so that not so much as the point of a needle remained *free* from noxious creatures. 16. And blight⁶ was diffused by him over the

¹ Perhaps referring to the proportion of the sky which is over-spread by the darkness of night. The whole sentence is rather obscure.

² The vernal equinox (see Chap. XXV, 7).

³ Literally, 'and it was arranged.'

⁴ For the details of these visitations, see Chaps. VI-X.

⁵ Reading khûst tôm; but it may be hangîdtûm, 'most turbid, opaque.'

⁶ The word makhâ, 'blow, stroke,' is a Huzvâris logogram not found in the glossaries; M6 has dâr, 'wood,' but this may be a misreading, due to the original, from which M6 was copied, being difficult to read.

vegetation, and it withered away immediately. 17. And avarice, want, pain, hunger, disease, lust, and lethargy were diffused by him abroad upon the ox and Gâyômarđ.

18. Before *his* coming to the ox, Aûharmazd ground up the healing fruit¹, which some call 'bînâk,' small in water openly before *its* eyes, so that *its* damage *and* discomfort from the calamity (zanisn) might be less; and when it became at the same time lean and ill, as *its* breath went forth and it passed away, the ox also spoke thus: 'The cattle are to be created, *and* their work, labour, and care are to be appointed.'

19. And before *his* coming to Gâyômarđ, Aûharmazd brought forth a sweat upon Gâyômarđ, so long as he might recite a prayer (vâg) of one stanza (vikast); moreover, Aûharmazd formed that sweat into the youthful body of a man of fifteen years, radiant *and* tall. 20. When Gâyômarđ issued from the sweat he saw the world dark as night, and the earth as though not a needle's point remained *free from* noxious creatures; the *celestial* sphere was in revolution, *and* the sun and moon remained in motion: *and* the world's struggle, owing to the clamour of the Mâzinîkân demons², was with the constellations.

21. And the evil spirit thought that the creatures of Aûharmazd were all rendered useless except

¹ The word mîvang is an unusual form of mîvak, 'fruit.' It is probably to be traced to an Av. mivangh, which might mean 'fatness,' as Windischmann suggests.

² The Mâzainya daêva of the Avesta, and Mâzendarân demons, or idolators, of Persian legends.

Gâyômarđ;] and Astô-vîdâd¹ with a thousand demons, causers of death, were let forth by him on Gâyômarđ. 22. But his appointed time had not come, *and* he (Astô-vîdâd) obtained no means of noosing (âvizt-danō) *him*; as it is said that, when the opposition of the evil spirit came, [the period of the life and rule of Gâyômarđ was appointed for thirty years.] 23. [After the coming of the adversary he lived thirty years] and Gâyômarđ spoke thus: 'Although the destroyer *has* come, mankind *will* be all of my race; and this one thing is good, when they perform duty and good works.'

24. And, afterwards, he (the evil spirit) came to fire, and he mingled smoke and darkness with it. 25. The planets, with many demons, dashed against the *celestial* sphere, and they mixed the constellations; and the whole creation was as disfigured as though fire disfigured every place and smoke arose over *it*. 26. And ninety days *and* nights the heavenly angels were contending in the world with the confederate demons of the evil spirit, *and* hurled *them* confounded to hell; and the rampart of the sky was formed so that the adversary should not be able to mingle with it.

27. Hell is in the middle of the earth; there where the evil spirit pierced the earth² and rushed in upon it, [as all the possessions of the world were

¹ The demon of death, Astô-vîdhôtu in the Avesta (Vend. IV, 137, V, 25, 31), who is supposed 'to cast a halter around the necks of the dead to drag them to hell, but if their good works have exceeded their sins they throw off the noose and go to heaven' (Haug's Essays, 2nd ed. p. 321). This name is misread Asti-vihâd by Pâzand writers.

² See § 13.

changing into duality, *and* persecution, contention, and mingling of high and low became manifest.]

CHAPTER IV.

1. This also is said, that when the primeval ox¹ passed away it fell to the right hand, *and* Gâyômarđ afterwards, when he passed *away*, to the left hand.

2. Gôsr̥van², as the soul of the primeval ox came out from the body of the ox, stood up before the ox *and* cried to Aûharmazd, as much as a thousand men when they sustain a cry at one time, thus: 'With whom is the guardianship of the creatures left by thee, when ruin *has* broken into the earth, and vegetation is withered, and water is troubled? Where is the man³ of whom it was said by thee thus: I *will* produce *him*, so that he may preach carefulness?'

3. And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'You are made ill⁴, O Gôsr̥van! you have the illness which the evil spirit brought on; if it were proper to produce that man in this earth at this time, the evil spirit would not have been oppressive in it.'

¹ Literally, 'the sole-created ox' from whom all the animals and some plants are supposed to have proceeded (see Chaps. X and XIV), as mankind proceeded from Gâyômarđ. It is the ox of the primitive creation, mentioned in Chap. III, 14, 18.

² The spiritual representative of the primeval ox, called Gaurvâ, 'soul of the bull,' in the Avesta, of which name Gôsr̥van is a corruption. The complaint of Gôsr̥van is recorded in the Gâthas, the oldest part of the Avesta (see Yas. XXIX).

³ Referring to Zaratûst.

⁴ In K20, 'You are ill.'

4. Forth Gôsr̥van walked to the star station (pâyak) *and* cried in the same manner, and forth to the moon station *and* cried in the same manner, *and* forth to the sun station, and then the guardian spirit of Zarâtûst was exhibited to her, *and* Aûharmazd *said* thus¹: 'I will produce for the world *him* who will preach carefulness.' 5. Contented became the spirit Gôsr̥van, and assented thus: 'I will nourish the creatures;' that is, she became again consenting to a worldly creation in the world.

CHAPTER V.

1. Seven chieftains of the planets have come unto the seven chieftains of the constellations², as the planet Mercury (Tîr) unto Tîstar, the planet Mars (Vâhrâm) unto Haptôk-rîng, the planet Jupiter (Aûharmazd) unto Vanand, the planet Venus (Anâhîd) unto Satavêš, the planet Saturn (Kêvân) unto the great *one* of the middle of the sky, Gôkîhar³

¹ As the text stands in the MSS. it means, 'and then the guardian spirit of Zarâtûst demonstrated to her thus;' but whether it be intended to represent the fravâhar as producing the creature is doubtful. The angel Gôš, who is identified with Gôsr̥van, is usually considered a female, but this is hardly consistent with being the soul of a bull (see Chap. X, 1, 2), though applicable enough to a representative of the earth. In the Selections of Zâd-spâram, II, 6, however, this mythological animal is said to have been a female (see Appendix to Bundahis).

² Five of these are mentioned in Chap. II, 7, 8, to which the sun and moon are here added.

³ As this name stands in the MSS. it may be read Gûrgdâr (as in the Pâz. MSS.), Gûrkîhar, or Dûrkîhar; the reading is very uncertain, and Windischmann suggests Gûrg-kîhar, 'wolf progeny' (compare vehrkô-kîthra in Ardabahist Yast 8). A shooting star,

and the thievish (dûggun) Mûspar¹, provided with tails, unto the sun and moon and stars. 2. The sun has attached Mûspar to its own radiance by mutual agreement, so that he may be less able to do harm (vinâs).

3. Of Mount Albûrz² it is declared, that around the world and Mount Têrak³, which is the middle of the world, the revolution of the sun is like a moat⁴ around the world; it turns back in a circuit⁵ owing to the enclosure (var) of Mount Albûrz around Têrak. 4. As it is said that *it is* the Têrak of Albûrz from behind which my sun and moon *and* stars return again⁶. 5. For there are a hundred

or meteor, is probably meant (see Chap. XXX, 18, 31), and as it is the special disturber of the moon, it may be Gô-êihar (Av. gao-êithra, 'of ox-lineage'), a common epithet of the moon; the Pahlavi letter *k* being often written something like the compound *rk*; and this supposition is confirmed by the Gôk-êihar of TD in Chap. XXVIII, 44.

¹ This is written Mûs-parîk in TD in Chap. XXVIII, 44, and seems to be the mûs pairika of Yas. XVII, 46, LXVII, 23, as noticed by Windischmann; it is probably meant here for a comet, as it is attached to the sun. The zodiacal light and milky way have too little of the wandering character of planets to be considered planetary opponents of the sun and moon.

² The hara berezaiti, 'lofty mountain-range,' of the Avesta, which is an ideal representative of the loftiest mountains known to the ancient Iranians, the Alburz range in Mâzendarân, south of the Caspian. See Chaps. VIII, 2, XII, 1, 3.

³ The Taêra of Yas. XLI, 24, Râm Yt. 7, Zamyâd Yt. 6. See Chap. XII, 2, 4.

⁴ The word mayâ-gîr is a Huz. hybrid for âv-gîr, 'a water-holder, or ditch.'

⁵ The word may be either âvêgak or khavîgak, with this meaning.

⁶ This appears to be a quotation from the Rashnu Yast, 25. The Huz. word for 'month' is here used for the 'moon.'

and eighty apertures (rôgîn) in the east, and a hundred and eighty in the west, through Albûrz; *and* the sun, every day, comes in through an aperture, and goes out through an aperture¹; *and* the whole connection and motion of the moon and constellations and planets is with it: every day it always illumines (or warms) three regions (kêshvar)² *and* a half, as is evident to the eyesight. 6. And twice in every year the day and night are equal, for on the original attack³, when⁴ it (the sun) went forth from its first degree (khûrdak), the day and night were equal, it was the season of spring; when it arrives at the first degree of Kalakang (Cancer) the time of *day* is greatest, *it is* the beginning of summer; when it arrives at the sign (khûrdak) Tarâgûk (Libra) the day and night are equal, *it is* the beginning of autumn; when it arrives at the sign Vahlk (Capricorn) the night is a maximum, *it is* the beginning of winter; and when it arrives at Varak (Aries) the night and day *have* again become equal, as when it

¹ This mode of accounting for the varying position of sunrise and sunset resembles that in the Book of Enoch, LXXI, but only six eastern and six western gates of heaven are there mentioned, and the sun changes its gates of entrance and exit only once a month, instead of daily.

² See § 9 and Chap. XI.

³ The reading of this word is doubtful, although its meaning is tolerably clear. The Pâz. MSS. read har dô, 'both'; Justi reads ardab, 'quarrel'; and in the Selections of Zâd-spâram it is written ârdîk. It seems probable that the word is kharah, 'attack,' which being written exactly like ardê (Av. ashya, see Yas. LVI, 1, 1) has had a circumflex added to indicate the supposed d, and this false reading has led to the more modern form ârdîk (Pers. ârd, 'anger'). But probabilities in obscure matters are often treacherous guides.

⁴ Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which,' throughout the sentence (see note to Chap. I, 7).

went forth from Varak. 7. So that when it comes back to Varak, in three hundred and sixty days and the five Gâtha days¹, it goes in *and* comes out through one and the same aperture; the aperture is not mentioned, for if it had been mentioned the demons would have known the secret, and been able to introduce disaster.

8. From there where the sun comes on on the longest day to *where* it comes on on the shortest day is the east region Savah; from there where it comes on on the shortest day to *where* it goes off on the shortest day is the direction of the south regions Fradaḍafsh and Vīdaḍafsh; from there where it goes in on the shortest day to *where* it goes in on the longest day is the west region Arzah; from there where it comes in on the longest day to there where it goes in on the longest day are the north regions Vôrûbarst *and* Vôrûgarst². 9. When the sun comes on, it illumines (or warms) the regions of Savah, Fradaḍafsh, Vīdaḍafsh, and half of Khvanîras³; when it goes in on the dark side, it illumines the regions of Arzah, Vôrûbarst, Vôrûgarst, *and* one half of Khvanîras; when *it is* day here *it is* night there.

¹ The five supplementary days added to the last of the twelve months, of thirty days each, to complete the year. For these days no additional apertures are provided in Albûrz, and the sun appears to have the choice of either of the two centre apertures out of the 180 on each side of the world. This arrangement seems to indicate that the idea of the apertures is older than the rectification of the calendar which added the five Gâtha days to an original year of 360 days.

² This sentence occurs, without the names of the kêshvars or regions, in the Pahl. Vend. XIX, 19. For the kêshvars see Chap. XI.

³ Often corrupted into Khanîras in the MSS.

CHAPTER VI.

1. On the conflict^① of the creations of the world with the antagonism of the evil spirit it is said in revelation, that the evil spirit, even as he rushed in and looked upon the pure bravery of the angels and his own violence^②, wished to rush back. 2. The spirit of the sky is himself like one of the warriors who has put on armour; he arrayed the sky against the evil spirit, and led on in the contest, until Aûharmazd had completed a rampart around, stronger than the sky and in front of the sky. 3. And his guardian spirits (fravâhar) of warriors and the righteous, on war horses and spear in hand, were around the sky; such-like as the hair on the head is the similitude (ângunt-aîtak) of those who hold the watch of the rampart. 4. And no passage was found by the evil spirit, who rushed back; and he beheld the annihilation of the demons and his own impotence, as Aûharmazd *did* his own final triumph, producing the renovation of the universe for ever and everlasting.]

CHAPTER VII.

1. The second conflict was waged with the water, because, as the star Tîstar *was* in Cancer, the water which is in the subdivision they call Avrak³ was

¹ This is the doubtful word translated 'attack' in Chap. V, 6 (see the note there); it also occurs at the beginning of each of the following four chapters.

² Reading zôrîh; but it may be zûrîh, 'falsity.'

³ The ninth lunar mansion (see Chap. II, 3) corresponding with the middle of Cancer. Tîstar (Sirius) being in Cancer probably

pouring, on the same day when the destroyer rushed in, *and* came again into notice for mischief (âvârak) in the direction of the west. 2. For every single month is the owner of one constellation; the month Tîr is the fourth month¹ of the year, *and* Cancer the fourth constellation from Aries, so it is the owner of Cancer, into which Tîstar sprang, *and* displayed the characteristics of a producer of rain; and he brought on the water aloft by the strength of the wind. 3. Co-operators with Tîstar were Vohûman and the angel Hôm, with the assistance of the angel Bûrg and the righteous guardian spirits in orderly arrangement.

4. Tîstar was converted into three forms, the form of a man and the form of a horse and the form of a bull²; thirty days *and* nights he was distinguished in brilliance³, and in each form he produced rain ten days *and* nights; as the astrologers say that every constellation has three forms. 5. Every single drop of that rain became as big as a bowl, and the water stood the height of a man over the whole of this earth; *and* the noxious creatures on the earth being all killed by the rain, went into the holes of the earth⁴.

means that it rises about the same time as the stars of Cancer, as is actually the case.

¹ See Chap. XXV, 20.

² See Tîstar Yt. 13, 16, 18, where it is stated that Tîstar assumes the form of a man for the first ten nights, of a bull for the second ten nights, and of a horse for the third ten nights. Also in Vend. XIX, 126 Tîstar is specially invoked in his form of a bull.

³ Or it may be translated, 'he hovered in the light,' as Windischmann and Justi have it.

⁴ In comparing the inundation produced by Tîstar with the Noachian deluge, it must be recollected that the former is represented as occurring before mankind had propagated on the earth.

6. And, afterwards, the wind spirit, so that it may not be contaminated (*gûmtkht*), stirs up the wind *and* atmosphere as the life stirs in the body; and the water was all swept away by it, and was brought out to the borders of the earth, and the wide-formed¹ ocean arose therefrom. 7. The noxious creatures remained dead within the earth, and their venom and stench were mingled with the earth, and in order to carry that poison away from the earth Tîstar went down into the ocean in the form of a white horse with long hoofs².

8. And Apâôsh³, the demon, came meeting him in the likeness of a black horse with clumsy (*kund*) hoofs; a mile (*parasang*)⁴ away from him fled Tîstar, through the fright which drove *him* away. 9. And Tîstar begged for success from Aûharmazd, and Aûharmazd gave *him* strength and power, as it is said, that unto Tîstar was brought at once the strength of ten vigorous horses, ten vigorous camels, ten vigorous bulls, ten mountains, and ten rivers⁵. 10. A mile away from him fled Apâôsh, the demon, through fright at *his* strength; on account of this they speak of an arrow-*shot* with Tîstar's strength in the sense *of a mile*.

¹ The term *farâkhû-kard*, 'wide-formed,' is a free Pahlavi translation of Av. *vouru-kasha*, 'wide-shored,' or 'having wide abysses,' applied to the boundless ocean (see Chap. XIII, 1).

² For the Avesta account of this expedition of Tîstar, see Tîstar Yt. 20-29.

³ Miswritten *Apav* or *Apavar* in Pâzand, by all MSS. in this chapter, but see Chap. XXVIII, 39.

⁴ The word *parasang* is here used for Av. *hâthra*, which was about an English mile (see Chap. XXVI, 1).

⁵ A quotation from Tîstar Yt. 25.

11. Afterwards, with a cloud for a jar (*khûmb*)—thus they call the measure which was a means of the work—he seized upon the water *and* made it rain most prodigiously, in drops *like* bull's heads and men's heads, pouring in handfuls *and* pouring in armfuls, both great and small. 12. On the production of that rain the demons *Aspengargâk*¹ *and* *Apâôsh* contended *with it*, and the fire *Vâzist*² turned *its* club over; and owing to the blow of the club *Aspengargâk* made a very grievous noise, as even now, in a conflict with the producer of rain, a groaning and raging³ are manifest. 13. And ten nights and days rain was produced by him in that manner, and the poison and venom of the noxious creatures which were in the earth were all mixed up in the water, and the water became quite salt, because there remained in the earth *some* of those germs which noxious creatures ever collect.

14. Afterwards, the wind, in the same manner *as before*, restrained the water, at the end of three days, on various sides of the earth; and the three great seas *and* twenty-three small seas⁴ arose therefrom, *and* two fountains (*kashmak*) of the sea thereby became manifest, one the *Kêkast* lake, and one the *Sôvbar*⁵, whose sources are connected with the

¹ Mentioned in Vend. XIX, 135, thus: 'thou shouldst propitiate the fire *Vâzista*, the smiter of the demon *Spengaghra*.' It is also written *Spêngargâk* in Chap. XVII, 1, and *Aspengarôgâ* in Chap. XXVIII, 39.

² That is, the lightning (see Chap. XVII, 1).

³ Or, 'a tumult and flashing.' *Justi* has 'howling and shrieking;' the two words being very ambiguous in the original.

⁴ See Chap. XIII, 6.

⁵ See Chap. XXII, 1-3.

fountain of the sea. 15. And at its north side¹ two rivers flowed out, *and* went one to the east *and* one to the west; they are the Arag river and the Vêh river; as it is said thus: 'Through those finger-breadth tricklings do thou pour *and* draw forth two such waters, O Aûharmazd!' 16. Both those rivers wind about through all the extremities of the earth, and intermingle again with the water of the wide-formed ocean. 17. As those two rivers flowed out, *and* from the same place of origin as theirs, eighteen² navigable rivers flowed out, and after the other waters have flowed out from those navigable *streams* they all flow back to the Arag³ river and Vêh river, whose fertilization (khvâpardârîh) of the world *arises* therefrom.

CHAPTER VIII.

o. On the conflict which the evil spirit waged with the earth.

1. As the evil spirit rushed in, the earth shook⁴, *and* the substance of mountains was created in the earth. 2. First, Mount Albûrz arose; afterwards,

¹ Probably meaning the north side of the Arêdvîsûr fountain of the sea, which is said to be on the lofty Hûgar, a portion of Albûrz, from the northern side of which these two semi-mythical rivers are said to flow (see Chaps. XII, 5, XX, 1).

² See Chap. XX, 2.

³ Here written Arêng, but the usual Pahlavi reading is Arag; the nasal of the Av. Rangha being generally omitted in Pahlavi, as other nasals are sometimes; thus we often find sag for sang, 'stone.'

⁴ The word gudnîd is a transposition of gundîd, a graphical variant of gunbîd, 'shook.'

the other ranges of mountains (*kôfânîhâ*) of the middle of the earth; for as Albûrz grew forth all the mountains remained in motion, for they have all grown forth from the root of Albûrz. 3. At that time they came up from the earth, like a tree which *has* grown up to the clouds *and its* root¹ to the bottom; and their root passed on that way *from* one to the other, *and* they are arranged in mutual connection. 4. Afterwards, about that wonderful shaking out from the earth, they say that a great mountain is the knot of lands; *and* the passage for the waters within the mountains is the root which is below the mountains; they forsake the upper *parts* so that they may flow into it, just as the roots of trees pass into the earth; a counterpart (*ângunî-aitak*) of the blood in the arteries of men, which gives strength to the whole body. 5. In numbers², apart from Albûrz, all the mountains grew up out of the earth in eighteen years³, from which *arises* the perfection⁴ of men's advantage.

CHAPTER IX.

1. The conflict waged with plants was that when⁵ they became quite dry. 2. Amerôdad the arch-

¹ M6 has *raâk*, but this and many other strange words are probably due to the copyist of that MS. having an original before him which was nearly illegible in many places.

² Or, 'as it were innumerable;' the word *amar* meaning both 'number' and 'innumerable.'

³ See Chap. XII, 1.

⁴ The word must be *farhâkhtagân*, 'proprieties,' both here and in Chap. IX, 6, as *farhâkhtisn* is an ungrammatical form.

⁵ Reading *amat*, 'when,' instead of *mûn*, 'which' (see the note to Chap. I, 7).

angel, as the vegetation was his own, pounded the plants small, *and* mixed *them* up with the water *which* Tistar seized, and Tistar made that water rain down upon the whole earth. 3. On the whole earth plants grew up like hair upon the heads of men. 4. Ten thousand¹ of them grew forth of one special description, for keeping away the ten thousand species of disease *which* the evil spirit produced for the creatures; *and* from those ten thousand, the 100,000 species² of plants have grown forth.

5. From that same germ of plants the tree of all germs³ was given forth, *and* grew up in the wide-formed ocean, from which the germs of all species of plants ever increased. 6. And near to that tree of all germs the Gôkard tree⁴ was produced, for keeping away deformed (dûspad) decrepitude; *and* the full perfection of the world arose therefrom.

CHAPTER X.

o. On the conflict waged with the primeval ox.

1. As it passed away⁵, owing to the vegetable principle (*kîharak*) *proceeding* from every limb of the ox, fifty and five species of grain⁶ *and* twelve species of medicinal plants grew forth from the earth, and their splendour and strength were the

¹ See Chap. XXVII, 2.

² Here 120,000 are mentioned, but see Chap. XXVII, 2, and Selections of *Zâd-spam*, VIII, 2.

³ Or, 'of all seeds' (see Chap. XVIII, 9).

⁴ The white-Hôm tree (see Chaps. XVIII, 1-6, XXVII, 4).

⁵ See Chap. IV, 1. ⁶ See Chaps. XIV, 1, XXVII, 2.

seminal energy (tôkh mîh) of the ox. 2. Delivered to the moon station¹, that seed was thoroughly purified by the light of the moon, fully prepared in every way, and produced life in a body. 3. Thence *arose* two oxen, one male *and* one female; and, afterwards, two hundred and eighty-two species of each kind² became manifest upon the earth. 4. The dwelling (mântst) of the birds is in the air, and the fish are in the midst of the water.

CHAPTER XI.

1. On the nature of the earth it says in revelation, that *there* are thirty and three kinds³ of land. 2. *On* the day when Tîstar produced the rain, when its seas arose therefrom, the whole place, half taken up by water, was converted into seven portions; this portion⁴, as much as one-half, is the middle, *and* six portions are around; those six portions are *together* as much as Khvanîras. 3. The name

¹ See Chap. XIV, 3. In the Mâh Yt. o, 7, blessings are invoked for 'the moon of ox lineage' (gaokithra) in conjunction with the 'sole-created ox and the ox of many species.' In the Avesta the gender of these two primeval oxen appears doubtful, owing probably to the dual gen. masc. of their epithets being of the same form as a sing. gen. fem.

² That is, of each sex. See Chap. XIV, 13, 27. In all three occurrences of this number K20 has 272, but all other MSS. have 282 (except M6 in this place only).

³ K20b has 'thirty-two kinds.'

⁴ That is, Khvanîras; or it may be 'one portion,' as hanâ, 'this,' is often used for aê, 'one,' because the Pâzand form of both words is e.

kêshvar ('zone or region') is also applied to them, and *they* existed side by side (kash kash)¹; as on the east side of this portion (Khvantras) is the Savah region, *on* the west is the Arzah region; the two portions on the south side are the Fradaḍafsh and Vīdadaḍafsh regions, the two portions on the north side are the Vôrûbarst and Vôrûgarst regions, *and* that in the middle is Khvantras. 4. And Khvantras has the sea, for one part of the wide-formed ocean wound about around it; *and from* Vôrûbarst and Vôrûgarst a lofty mountain grew up; so that it is not possible for any one to go from region to region².

5. And of these seven regions every benefit was created most in Khvantras, and the evil spirit also produced most for Khvantras, on account of the superiority (sarîh)³ which he saw in it. 6. For the Kayânians and heroes were created in Khvantras; and the good religion of the Mazdayasnians was created in Khvantras, and afterwards conveyed to the other regions; Sôshyans⁴ is born in Khvantras, who makes the evil spirit impotent, and causes the resurrection *and* future existence.

¹ Possibly an attempt to connect the term kêshvar with kash; but the sentence may also be translated thus: 'and *they* formed various districts like this portion; on the east side is the Savah region,' &c.

² In the Pahlavi Vend. I, 4a, and in the Mainyô-i-khard, IX, 6, it is added, 'except with the permission of the angels' or the demons.

³ So in M6; but K20 has zaḍârîh, which would imply, 'for the destruction of what he saw of it.'

⁴ Always spelt so in the Bundahis MSS. K20 and M6, and corrupted into Sôshyôs in Pâzand; but it is more usually written Sôshâns in other Pahlavi works, and its Avesta form is Saoshyâs (see Chap. XXXII, 8).

CHAPTER XII.

1. On the nature of mountains it says in revelation, that, at first, the mountains have grown forth in eighteen years; and Albûrz ever grew till the completion of eight hundred years; two hundred years *up* to the star station (pâyak), two hundred years to the moon station, two hundred years to the sun station, and two hundred years to the endless light¹. 2. While the other mountains have grown out of Albûrz, in number 2244 mountains, *and* are Hûgar the lofty², Têrak of Albûrz, *Kakâd-i-Dâttik*, and the Arezûr ridge, the Aûsîndôm mountain, Mount Apârsên which they say is the mountain of Pârs, Mount Zariâ also which is Mount Mânûs, Mount Aîrak, Mount Kaf, Mount Vâdgês, Mount Aûshdâstâr, Mount Arezûr-bûm, Mount Rôyisnhômand, Mount Padashkhvârgar which is the greatest in Khvârth, the mountain which they call *Kînô*, Mount Rêvand, Mount Dârspêt the Bakyir mountain, Mount Kabed-sikaft, Mount Sîyâk-mûfmand, Mount Vafar-hômand, Mount Spendyâd *and* Kôndrâsp, Mount Asnavand *and* Kôndras, Mount

¹ These are the four grades of the Mazdayasnian heaven.

² In all the geographical details, mentioned in the Bundahis, there is a strange mixture of mythical tradition with actual fact. The author of the work finds names mentioned in the Avesta, by old writers of another country, and endeavours to identify them with places known to himself; much in the same way as attempts have been made to identify the geographical details of the garden of Eden. Most of the names of these mountains occur in the Zamyâd Yast, or in other parts of the Avesta, as will be noticed in detail further on. The number 2244 is also mentioned in § 7 of that Yast. A very able commentary on this chapter will be found in Windischmann's Zoroastrische Studien, pp. 1-19.

*Siḱidâv*¹, a mountain among those which are in *Kangdez*², of which they say that they are a comfort and delight of the good creator, the smaller hills.

3. I *will* mention them also a second time; *Albûrz*³ is around this earth and is connected with the sky. 4. The *Têrak*⁴ of *Albûrz* is that through which the stars, moon, *and* sun pass⁵ in, and through it they come back. 5. *Hûgar* the lofty⁶ is that from which the water of *Arêdvîvsûr*⁷ leaps down the height of a thousand men. 6. The *Aûsindôm*⁸ mountain is that which, being of ruby

¹ The Av. *Siḱidava* of *Zamyâd Yt.* 5.

² See Chap. XXIX, 4, 10; the name is here written *Kandez* in *K20*. In *M6* the word is *kôf*, 'mountain,' which is almost identical in form; if this be the correct reading, the translation will be, 'a mountain among those in the mountain which they say is agreeable and the delight,' &c. This mountain is, however, probably intended for the Av. *Aṇtare-kangha*, 'within *Kangha*,' of *Zamyâd Yt.* 4.

³ The *Haraiti-bares* of *Zamyâd Yt.* 1; but it is more usually called *Hara berezaiti* (see Chap. V, 3).

⁴ A central peak of the mythic *Albûrz*, around which the heavenly bodies are said to revolve (see Chap. V, 3). It is the Av. *Taêra*, mentioned in *Yas.* XLI, 24, *Râm Yt.* 7, *Zamyâd Yt.* 6.

⁵ So in *M6*, but *K20* has 'go in.'

⁶ This appears to be another peak of the mythic *Albûrz*, probably in the west, as it is connected with *Satavêš*, the western chieftain of the constellations (see Chaps. XXIV, 17, and II, 7). It is the Av. *Hukairya berezô*, of *Yas.* LXIV, 14, *Âbân Yt.* 3, 25, 96, *Gôs Yt.* 8, *Mihir Yt.* 88, *Rashnu Yt.* 24, *Fravardîn Yt.* 6, *Râm Yt.* 15.

⁷ See Chap. XIII, 3-5.

⁸ In *Aûharmazd Yt.* 31 and *Zamyâd Yt.* 2, 66, an *Ushidhâo* mountain is mentioned as having many mountain waters around it, but this seems to be a near neighbour of the *Ushidarena* mountain (see § 15). The details in the text correspond with the description of the *Hindva* mountain, given in *Tîstar Yt.* 32, thus: *us Hindvad paiti garôid yô histaiti maidhîm zrayanghô vouru-kashahê*, 'up on the *Hindva* mountain, which stands amid the wide-shored

(*khûn-âhinô*), of the substance of the sky¹, is *in* the midst of the wide-formed ocean, so that its water, which is from Hûgar, pours down into it (the ocean). 7. *Kakâd-i-Dâîtîk* ('the judicial peak') is that of the middle of the world, the height of a hundred men, on which the *Kînvâr* bridge² stands; and they take account of the soul at that place. 8. The *Arezûr*³ ridge [of the *Albûrz* mountain] is a summit at the gate of hell, where they always hold the concourse of the demons. 9. This also is said, that, excepting *Albûrz*, the *Apârsên*⁴ mountain is the

ocean;' and the Pahlavi name, *Aûsîndôm*, has probably arisen from the *us Hindvað* of this passage, as suggested by Justi. (See Chaps. XIII, 5, and XVIII, 10, 11.)

¹ The sky is considered to be a true firmament, or hard and indestructible dome.

² The *Kînvatô-peretu* of the Avesta, mentioned even in the *Gâthas*. In the Pahlavi Vend. XIX, 101, it is stated that 'they pass across by the *Kînvad* bridge, whose two extremities are their own heavenly angels, one stands at *Kakâd-i-Dâîtîk*, and one at *Albûrz*;' the former mountain seems not to be mentioned in the Avesta, but the bridge is the path of the soul to the other world; if righteous the soul passes by it easily over *Albûrz* (the confines of this world) into paradise, but if wicked it drops off the bridge into hell.

³ See Vend. III, 23, XIX, 140. The words in brackets may perhaps be inserted by mistake, but they occur in all MSS. examined, and there is nothing inconsistent with tradition in supposing *Arezûr* to be the extreme northern range of the mythic *Albûrz* which surrounds the earth, being the place where demons chiefly congregate.

⁴ Justi adopts the reading *Harpârsên*, which occurs in K20 four times out of eleven, but is corrected thrice. Windischmann suggests that this mountain is the Av. *skyata* (or *iskatâ*) *upairi-saêna* of Yas. X, 29, and *Zamyâd Yt.* 3, which the Pahlavi translator of the *Yasna* explains as 'the *Pârsên* crag.' It seems to be a general name for the principal mountain ranges in the south and east of Iran, as may be seen on comparing this passage and Chap. XXIV,

greatest; the Apârsên mountain they call the mountain of Pârs, and its beginning is in Sagastân¹ and its end in Khûgîstân. 10. Mount Mânûs² is great; the mountain on which Mânûskîhar was born.

11. The remaining mountains have chiefly grown from those; as it is said that the elevation (afšârîh) of the districts had arisen most around those three mountains³. 12. Mount Aîraê⁴ is in the middle from Hamadân to Khvârizem, and has grown from Mount Apârsên. 13. Mount [Kîñö]⁵, which is on its east, on the frontier of Tûrkîstân, is connected also with Apârsên. 14. Mount Kaf⁶ has grown from the same Mount Apârsên. 15. Mount Aûshdâs-

28, with Chap. XX, 16, 17, 21, 22, where the Haro, Hêtûmand, Marv, and Balkh rivers are said to spring from Mount Apârsên; but its application to the southern range is perhaps due to the etymological attempt, in the text, to connect it with Pârs. The Selections of Zâd-spâram, VII, 7, have Kîñîstân for Khûgîstân.

¹ This name can also be read Sîstân.

² In § 2 it is also called Zarið, but in Zamyâd Yt. 1 Zeredhō and Aredhō-manusha are mentioned as neighbouring mountains. The word 'great' is omitted in M6.

³ That is, around the ranges of Albûrz, Apârsên, and Mânûs.

⁴ Perhaps intended for the Erezishō of Zamyâd Yt. 2. The description would apply to any of the mountains near Nîrâpûr.

⁵ This name is omitted in the MSS., but is taken from § 2 as suggested by Justi. Perhaps it may be connected with 'the country of Sênî' (Chap. XV, 29), which is explained as being Kîñîstân, probably the land of Samarkand, which place was formerly called Kîñ, according to a passage in some MSS. of Tabarî's Chronicle, quoted in Ouseley's Oriental Geography, p. 298.

⁶ Not Kâf, nor is it mentioned in the Pahlavi Vend. V, 57, as supposed by Justi; the kâf kôp ârâyað of Spiegel's edition of the Pahlavi text being a misprint for kâfakō pârâyað, 'it traverses a fissure' (see Haug's Essays, 2nd ed. p. 326, note 2).

târ¹ is in Sagastân. 16. Mount Arezûr² is that which is in the direction of Arûm. 17. The Padash-khvârgar³ mountain is that which is in Taparistân and the side of Gîlân. 18. The Rêvand⁴ mountain is in Khûrâsân⁵, on which the Bûrzn fire⁶ was established; and its *name* Rêvand *means* this, that *it* is glorious. 19. The Vâdgês⁷ mountain is that which is on the frontier of the Vâdgêsians; that quarter is full of timber *and* full of trees. 20. The Bakytr⁸ mountain is that which Frâsiyâv of Tûr used as a stronghold, and he made his residence within *it*; and *in* the days of Yim⁹ a myriad towns and cities were erected on its pleasant *and* prosperous territory. 21. Mount Kabed-sikaft¹⁰ ('very rugged')

¹ The Av. Ushi-darena of Yas. I, 41, II, 54, III, 55, IV, 45, XXII, 31, XXV, 22, Aûharmazd Yt. 31, Zamyâd Yt. 0, 2, 97.

² Called Arezûr-bûm in § 2, which name stands for the sixth and seventh mountains, Erezurô and Bumyô, in Zamyâd Yt. 2. The land of Arûm was the eastern empire of the Romans.

³ Evidently the mountain range south of the Caspian, now called Albûrz; but whether this actual Albûrz is to be considered a part of the mythic Albûrz is not very clear.

⁴ The Av. Raêvaus, 'shining,' of Zamyâd Yt. 6. It is also called the Ridge of Vistâsp (see § 34).

⁵ Or, 'the east.'

⁶ See Chap. XVII, 8.

⁷ The Av. Vâiti-gaêsô, the twelfth mountain in Zamyâd Yt. 2; Bâdghês in Persian.

⁸ In § 2 it is Bakyir, which Justi thinks is another name for Mount Dârspêt ('white poplar'); the latter name not being repeated here makes this supposition probable.

⁹ K20 has rûm and M6 has lanman, but both explained by the Pâz. gloss Yim, which is also the reading of the Pâz. MSS. If the gloss be rejected the most probable translation would be, 'and in our days Shatrô-râm (or râmism), the victorious, erected on it a myriad towns and cities.'

¹⁰ Windischmann suggests that this may be intended for the Av. skyata or iskatâ mentioned in the note on Apârsên in § 9.

is that in Pârs, out of the same Mount Apârsên. 22. Mount Styâk-hômand ('being black') *and* Mount Vafar-hômand ('having snow')¹, as far as their Kâvûl borders, have grown out of it (Apârsên) towards the direction of K'înô. 23. The Spend-yâd² mountain is in the circuit (var) of Rêvand³. 24. The Kôndrâsp⁴ mountain, on the summit of which is Lake Sôvbar⁵, is in the district (or by the town) of Tûs. 25. The Kondrâs⁶ mountain is in Aîrân-vêg. 26. The Asnavand⁷ mountain is in Âtarô-pâtakân. 27. The Rôyisn-hômand⁸ ('having growth') mountain is that on which vegetation has grown.

28. Whatever⁹ mountains are those which are in every place of the various districts *and* various

¹ The Av. Syâmaka and Vafrayau of Zamyâd Yt. 5; and probably the Siyâh-kôh and Safêd-kôh of Afghânistân. With regard to K'înô, see the note on § 13. The former mountain is called Siyâk-mûî-mand, 'having black hair,' in § 2, which is certainly a more grammatical form than Siyâk-hômand.

² The Av. Spentô-dâta of Zamyâd Yt. 6.

³ The term var often means 'lake,' but we are not informed of any Lake Rêvand, though a mountain of that name is described in § 18; so it seems advisable to take var here in its wider sense of 'enclosure, circuit, district.'

⁴ The Av. Kadrva-aspa of Zamyâd Yt. 6.

⁵ See Chap. XXII, 3. All MSS. have Sôbar here.

⁶ If the circumflex be used in Pahlavi to indicate not only the consonant d, but also the vowel î, ê when it follows a vowel, as seems probable, this name can be read Kôîrâs; in any case, it is evidently intended for the Av. Kaorisa in Zamyâd Yt. 6. It is written Kôndras in § 2.

⁷ The Av. Asnavau of Zamyâd Yt. 5, Âtash Nyây. 5, Sîrôz. 9. See also Chap. XVII, 7.

⁸ The Av. Raoidhitô, the eighth mountain of Zamyâd Yt. 2.

⁹ So in M6 and the Pâz. MSS., but K20 has, 'The country mountains.'

countries, and cause the tillage *and* prosperity therein, are many *in* name and many *in* number, *and* have grown from these same mountains. 29. *As* Mount Ganâvad, Mount Asparôg, Mount Pâhargar, Mount Dimâvand, Mount Râvak, Mount Zarîn, Mount Gêsbakht, Mount Dâvad, Mount Mîgîn, *and* Mount Marak¹, which have all grown from Mount Apârsên, of which the other mountains are enumerated. 30. For the Dâvad² mountain has grown into Khûgîstân likewise from the Apârsên mountain. 31. The Dimâvand³ mountain is that in which Bêvarâsp is bound. 32. From the same Padashkhvârgar mountain unto Mount Kûmîs⁴, *which* they call Mount Madôfryâd ('Come-to-help') — that in which Vistâsp routed Argâsp — is Mount Mîyân-î-dast ('mid-plain')⁵, *and* was broken off from that mountain there. 33. They say, in the war of the religion, when there was confusion among the Iranians it broke off from that mountain, *and* slid down *into* the middle of the plain; the Iranians were saved by

¹ This list is evidently intended to include the chief mountains known to the author of the Bundahis, which he could not identify with any of those mentioned in the Avesta.

² This is the Pâzand reading of the name, on which very little reliance can be placed; the Pahlavi can also be read Dânad, and it may be the Deana mountain, 12,000 feet high, near Kaski-zard.

³ See Chap. XXIX, 9. This volcanic mountain, about 20,000 feet high and near Teheran, still retains this ancient Persian name, meaning 'wintry.' It is the chief mountain of the Padashkhvârgar range, which the Bundahis evidently considers as an offshoot of the Apârsên ranges.

⁴ The present name of a mountain between Nîsâpûr and the desert.

⁵ The name of a place about midway between Astarâbâd and Nîsâpûr. This mountain is called Mîgîn in § 29, probably from a place called Mezinan in the same neighbourhood.

it, and it was called 'Come-to-help' by them. 34. The Ganâvad¹ mountain is likewise there, on the Ridge of Vistâsp (pûst-i Vistâspân)² at the abode of the Bûrzn-Mitrô fire, nine leagues (parasang) to the west. 35. Râvak Bîsan³ is in Zrâvakad; this place, some say, is Zravad, some call it Bîsan, some Kalâk; from this the road of two sides of the mountain is down the middle of a fortress; for this reason, that is, because it is there formed, they call Kalâk a fortress; this place they also call within the land of Sarak. 36. Mount Asparôg⁴ is established from the country of Lake Kêkast⁵ unto Pârs. 37. Pâhargar ('the Pâhar range') is in Khûrâsân. 38. Mount Marak⁶ is in Lârân. 39. Mount Zartn is in Tûrktstân. 40. Mount Bakht-tan⁷ is in Spâhân.

41. The rest, *apart* from this enumeration, which they reckon *as* fostering hills of the country in the religion of the Mazdayasnians, are the small hills, those which have grown piecemeal in places.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. On the nature of seas it says in revelation, that the wide-formed ocean keeps one-third of this earth on the south side of the border of Albûrz⁸, *and so*

¹ The Pers. Kanâbad, or Gunâbad, is near Gumin.

² Another name for Mount Rêvand (§ 18). See Chap. XVII, 8.

³ Probably in Kirmân.

⁴ The mountain ranges of western Persia, including the Mount Zagros of classical writers.

⁵ See Chap. XXII, 2.

⁶ Probably the Merkhinah range in northern Lâristân.

⁷ The Bakhtiyârî range in the province of Ispahân.

⁸ Or perhaps better thus: 'the wide-formed ocean is in the

wide-formed is the ocean that the water of a thousand lakes is held by it, such as the source Arêdvîv-sûr¹, *which* some say is the fountain lake. 2. Every particular lake is of a particular kind², some are great, and some are small; some are so large that a man with a horse might compass *them* around in forty days³, which is 1700 leagues (parasang) in extent.

3. Through the warmth and clearness of the water, purifying more than other waters, everything continually flows from the source Arêdvîvsûr. 4. At the south of Mount Albûrz a hundred thousand golden channels are there formed, *and* that water goes with warmth and clearness, through the channels, on to Hûgar the lofty⁴; on the summit of that mountain is a lake⁵; into that lake it flows, becomes quite purified, and comes back through a different golden channel. 5. At the height of a thousand men an open golden branch from that channel is connected with Mount Aûsîndôm⁶ amid the wide-formed ocean; from there one portion flows forth to the ocean for the purification of the sea, *and* one portion drizzles in moisture upon the whole of this earth, and all the creations of Aûharmazd acquire

direction of the south limit of Albûrz, *and* possesses one-third of this earth.'

¹ The Av. Ardvî sûra of Âbân Yt. I, &c.

² Literally, 'for every single lake *there is* a single kind;' but we may perhaps read lâ, 'not,' instead of the very similar râi, 'for,' and translate as follows: 'every single lake is not of one kind;' which expresses very nearly the same meaning.

³ Compare Âbân Yt. 101.

⁴ See Chap. XII, 5.

⁵ Lake Urvis (see Chap. XXII, 11).

⁶ See Chaps. XII, 6, and XVIII, 10, 11.

health from it, and it dispels the dryness of the atmosphere.

6. Of the salt seas three are principal, *and* twenty-three are small. 7. Of the three which are principal, one is the Pûtîk, one the Kamrûd, and one the Sahî-bûn. 8. Of all three the Pûtîk¹ is the largest, in which is a flow *and* ebb, on the same side as the wide-formed ocean, *and* it is joined to the wide-formed ocean. 9. Amid this wide-formed ocean, on the Pûtîk side, it has a sea which they call the Gulf (var) of Satavês². 10. Thick and salt the stench³ wishes to go from the sea Pûtîk to the wide-formed ocean; with a mighty high wind therefrom, the Gulf of Satavês drives away whatever is stench, *and* whatever is pure and clean goes into the wide-formed *ocean* and the source Arêdvîvsûr; *and* that flows back a second *time* to Pûtîk⁴. 11. The control⁵ of this sea (the Pûtîk) is connected with the

¹ The Av. Pûitika of Vend. V, 52, 57, and evidently the Persian Gulf.

² So called from the constellation Satavês (§ 12), see Chap. II, 7. The details given in the text are applicable to the Gulf and Sea of 'Umân, the Arabian Sea of Europeans. The description of this Gulf, given in the Pahl. Vend. V, 57, which is rather obscure, is as follows: 'In purification *the impurities* flow, in the purity of water, from the sea Pûtîk into the wide-formed ocean; at the southernmost side *the water* stands back in mist, and the blue body of Satavês stands back around it. Pûtîk stands *out* from the side of Satavês, this is where *it is*. From which side it stands is not clear to me. The water comes to Satavês through the bottom; some say that it traverses a fissure.'

³ Perhaps a better reading would be stûrg sûr-i gôndakîh, 'the intense saltness which is stench.' The author appears to have had some vague idea of the monsoon.

⁴ Or, perhaps, 'the other (the stench) flows back to Pûtîk.'

⁵ Reading band; but it may be bôd, 'consciousness, sensitivity.'

moon and wind; it comes again *and* goes down, in increase and decrease, because of her revolving. 12. The control¹ also of the Gulf of Satavêš is attached to the constellation Satavêš, in whose protection are the seas of the southern quarter, just as *those* on the northern side are in the protection of Haptôk-rîng². 13. Concerning the flow *and* ebb it is said, that everywhere from the presence of the moon two winds continually blow, whose abode is in the Gulf of Satavêš, one they call the down-draught, and one the up-draught; when the up-draught blows *it is* the flow, and when the down-draught blows it is the ebb³. 14. In the other seas there is nothing of the nature of a revolution of the moon therein, *and* there are no flow *and* ebb. 15. The sea of Kamrûd⁴ is that which they pass by, in the north, in Taparistân; that of Sahî-bûn⁵ is in Arûm.

16. Of the small seas that which was most whole-

¹ See p. 43, note 5.

² See Chap. II, 7.

³ This is not a confused attempt to explain the tides as the effect of the land and sea breezes, as might be suspected at first, but is a reasonable conclusion from imaginary facts. Assuming that the wind always blows eastward and westward from the moon, it follows that as the moon rises an easterly wind must blow, which may be supposed to drive the flood tide westward into the Persian Gulf; until the moon passes the meridian, when the wind, changing to the west, ought to drive the ebb tide eastward out of the Gulf, thus accounting for one flow and ebb every day, dependent on the position of the moon.

⁴ Evidently the Caspian, which lies north of Taparistân, a province including part of Mâzendarân.

⁵ Or perhaps Gâhî-bûn, meaning probably the Mediterranean or Euxine, if not both of them; the author appears merely to have heard of the existence of such a sea in Asia Minor (Arûm). In the Selections of Zâd-spâram, VI, 14, it is called Gêhân-bûn.

some¹ was the sea Kyânsth², *such* as is in Sagastân; *at* first, noxious creatures, snakes, and lizards (vazagh) were not in *it*, *and* the water was sweeter *than in* any of the other seas; later (dadîgar) *it became* salt; at the closest, on account of the stench, it is not possible to go so near as one league, so very great are the stench and saltness through the violence of the hot wind. 17. When the renovation *of the universe* occurs it *will* again become sweet³.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. On the nature of the five classes of animals (gôspend) it says in revelation, that, when the primeval ox passed away⁴, there where the marrow came out grain grew up⁵ of fifty and five species, *and* twelve⁶ species of medicinal plants grew; as it says, that out of the marrow is every separate creature, every single thing whose lodgment is in the marrow⁷. 2. From the horns *arose* peas (mîgûk),

¹ Comparing nîstûm with Pers. nîst, 'healthy.'

² The Av. Kâsu of Vend. XIX, 18, and Zamyâd Yt. 66, 92 (see also Chaps. XX, 34, and XXI, 7). A brackish lake and swamp now called Hâmûn, 'the desert,' or Zarah, 'the sea,' and which formerly contained fresher water than it does now.

³ The MSS. here add the first sentence of Chap. XX, and there is every reason to believe that Chaps. XX–XXII originally occupied this position, between XIII and XIV, (see the list of the contents of TD in the Introduction.)

⁴ See Chaps. IV, 1, and X, 1.

⁵ All MSS. have lakhvâr, 'again,' but this is probably a blunder for lââlâ, 'up.'

⁶ K20 has 'fifteen' here, but 'twelve' in Chaps. X, 1, and XXVII, 2.

⁷ K20 has 'of every single thing the lodgment is in the marrow.'

from the nose the leek, from the blood the grapevine¹ from which they make wine—on this account wine abounds with blood—from the lungs the rue-like herbs, from the middle of the heart² thyme *for* keeping away stench, *and* every one of the others as revealed in the Avesta.

3. The seed of the ox was carried up to the moon station³; there it was thoroughly purified, *and* produced the manifold species of animals⁴. 4. First, two oxen, one male and one female, and, afterwards, one pair of every single species was let go into the earth, *and* was discernible in Atrân-vêg *for* a Hâsar ('mile'), which is like a Parasang ('league')⁵; as it says, that, on account of the valuableness of the ox, it was created twice, one time as an ox, and one time as the manifold species of animals. 5. A thousand days and nights they were without eating, and first water and afterwards herbage (aûrvar) were devoured by them.

6. And, afterwards, the three classes (kardak) of animals were produced therefrom, as it says that first were the goat and sheep, and then the camel

¹ Probably kadûk-i raz may mean 'the pumpkin and grape.'

² Reading dîl; but the word may also be read sar, 'the head,' or jigar, 'the liver.'

³ See Chap. X, 2.

⁴ This translation suits both text and context very well, but gôspend pûr-sardak is evidently intended for the Av. gâus pouru-saredhō, 'the ox of many species,' of Mâh Yt. o, 7, and Sîrôz. 12.

⁵ Reading mûn âê parasang humânâk; if 3 be read for âê the translation must be, 'three of which are like a Parasang,' for a Hâsar cannot be equal to three Parasangs (see Chaps. XVI, 7, and XXVI). The phrase in the text probably means merely that a Hâsar is a measure for long distances, just as a Parasang is.

and swine, and then the horse and ass. 7. For, first, *those* suitable for grazing were created therefrom, those are now kept in the valley (lâi); the second created were those of the hill summits (sar-i dêz)¹, which are wide-travellers, *and* habits (nihâdak) are not taught to them by hand; the third created were *those* dwelling in the water.

8. As for the genera (khadûinak), the first genus is that which *has* the foot cloven in two, *and is* suitable for grazing; of which a camel larger than a horse is small *and* new-born. 9. The second genus is ass-footed, of which the swift² horse is the largest, *and* the ass the least. 10. The third genus is that of the five-dividing paw, of which the dog is the largest, *and* the civet-cat the least. 11. The fourth genus is the flying, of which the griffon of three natures³ is the largest, and the chaffinch⁴ the least. 12. The fifth genus is that of the water, of which the Kar fish⁵ is the largest, *and* the Nemadu⁶ the least.

13. These five genera are apportioned out into

¹ Justi reads gîrîsak, the Av. gairishâkô, 'mountain-frequenting,' of Tîstar Yt. 36; but this is doubtful.

² Pahl. zibâl = Pers. zîbâl.

³ The Pâz. sin-i se avinâ is the Pahl. sên-i 3 khadûinak of Chap. XXIV, 11, 29, the Sîn bird or Sîmurg of Persian legends, the Av. saêna. The word avinâ is a Pâz. misreading either of âinak, 'kind, sort,' or of anganâk, 'dividing.' The mixture of Pâzand and Pahlavi in this and some other chapters is rather perplexing, but the Pâzand misreadings can usually be corrected after transliterating them back into Pahlavi characters.

⁴ Reading va taru (Pers. tar).

⁵ See Chaps. XVIII, 3, and XXIV, 13.

⁶ If this Pâzand word be written in Pahlavi letters it may be read va magan, which may stand for va ma'gil, 'and the leech;' but this is very uncertain.

two hundred and eighty-two¹ species (*sardak*). 14. First are five species of goat, the ass-goat², the milch-goat, the mountain-goat, the fawn, *and* the *common* goat. 15. Second, five species of sheep, that with a tail, that which has no tail, the dog-sheep, the wether, *and* the Kûrisk sheep, a sheep whose horn is great; it possesses a *grandeur*³ like unto a horse, *and* they use *it* mostly for a steed (*bâra*), as it is said that Mânûskîhar kept a Kûrisk as a steed. 16. Third, two species of camel, the mountain *one and that* suitable for grazing; for one is fit to keep in the mountain, *and* one in the plain; they are one-humped *and* two-humped. 17. Fourth, fifteen species of ox, the white, mud-coloured⁴, red, yellow, black, *and* dappled, the elk, the buffalo, the camel-leopard ox, the fish-chewing⁵ ox, the Fars ox, the *Kagau*, *and* other species of ox. 18. Fifth, eight species of horse, the Arab, the Persian, the mule⁶, the ass, the wild ass (*gôr*), the hippopotamus (*asp-i âvî*), *and* other species of horse. 19. Sixth, ten species of dog, the shepherd's dog, the village-dog which is the house-protector, the blood-hound, the slender hound⁷, the water-

¹ K20 alone has 272 (see Chap. X, 3).

² The *khar-bûz* (see Chap. XXIV, 2).

³ Supposing *se koh* to be a Pâz. misreading of Pahl. *sukûh*. Justi's translation is: 'it inhabits the three mountains, like the horse.'

⁴ Pâz. *ashgun* is evidently for Pahl. *hasgûn*.

⁵ Transcribing the Pâz. *mâhi khu ushân* into Pahlavi it may be read *mâhîkân-khvasân* (*khashân?*).

⁶ Instead of these first three species M6 has 'the white, black, yellow, bay, *and* chestnut.' K20 omits 'the ass' by mistake.

⁷ These first four species are the *Av. pasus-haurvô*, *vis-haurvô*, *vôhunazgô*, and *taurunô* of Vend. V, 92-98, XIII, 21, 26-74, 117, 164, 165.

beaver¹ which they call the water-dog, the fox, the ichneumon (râsu), the hedgehog which they call 'thorny-back,' the porcupine², *and* the civet-cat; of which, two species are those accustomed³ to burrows, one the fox *and* one the ichneumon; *and* those accustomed to jungle are such as the porcupine which has spines on *its* back, *and* the hedgehog which is similar. 20. Seventh, five species of the black⁴ hare; two are wild species, one dwelling in a burrow⁵ *and* one dwelling in the jungle. 21. Eighth, eight species of weasel; one the marten, one the black marten, the squirrel, the Bez ermine⁶, the white ermine, *and* other species of weasel. 22. Ninth, eight species of musk *animals*; one is that which is recognised by *its* musk⁷, one

¹ The Av. bawris upâpô of Âbân Yt. 129.

² The word indra has usually been taken as a Pâz. misreading of the Pahl. aûdrak (Av. udra, 'otter,' of Vend. XIII, 48, 167, 169, XIV, 2), but this would be more probably read andra. The Pahl. sûgar, 'porcupine,' is just as likely to be misread indra, and its meaning suits the context better.

³ The Pâz. âmokhtes:n, which is an ungrammatical form, is evidently a misreading of the Pahl. âmûkhtagân.

⁴ Kzo has seyâ, M6 has zyâgi hest. Perhaps some old copyist has corrected sîyâk-gôsh into khar-gôsh, and so both the epithets have crept into the text, the word 'black' being superfluous.

⁵ Reading khan-mânist, the Pâz. khu being an obvious misreading of khan.

⁶ The Pâz. bez is written bedh in the Pâzand MS. (the z in M6 being shaped something like dh), and Justi supposes it represents the Arabic abyadh or baîdhâ, 'white,' and is explained by the Pers. sapêd, 'white,' which follows; but there is nothing in the text to indicate that the second name is an explanation of the first. It is more probable that bez represents the Pers. bîgâd, 'reddish, rufous, variegated,' an epithet quite applicable to the ermine in its summer fur.

⁷ Or, 'is known as the musk *animal*.'

the musk *animal* with a bag in which is their pleasant scent, the Bis-musk¹ which eats the Bis-herb, the black musk which is the enemy of the serpent *that is* numerous in rivers, *and* other species of musk *animals*. 23. Tenth, one hundred and ten species of birds; flying creatures (vey=vâî) such as the griffon bird², the Karsipt³, the eagle, the Kahrkâs⁴ which they call the vulture, the crow, the Ardâ, the crane, *and* the tenth⁵ is the bat. 24. There are two of them which have milk in the teat *and* suckle *their* young, the griffon bird and the bat which flies in the night; as they say that the bat is created of three races (sardak), the race (âyina) of the dog, the bird, *and* the musk *animal*; for it flies like a bird, has many teeth like a dog, *and* is dwelling in holes like a musk-rat. 25. These hundred and ten species of birds are distributed into eight groups (khadûinak), mostly as scattered about as when a man scatters seed, *and* drops the seed in *his* fingers to the ground, large, middling, *and* small. 26. Eleventh⁶, fish were created of ten

¹ A kind of musk-rat; the bîs it eats is said to be the Napellus Moysis.

² Pahl. sênô mûrûk, the sîmurg of Persian tradition, and Av. mereghô saênô of Bahrâm Yt. 41.

³ See Chap. XIX, 16.

⁴ See Chap. XIX, 25.

⁵ Counting the 'flying creatures' and 'the vulture' as distinct species, 'the bat' is the tenth. It has been generally supposed that we should read 'eleventh,' and consider the bats as an eleventh group, especially as the MSS. call the next group (the fish) the 'twelfth;' but this view is contradicted by the remarks about the bats being mingled with those about the birds, and also by Zâdsparam in his Selections, Chap. IX, 14 (see App. to Bund.), not mentioning any group of bats among the other animals.

⁶ All the MSS. have 'twelfth,' but they give no 'eleventh' nor 'thirteenth,' though they have 'fourteenth' in § 29. These irre-

species; first, the fish Ariz¹, the Arzuvâ, the Arzukâ, the Marzukâ, *and* other Avesta names².

27. Afterwards, within each species, species within species are created, so the total is two hundred and eighty-two species³.

28. Of the dog they say that out of the star station, that is, *away* from the direction of the constellation Haptôk-rîng, was given to him further by a stage (yôgist)⁴ than to men, on account of *his* protection of sheep, *and* as associating with sheep *and* men; for this the dog is purposely adapted⁵, as three more kinds of advantage are given to him than *to* man, *he has* his own boots, his own clothing⁶, *and* may wander about without self-exertion.

29. The twelfth⁷ is the sharp-toothed beast of

gularities seem to indicate that part of this chapter has been omitted by some old copyist.

¹ See Chaps. XVIII, 5, and XXIV, 13.

² None of these names are found in the portion of the Avesta now extant.

³ K20 alone has 272 (see Chap. X, 3). The actual total number of species mentioned is 186, leaving ninety-six for the 'species within species.' Zâd-spâram in his Selections, Chap. IX, 14, differs from the numbers given in the text merely in giving ten species of ox, instead of fifteen; so the total of his details is 181, leaving 101 sub-species to make up his grand total of 282 (see App. to Bund.)

⁴ A yôgist (compare Sans. yogana) was probably from fifteen to sixteen English miles, as it consisted of sixteen hâsar, each of one thousand steps of the two feet (see Chap. XXVI, 1). This sentence seems to imply that on account of the useful qualities of the dog he has a part of the lowermost grade of paradise allotted to him, further from the demon-haunted north than that allotted to the men whose inferior order of merit does not entitle them to enter the higher grades of paradise.

⁵ Reading âhang-hômand, 'having a purpose.'

⁶ Compare Vend. XIII, 106.

⁷ All the MSS. have 'fourteenth,' but they give no 'thirteenth.'

which the leader of the flock is in such great fear, for that flock of sheep is very badly maintained which has no dog.

30. Aûharmazd said when the bird Vâresha¹ was created by him, *which* is a bird of prey, thus: 'Thou art created by me, O bird Vâresha! so that my vexation may be greater than *my* satisfaction with thee, for thou doest the will of the evil spirit more than that of me; like the wicked man who did not become satiated with wealth, thou also dost not become satiated with the slaughter of birds; but if thou be not created by me, O bird Vâresha! thou wouldst be created by him, the evil spirit, *as* a kite² with the body of a Varpa³, by which no creature would be left alive.'

31. Many animals are created in all these species for this reason, that when one shall be perishing *through* the evil spirit, one shall remain.

CHAPTER XV.

1. On the nature of men it says in revelation, that Gâyômarđ, in passing away⁴, gave forth seed; that seed was thoroughly purified by the motion of

¹ No doubt 'a hawk' (Pers. vâsah or bâsah), as mentioned by Justi; Av. vâre would become vâ or bâ in Persian.

² Compare gûrîk with Pers. varik, varkâ, varkâk, varkak, vargâh, 'an eagle, falcon, kite, or hawk.'

³ Transcribing the Pâz. varpa êyi into Pahlavi we have varpak-aê, which is very nearly the same in form as varîkak-aê, 'a hut or cottage' (Pers. gurîkah-ê); so the formidable bird which the evil spirit might have created was 'a kite with a body like a cottage.'

⁴ See Chap. IV, 1.

the light of the sun, and Nêryôsang¹ kept charge of two portions, and Spendarmad² received one portion. 2. And *in* forty years, with the shape of a one-stemmed Rivâs-plant³, and the fifteen years of its fifteen leaves, Matrô and Matrôyâô⁴ grew up from the earth in such a manner that their arms rested behind on *their* shoulders (dôsh), and one joined to the other they were connected together and both alike. 3. And the waists of both of them were brought close *and* so connected together that it was not clear which is the male and which the female, and which is the *one* whose living soul (nismô) of Aûharmazd is not away⁵. 4. As it is said thus: 'Which is created before, the soul (nismô) or the body? And Aûharmazd said that the soul is created before, and the body after, for him who was

¹ Av. Nairyô-sangha of Yas. XVII, 68, LXX, 92, Vend. XIX, 111, 112, XXII, 22, &c.; the angel who is said to be Aûharmazd's usual messenger to mankind.

² The female archangel who is supposed to have special charge of the earth (see Chap. I, 26).

³ A plant allied to the rhubarb, the shoots of which supply an acid juice used by the Persians for acidulating preserves and drinks.

⁴ These names are merely variants of the Mâshya and Mâshyôî of the latter part of this chapter (nom. dual, m. and f., of Av. mashya, 'mortal'). This is shown by the Pandnâmak-i Zarâtûst, saying: 'and my human nature is from Matrôîh *and* Matrô-yâôîh, *from* which first generation and seed from Gâyômarð I have sprung.' And the names are also found in the more Persian forms Maharîh and Maharîyâôyîh (see the note to § 22). Windischmann considered the meaning to be that 'they grew up on the day Mitrô of the month Mitrô,' that is, the sixteenth day of the seventh month of the Parsi year; this is not confirmed, however, by Zâdsparam in his Selections, Chap. X, 4 (see App. to Bund.)

⁵ That is, whether they had souls or not. That nismô is the Huzvâris for rûbân, 'soul,' appears clearly in § 4, where both words are used for the same thing.

created; it is given into the body that it may produce activity, and the body is created only for activity;' hence the conclusion is this, that the soul (rûbân) is created before and the body after. 5. And both of them changed from the shape of a plant into the shape of man, *and* the breath (nismô) went spiritually into them, which is the soul (rûbân); and now, moreover, in that similitude a tree had grown up whose fruit was the ten varieties of man¹.

6. Aûharmazd spoke to Mashya *and* Mashyôht thus: 'You are man, you are the ancestry of the world, and you are created perfect in devotion² by me; perform devotedly the duty of the law, think good thoughts, speak good words, do good deeds, and worship no demons!' 7. Both of them first thought this, that one of them should please the other, as he is a man for him; and the first deed done by them was this, when they went out they washed³ themselves thoroughly; and the first words spoken by them were these, that Aûharmazd created the water and earth, plants and animals, the stars, moon, and sun, and all prosperity whose origin and effect are from the manifestation of righteousness⁴. 8. And, afterwards, antagonism rushed into their minds, and their minds were

¹ This evidently refers to another tree, which is supposed to have produced the ten varieties of human monstrosities (see § 31).

² This would be a translation of the Avesta phrase, 'the best of Ârmaiti (the spirit of the earth).'

³ Comparing mêgîd with Pers. magîd; but the verb is very ambiguous, as it may mean, 'they feasted themselves,' or 'they made water.'

⁴ The last phrase appears to be quoted from the Pahlavi Hâdôkht Nask, I, 2.

thoroughly corrupted, and they exclaimed that the evil spirit created the water and earth, plants and animals, *and* the other things as *aforesaid*. 9. That false speech was spoken through the will of the demons, *and* the evil spirit possessed himself of this first enjoyment from them; through that false speech they both became wicked, and their souls are in hell until the future existence.

10. And they had gone thirty days without food¹, covered with clothing of herbage (*giyâh*); *and* after the thirty days they went forth into the wilderness, came to a white-haired goat, and milked the milk from the udder with their mouths. 11. When they had devoured the milk *Mâshya said* to *Mâshyôt* thus: 'My delight was owing to it when I had not devoured the milk, and my delight is more delightful now when it is devoured by my vile body.'

12. That second false speech enhanced the power of the demons, and the taste of the food was taken away by them, so that out of a hundred parts one part remained.

13. Afterwards, in another thirty days and nights they came to a sheep, fat² *and* white-jawed, and they slaughtered *it*; and fire was extracted by them out of the wood of the lote-plum³ and box-tree, through the guidance of the heavenly angels, since both woods were most productive of fire for them;

¹ Reading *akhûrîsn* instead of the *khûrîsn* of all MSS. which is hardly intelligible. Perhaps *âv-khûrîsn*, 'drinking water,' ought to be read, as it is alluded to in Chap. XXX, 1.

² Comparing *gefar* with Av. *garewa* and Pers. *garb*, but this identification may not be correct.

³ The *kûnâr*, a thorny tree, allied to the jujube, which bears a small plum-like fruit.

and the fire was stimulated by their mouths; and the first fuel kindled by them was dry grass, *kendâr*, *lotos*, date palm leaves, *and* myrtle; and they made a roast of the sheep. 14. And they dropped three handfuls of the meat into the fire, *and* said: 'This is the share of the fire ¹.' One piece of the rest they tossed to the sky, *and* said: 'This is the share of the angels.' A bird, the vulture, advanced *and* carried *some* of it away from before *them*, as a dog ate the first meat. 15. And, first, a clothing of skins covered them; afterwards, it is said, woven garments were prepared *from* a cloth woven ² in the wilderness. 16. And they dug out a pit in the earth, and iron was obtained by them and beaten out with a stone, and without a forge they beat out a cutting edge ³ from it; and they cut wood with it, *and* prepared a wooden shelter from the sun (*pês-khûr*).

17. Owing to the gracelessness which they practised, the demons became more oppressive, and they themselves carried on unnatural malice between themselves; they advanced one against the other, *and* smote and tore *their* hair *and* cheeks ⁴. 18. Then the demons shouted out of the darkness

¹ Most of this sentence is omitted in K20 by mistake.

² Reading *khês-ī-i tad*, which Pahlavi words might be easily misread *ashâbê tad*, as given in Pâzand in the text. That Pâz. *tadha* stands for Pahl. *tadâk* (Pers. *tadah*, 'spun, woven') is quite certain.

³ Or 'an axe,' according as we read *têkh* or *tash*. The order of the foregoing words, *barâ tapâk-ī*, 'without a forge,' appears to have been reversed by mistake.

⁴ Reading *rôd* as equivalent to Pers. *rûf*, 'face,' but it ought to be *rôd*. Perhaps the word is *lût*, 'bare,' and the translation should be, 'tore *their* hair bare.'

thus : 'You are man ; worship the demon ! so that your demon of malice may repose.' 19. Mâshya went forth and milked a cow's milk, *and* poured it out towards the northern quarter ; through that the demons became more powerful, and *owing to* them they both became so dry-backed that in fifty winters they had no desire for intercourse, and though they had had intercourse they would have had no children. 20. And on the completion of fifty years the source of desire arose, first *in* Mâshya and then *in* Mâshyôî, for Mâshya said to Mâshyôî thus : 'When I see thy shame my desires arise.' Then Mâshyôî spoke thus : 'Brother Mâshya ! when I see thy great desire I am also agitated¹.' 21. Afterwards, it became their mutual wish that the satisfaction of their desires should be accomplished, as they reflected thus : 'Our duty even for those fifty years was this.'

22. From them was born in nine months a pair, male and female ; *and* owing to tenderness for offspring² the mother devoured one, and the father one.

23. And, afterwards, Aûharmazd took tenderness for offspring away from them, so that *one* may nourish a child, and the child may remain.

24. And from them arose seven pairs, male *and*

¹ This is merely a paraphrase of the original.

² Or, 'the deliciousness of children' (shîrînfîh-i farzand). Justi has, 'owing to an eruption on the children the mother deserted one,' &c.; but the legend of devouring the first children is still more clearly mentioned in the Pahlavi Rivâyat, which forms the first book of the Dâdistân-i Dînik (preceding the ninety-two questions and answers to which that name is usually applied) as follows : Maharîh va Maharîyâôyîh dûshâram râî nazdistô farzand-i nafsman barâ vastamûnd, 'Mâshya and Mâshyôî, through affection, at first ate up their own offspring.'

female, *and* each was a brother and sister-wife; and from every one of them, in fifty years, children were born, and they themselves died in a hundred years.

25. Of those seven pairs one was Sîyâkmak, the name of the man, and Nasâk¹ of the woman; and from them a pair was born, whose names were Fravâk of the man and Fravâkain of the woman.

26. From them fifteen pairs were born, every single pair of whom became a race (*sardak*); and from them the constant continuance of the generations of the world arose.

27. Owing to the increase (*zâyisn*) of the whole fifteen races, nine races proceeded on the back of the ox Sarsaok², through the wide-formed ocean, to the other six regions (*kêshvar*), and stayed there; and six races of men remained in Khvantras.

28. Of those six races the name of the man of one pair was Tâz and of the woman Tâzak, and they went to the plain of the Tâzikân (Arabs); and of one pair Hôshyang³ was the name of the man and Gûzak of the woman, and from them arose the Afrânakân (Iranians); and from one pair the Mâzendarâns⁴ have arisen. 29. Among the number (*pavan aê mar*) were those who are in the coun-

¹ Or 'Varâk.'

² See Chaps. XVII, 4, XIX, 13; the name is here written Srisaok in the MSS., and is a Pâzand reading in all three places.

³ Av. Haoshyangha of Âbân Yt. 21, Gôš Yt. 3, Fravardîn Yt. 137, Râm Yt. 7, Ashi Yt. 24, 26, Zamyâd Yt. 26. His usual epithet is *paradhâta* (Pahl. *pêš-dâd*), which is thus explained in the Pahlavi Vend. XX, 7: 'this early law (*pêš-dâd*) was this, that he first set going the law of sovereignty.' For this reason he is considered to be the founder of the earliest, or Pêrdâdian, dynasty. See Chaps. XXXI, 1, XXXIV, 3, 4.

⁴ The people of the southern coast of the Caspian, the Mâzainya daêva, 'Mâzainyan demons or idolators,' of the Avesta.

tries of Sûrâk¹, those who are in the country of Anêr², those who are in the countries of Tûr, those who are in the country of Salm which is Arûm, those who are in the country of Sênî, that which is Kînistân, those who are in the country of Dâi³, and those who are in the country of Sînd⁴. 30. Those, indeed, throughout the seven regions are all from the lineage of Fravâk, son of Stiyâkmak, son of Mâshya.

31. As there were ten varieties of man⁵, and fifteen races from Fravâk, there were twenty-five races all from the seed of Gâyômarđ; *the varieties are such as those* of the earth, of the water, the breast-eared, the breast-eyed, the one-legged, those also who have wings like a bat, *those* of the forest, with tails, and who have hair on the body⁶.

¹ Not Syria (which is Sûristân, see Chap. XX, 10), but the Sûrîk of the Pahlavi Vend. I, 14, which translates Av. Sughdha, the land east of the Oxus (see Chap. XX, 8). Windischmann reads it as Pâz. Erâk.

² Probably for Av. anairya, 'non-Aryan,' which seems specially applied to the lands east of the Caspian.

³ The countries of Tûr, Salm, Sênî, and Dâi are all mentioned successively in Fravardîn Yt. 143, 144, in their Avesta forms Tûrîya, Sairîma, Sâîni, and Dâhi. The country of Tûr was part of the present Turkistân, that of Salm is rightly identified with Arûm (the eastern Roman Empire, or Asia Minor) in the text; the country of Sênî (miswritten Sênd), being identified with Kînistân, was probably the territory of Samarkand, and may perhaps be connected with Mount Kînô (see Chap. XII, 2, 13); and the land of Dâi must be sought somewhere in the same neighbourhood.

⁴ Bactria or any part of north-western India may be intended; wherever Brahmans and Buddhists existed (as they did in Bactria) was considered a part of India in Sasanian times.

⁵ Grown on a separate tree (see § 5).

⁶ Only seven varieties of human monsters are here enumerated,

CHAPTER XVI.

1. On the nature of generation it says in revelation, that a woman when she comes out from menstruation, during ten days and nights, when they go near unto her, soon becomes pregnant. 2. When she is cleansed from her menstruation, *and* when the time for pregnancy has come, always when the seed of the man is the more powerful a son arises from it; when that of the woman is the more powerful, a daughter; when both seeds are equal, twins and triplets. 3. If the male seed comes the sooner, it adds to the female, and she becomes robust; if the female seed comes the sooner, it becomes blood, *and* the leanness of the female *arises* therefrom.

4. The female seed is cold and moist, and *its* flow is from the loins, and the colour is white, red, and yellow; and the male seed is hot and dry, *its* flow is from the brain of the head, *and* the colour is white and mud-coloured (*hasgûn*). 5. All¹ the seed of the females *which* issues beforehand, takes a place within the womb, and the seed of the males will remain above it, *and* will fill the space of the womb; whatever refrains therefrom becomes blood again, enters into the veins of the females, *and* at the time any one is born it becomes milk and

for the last three details seem to refer to one variety, the monkeys. The Pârsî MS. of miscellaneous texts, M7 (fol. 120), says, 'The names of the ten species of men are the breast-eyed, the three-eyed, the breast-eared, the elephant-eared, the one-legged, the web-footed, the leopard-headed, the lion-headed, the camel-headed, *and* the dog-headed.'

¹ M6 has 'always.'

nourishes him, as all milk arises from the seed of the males, *and* the blood is that of the females.

6. These four things, they say, are male, *and these* female: the sky, metal, wind, *and* fire are male, *and* are never otherwise; the water, earth, plants, *and* fish are female, *and* are never otherwise; the remaining creation consists of male and female.

7. As regards the fish¹ it says that, at the time of excitement, they go forwards and come back in the water, two *and* two, the length of a mile (hâsar), which is one-fourth of a league (parasang), in the running water; in that coming *and* going they then rub *their* bodies *together*, and a kind of sweat drops out betwixt them, *and* both become pregnant.

CHAPTER XVII.

1. On the nature of fire it says in revelation, that fire is produced of five kinds, namely, the fire Berezi-savang², the fire which shoots up before Aû-harmazd the lord; the fire Vohu-fryân³, the fire which is in the bodies of men and animals; the fire Urvâzist⁴, the fire which is in plants; the fire

¹ K20 has 'the male fish,' which is inconsistent with the preceding sentence.

² These Avesta names of the five kinds of fire are enumerated in Yas. XVII, 63–67, and the Pahlavi translation of that passage interchanges the attributes ascribed to the first and fifth in the text, thus it calls the first 'the fire of sublime benefit in connection with Varahrân (Bahrâm).' See also Selections of Zâd-spâram, XI, 1.

³ 'The fire of the good diffuser (or offerer), that within the bodies of men' (Pahl. Yas. XVII, 64).

⁴ 'The fire of prosperous (or abundant) life, that within plants' (Pahl. Yas. XVII, 65).

Vâzist¹, the fire which is in a cloud *which* stands opposed to Spêngargâk in conflict; the fire Spênist², the fire which they keep in use in the world, likewise the fire of Vâhrâm³. 2. Of those five fires one consumes both water and food, as that which is in the bodies of men; one consumes water *and* consumes no food, as that which is in plants, which live and grow through water; one consumes food *and* consumes no water, as that which they keep in use in the world, and likewise the fire of Vâhrâm; one consumes no water and no food, as the fire Vâzist. 3. The Berezi-savang is that in the earth and mountains *and* other things, which⁴ Aûharmazd created, *in* the original creation, like three breathing souls (nismô); through the watchfulness and protection *due* to them the world ever develops (vakhshêd).

4. And in the reign of Takhmôrup⁵, when men continually passed, on the back of the ox Sarsaok⁶, from Khvanîras to the other regions, one night

¹ 'The fire Vâzist, that which smites the demon Spêngargâ' (Pahl. Yas. XVII, 66). See Chap. VII, 12.

² 'The propitious fire *which* stands in heaven before Aûharmazd in a spiritual state' (Pahl. Yas. XVII, 67).

³ The Bâhrâm fire, or sacred fire at places of worship.

⁴ M6 has min, instead of mûn, which alters the translation, but not the meaning. This appears to be a different account of the fire Berezi-savang to that given in § 1, but it merely implies that it is fire in its spiritual state, and the name can, therefore, be applied to any natural fire which can be attributed to supernatural agency, such as burning springs of petroleum, volcanic eruptions, ignis fatuus, phosphorescence of the sea, &c.

⁵ The second Pêrdâdian monarch (see Chaps. XXXI, 2, 3, XXXIV, 4).

⁶ Written Srisaok in the MSS. in Chap. XV, 27; where it also appears that the sea was 'the wide-formed ocean.' See likewise Chap. XIX, 13.

amid the sea the wind rushed upon¹ the fireplace—the fireplace in which the fire was, such as was provided in three places on the back of the ox—which the wind dropped with the fire into the sea; and all those three fires, like three breathing souls, continually shot up in the place and position of the fire on the back of the ox, so that it becomes quite light, *and* the men pass again through the sea.

5. And in the reign of Yim² every duty was performed more fully through the assistance of all those three fires; and the fire Frôbak³ was established by him at the appointed place (dâd-gâs) on the Gadman-hômand ('glorious') mountain in Khvârizem⁴, which Yim constructed for them; and the glory of Yim saves the fire Frôbak from the hand of Dahâk⁵.

6. In the reign of King Vistâsp, upon revelation from the religion⁶, it was established, out of Khvârizem, at the Rôshan ('shining') mountain in Kâvulistân, the country of Kâvul (Kâbul), just as it remains there even now.

7. The fire Gûsasp, until the reign of Kaî-Khûsrôb⁷, continually afforded the world protection in the manner *aforesaid*⁸; *and* when Kaî-Khûsrôb⁷ was

¹ Compare staff with Pers. sitâftan, 'to hasten.'

² The third Pêsdâdian monarch (see Chaps. XXXI, 3, 4, XXXIV, 4).

³ Also written Frôbô, Frôbâ, Frôbâk, or Frôbâg.

⁴ The Av. Hvârizem of Mihir Yt. 14, a province east of the Caspian.

⁵ It is doubtful whether va gadman, 'and the glory,' or nismô, 'the soul, reason' (see Chaps. XXIII, 1, XXXIV, 4), should be read. And it may even be that 'the fire Frôbak saves the soul of Yim,' &c. For Dahâk see Chaps. XXXI, 6, XXXIV, 5.

⁶ Or, 'upon declaration from revelation.'

⁷ Here written Kaî-Khûsrôbî.

⁸ In § 3. The 'three breathing souls' of spiritual fire are sup-

extirpating the idol-temples of Lake *Kêkast*¹ it settled upon the mane of *his* horse, and drove away the darkness and gloom, and made *it* quite light, so that they might extirpate the idol-temples; in the same locality the fire *Gûsasp* was established at the appointed place on the *Asnavand* mountain².

8. The fire *Bûrzîn-Mitrô*, until the reign of King *Vistâsp*, ever assisted³, *in* like manner, in the world, *and* continually afforded protection; *and* when the glorified⁴ *Zaratûst* was introduced to produce confidence in the progress of the religion, King *Vistâsp* and *his* offspring were steadfast in the religion of God⁵, *and* *Vistâsp* established *this fire* at the appointed place on Mount *Rêvand*, where they say the Ridge of *Vistâsp* (*pûst-i Vistâspân*) is⁶.

9. All those three fires are the whole body of the fire of *Vâhrâm*, together with the fire of the world, and those breathing souls are lodged in them; a counterpart of the body of man when it forms in the womb of the mother, *and* a soul from the spirit-world settles within *it*, which controls the body while living; when that body dies, the body mingles with the earth, *and* the soul goes back to the spirit.

posed to be incorporated in its three earthly representatives, the fires *Frôbak*, *Gûsasp*, and *Bûrzîn-Mitrô* respectively.

¹ That is, of the province around that lake (see Chap. XXII, 2).

² See Chap. XII, 26. Compare Selections of *Zâd-spam*, VI, 22.

³ Taking *vagîd* as equivalent to Pers. *guzîd*; but it may be equivalent to Pers. *vazîd*, 'grew, shot up.'

⁴ The epithet *anôshak-rûbân* (Pers. *nôshirvân*) means literally 'immortal-souled.'

⁵ Or, 'of the angels,' which plural form is often used to express 'God.'

⁶ See Chap. XII, 18, 34.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. On the nature of the tree they call Gôkard¹ it says in revelation, that *it was* the first day when the tree they call Gôkard grew in the deep mud² within the wide-formed ocean; *and* it is necessary as a producer of the renovation *of the universe*, for they prepare its immortality therefrom. 2. The evil spirit has formed therein, among those which enter as opponents, a lizard³ as an opponent in that deep water, so that it may injure the Hô⁴. 3. And for keeping away that lizard, Aûharmazd has created there ten Kar fish⁵ which, at all times, continually circle around the Hô⁴, so that the head of one of those fish is continually towards the lizard. 4. And together with the lizard those fish are spiritually fed⁶, that is, no food is necessary for them; *and* till the renovation *of the universe* they remain in contention. 5. There are places *where* that fish is

¹ A corruption of the Av. gaokerena of Vend. XX, 17, Aûharmazd Yt. 30, Haptân Yt. 3, Sîrôz. 7. In the old MSS. of the Bundahis the form gôkard occurs thrice, gôkarn once, and gogrv once.

² Reading gil, 'mud.' Windischmann and Justi prefer gar, 'mountain,' and have 'depth of the mountain.'

³ That the writer of the Bundahis applies the term vazagh to a lizard, rather than a frog, appears from the 'log-like lizard's body' of Chap. III, 9.

⁴ That is, the Gôkard tree, which is the white Hô⁴ (see Chap. XXVII, 4).

⁵ The Av. karô masyô of Vend. XIX, 140, Bahrâm Yt. 29, Dîn Yt. 7; see also Chap. XXIV, 13.

⁶ Windischmann and Justi prefer translating thus: 'Moreover, the lizard is the spiritual food of those fish;' but this can hardly be reconciled with the Pahlavi text.

written *of as* 'the Ariz¹ of the water;' as it says that the greatest of the creatures of Aûharmazd is that fish, and the greatest of those *proceeding* from the evil spirit is that lizard; with the jaws of *their* bodies, moreover, they snap in two whatever of the creatures of both *spirits* has entered between them, except that one fish which is the Vâs of Pankâsadvarân². 6. This, too, is said, that those fish are so serpent-like³ in that deep water, they know the scratch (mâlisn) of a needle's point by which the water shall increase, or by which it is diminishing.

7. Regarding the Vâs of Pankâsadvarân it is declared that it moves within the wide-formed ocean, and its length is as much as what a man, while in a swift race, will walk *from* dawn till when the sun goes down; so much that it does not itself move⁴ the length of the whole of its great body. 8. This, too, is said, that the creatures of the waters live also specially *under* its guardianship.

9. The tree of many seeds has grown amid the wide-formed ocean, and in its seed are all plants; some say *it is* the proper-curing, some the energetic-curing, some the all-curing⁵.

¹ See Chaps. XIV, 26, and XXIV, 13.

² The Av. vâsîm yām pankâsadvarām of Yas. XLI, 27.

³ Transcribing the Pâz. mârâdu into Pahlavi we have mâr âyin, 'snake's manner.' Compare the text with Bahrâm Yt. 29.

⁴ K20 omits the words from 'walk' to 'move.'

⁵ This is the tree of the saêna or Simurgh, as described in Rashnu Yt. 17, and these three epithets are translations of its three titles, hubis, eredhwô-bis, and vîspô-bis. See also Chap. XXVII, 2, 3.

10. Between¹ these trees of such kinds² is formed the mountain with cavities, 9999 thousand myriads *in number*, each myriad being ten thousand.

11. Unto that mountain is given the protection of the waters, so that water streams forth from there, in the rivulet channels, to the land of the seven regions, as the source of all the sea-water in the land of the seven regions is from there³.

CHAPTER XIX.

1. Regarding the three-legged ass⁴ they say, that it stands amid the wide-formed ocean, and its feet are three, eyes six, mouths⁵ nine, ears two, and horn

¹ This must have been the original meaning of the Huz. *dên* (*bên* in the Sasanian inscriptions) before it was used as a synonym of Pâz. *andar*, 'within.' The mountain is between the white-Hôm tree and the tree of many seeds.

² Transcribing the Pâz. *oŋnoh* into Pahlavi we have *ân-gûnak*, 'that kind;' or the word may be a miswriting of Pâz. *ânô*, 'there.'

³ This description of the mountain seems to identify it with the *Aûsîndôm* mountain of Chaps. XII, 6, and XIII, 5.

⁴ The Av. *khara*, 'which is righteous *and* which stands in the middle of the wide-shored ocean' (Yas. XLI, 28). Darmesteter, in his *Ormazd et Ahriman* (pp. 148-151), considers this mythological monster as a meteorological myth, a personification of clouds and storm; and, no doubt, a vivid imagination may trace a striking resemblance between some of the monster's attributes and certain fanciful ideas regarding the phenomena of nature; the difficulty is to account for the remaining attributes, and to be sure that these fanciful ideas were really held by Mazdayasnians of old. Another plausible view is to consider such mythological beings as foreign gods tolerated by the priesthood, from politic motives, as objects worthy of reverence; even as the goddess *Anâhita* was tolerated in the form of the angel of water.

⁵ This is the traditional meaning of the word, which (if this

one, body white, food spiritual, *and* it is righteous. 2. And two of its six eyes are in the position of eyes, two on the top of the head, and two in the position of the hump¹; with the sharpness of those six eyes it overcomes *and* destroys. 3. Of the nine mouths three are in the head, three in the hump, and three in the inner part of the flanks; and each mouth is about the size of a cottage, and *it is* itself as large as Mount Alvand². 4. Each one of the three feet, when it is placed on the ground, is as much as a flock (*gird*) of a thousand sheep comes under when they repose together; *and* each pastern³ is so great in its circuit that a thousand men with a thousand horses may pass inside. 5. As for the two ears *it is* Mâzendarân which they will encompass. 6. The one horn is as it were of gold *and* hollow, and a thousand *branch* horns⁴ have grown upon it, some befitting⁵ a camel, some befitting a horse, some befitting an ox, some befitting an ass, both great and small. 7. With that horn it will vanquish *and* dissipate all the vile corruption *due to* the efforts of noxious creatures.

meaning be correct) ought probably to be read *yông*, and be traced to Av. *ēaungh* (Yas. XXVIII, 11). In the MSS. the word is marked as if it were pronounced *günd*, which means 'a testicle.'

¹ The hump is probably supposed to be over the shoulders, as in the Indian ox, and not like that of the camel.

² Near Hamadân, rising 11,000 feet above the sea, or 6000 above Hamadân. It may be one of the Av. *Aurvantô* of Zamyâd Yt. 3. The Pâzand MSS. read *Hunavand*.

³ Literally, 'the small of the foot,' *khûrdak-i ragelman*.

⁴ Or, 'a thousand cavities (*srûbô*, Pers. *surub*, 'cavern') have grown in it.'

⁵ Reading *zîyâk*; compare Pers. *ziyâdan*, 'to suit, befit.'

8. When that ass shall hold *its* neck in the ocean *its* ears will terrify (*asahmêd*), *and* all the water of the wide-formed ocean will shake with agitation, *and* the side of Ganâvad¹ will tremble (*shivanêd*).

9. When it utters a cry all female water-creatures, of the creatures of Aûharmazd, will become pregnant; and all pregnant noxious water-creatures, when they hear that cry, will cast *their* young.

10. When it stales in the ocean all the sea-water will become purified, which is in the seven regions of the earth—*it is* even on that account when all asses which come into water stale in the water—as it says thus: 'If, O three-legged ass! you were not created for the water, all the water in the sea would have perished from the contamination which the poison of the evil spirit has brought into its water, through the death of the creatures of Aûharmazd.'

11. Tîstar seizes the water² more completely from the ocean with the assistance of the three-legged ass. 12. Of ambergris also (*ambar-ikê*) *it* is declared, that it is the dung of the three-legged ass; for if it has much spirit food, then also the moisture of the liquid nourishment goes through the veins *pertaining* to the body into the urine, *and* the dung is cast away.

13. Of the ox Hadhayôš³, which they call Sar-saok⁴, it says, that in the original creation men passed from region to region *upon it, and* in the

¹ A mountain (see Chap. XII, 29, 34).

² See Chap. VII, 11.

³ Written Hadayâvs in the MSS. in Chap. XXX, 25, and Hadhayâs in the Dâdistân-i Dînik, Part II, reply 89; it is a Pâzand reading in all three places.

⁴ See Chaps. XV, 27, XVII, 4.

renovation of the universe they prepare Hûsh (the beverage producing immortality) from it. 14. It is said, that life is in the hand of that foremost man, at the end of *his* years¹, who has constructed the most defences around this earth, until the renovation of the universe is requisite.

15. Regarding the bird *Kâmrôs*² it says, that *it* is on the summit of Mount Albûrz; and every three years many come from the non-Iranian districts for booty (*gird*)³, by going to bring damage (*zîyân*) on the Iranian districts, and to effect the devastation of the world; then the angel *Bûrg*⁴, having come up from the low country of Lake Arag⁵, arouses that very bird *Kâmrôs*, and it flies upon the loftiest of all the lofty mountains, and picks up all those non-Iranian districts as a bird *does* corn.

16. Regarding *Karsipt*⁶ they say, that it knew how to speak words, and brought the religion to the enclosure which *Yim* made, and circulated *it*; there they utter the Avesta in the language of birds.

¹ Transcribing the Pâz. *svadyi* into Pahlavi we have *snatîh*, 'term of years.' The whole sentence is very obscure.

² Written *Kâmrôs* in Chap. XXIV, 29. It is the Av. *Kamraos* (gen. of *Kamru*) of Fravardîn Yt. 109. See also Chap. XXVII, 3.

³ Or, 'to an assembly.'

⁴ The Av. *Beregya* of Yas. I, 21, II, 27, III, 35, 'a spirit co-operating with the *Ushahina Gâh*, who causes the increase of herds and corn.'

⁵ Or, 'of the district of Arag' (see the note on Chap. XII, 23). Although no Lake Arag is described in Chap. XXII, some of the epithets referring to its Avesta equivalent *Rangha* are more applicable to a lake than to a river, as in *Bahrâm* Yt. 29. Possibly the low lands between the Caspian and Aral, or on the shores of the Caspian, are meant.

⁶ The Av. *vis karsipta* of Vend. II, 139, where, however, *vis*

17. Regarding the ox-fish they say, that it exists in all seas; when it utters a cry all fish become pregnant, and all noxious water-creatures cast *their* young.

18. The griffon bird¹, which is a bat, is noticed (*karđ*) twice in another chapter (*babâ*).

19. Regarding the bird *Ashôzust*², which is the bird *Zobara*³-*vahman* and also the bird *Sôk*⁴, they say that it has given an Avesta with *its* tongue; when it speaks the demons tremble at it and take nothing away there; a nail-paring, when it is not prayed over (*afsûd*), the demons and wizards seize, and like an arrow it shoots at and kills that bird.

20. On this account the bird seizes and devours a nail-paring when it is prayed over, so that the demons may not control *its* use; when it is not prayed over it does not devour *it*, and the demons are able to commit an offence with it.

21. Also other beasts and birds are created all in opposition to noxious creatures, as it says, that when the birds and beasts are all in opposition to noxious creatures and wizards, &c.⁵ 22. This, too, it says, that of all precious⁶ birds the crow (*valâgh*) is the most precious. 23. Regarding the white falcon it

does not mean 'bird,' and the Pahlavi translator calls it 'a quadruped.' In the Pahl. Visp. I, 1, 'the Karsipt is the chief of flying creatures,' and the Bundahis also takes it as a bird (see Chaps. XIV, 23, XXIV, 11).

¹ See Chaps. XIV, 11, 23, 24, XXIV, 11, 29.

² The Av. *Ashô-zusta* of Vend. XVII, 26, 28.

³ Compare Pers. *zûlah*, 'a sparrow or lark.'

⁴ Compare Pers. *sak*, 'a magpie.'

⁵ This quotation is evidently left incomplete.

⁶ The Pahlavi word is ambiguous; it may be read *zîl*, 'cheap, common,' or it may be *zagar* = *yakar*, 'dear, precious,' but the

says, that it kills the serpent with wings. 24. The magpie (kâskînak) bird kills the locust, *and* is created in opposition to it. 25. The Kahrkâs¹, dwelling in decay, which is the vulture, is created for devouring dead matter (na sât); so also are the crow (valâk)² and the mountain kite.

26. The mountain ox, the mountain goat, the deer, the wild ass, *and* other beasts devour all snakes. 27. So also, of other *animals*, dogs are created in opposition to the wolf species, *and* for securing the protection of sheep; the fox is created in opposition to the demon Khava; the ichneumon is created in opposition to the venomous snake (garzak) *and* other noxious creatures in burrows; so also the great musk-*animal* is created in opposition³ to ravenous intestinal worms (kadûk-dânak garzak). 28. The hedgehog is created in opposition to the ant which carries off grain⁴, as it says, that the hedgehog, every time that it voids urine into an ant's nest, will destroy a thousand ants; when the grain-carrier travels over the earth it pro-

latter seems most probable, although the crow is perhaps as 'common' as it is 'precious,' as a scavenger in the East. Singularly enough Pers. arzân is a synonym to both words, as it means both 'cheap' and 'worthy.'

¹ The Av. kahrkâsa of Vend. III, 66, IX, 181, Âbân Yt. 61, Mihir Yt. 129; its epithet zarmân-mânîsn, 'dwelling in decay,' is evidently intended as a translation of the Av. zarenumainis, applied to it in Bahrâm Yt. 33, Dîn Yt. 13.

² The text should probably be valâk-i sîyâk va sâr-i gar, 'the black crow and the mountain kite,' which are given as different birds in Shâyast-lâ-shâyast, II, 5.

³ K20 omits the words from this 'opposition' to the next one.

⁴ The môr-i dânak-kash is the Av. maoiris dâno-karshô of Vend. XIV, 14, XVI, 28, XVIII, 146.

duces a hollow track¹; when the hedgehog travels over it the track goes away from it, and it becomes level. 29. The water-beaver is created in opposition to the demon which is in the water. 30. The conclusion is this, that, of all beasts and birds and fishes, every one is created in opposition to some noxious creature.

31. Regarding the vulture (karkâs) it says, that, even from his highest flight, he sees when flesh the size of a fist is on the ground; and the scent of musk is created under his wing, so that if, in devouring dead matter, the stench of the dead matter comes *out* from it, he puts *his* head back under the wing *and* is comfortable again. 32. Regarding the Arab horse they say, that if, in a dark night, a single hair occurs on the ground, he sees *it*.

33. The cock is created in opposition to demons *and* wizards, co-operating with the dog; as it says in revelation, that, of the creatures of the world, those which are co-operating with Srôsh², in destroying the fiends, are the cock and the dog. 34. This, too, it says, that it would not have *been* managed if I had not created the shepherd's dog, which is the Pasus-haurva³, *and* the house watch-dog, the Vis-haurva³; for it says in revelation, that the dog is a destroyer of such a fiend as covetous-

¹ Comparing sŭrâk with Pers. surâgh in preference to sŭrâkh or sŭlâkh, 'a hole.'

² Av. Sraosha, the angel who is said specially to protect the world from demons at night; he is usually styled 'the righteous,' and is the special opponent of the demon Aêshm, 'Wrath' (see Chap. XXX, 29).

³ These are the Avesta names of those two kinds of dog (see Chap. XIV, 19).

ness, among those which are in the nature (a^ltⁱh) of man and of animals. 35. Moreover it says, that, inasmuch as it will destroy all the disobedient, when it barks it will destroy pain¹; and its flesh and fat are remedies for driving away decay and pain from men².

36. Aûharmazd created nothing useless whatever, for all these (kolâ aê) are created for advantage; when one does not understand the reason of them, it is necessary to ask the Dastûr ('high-priest'), for his five dispositions (khûk)³ are created in this way that he may continually destroy the fiend (or deceit).

CHAPTER XX.

1. On the nature of rivers it says in revelation, that these two rivers flow forth from the north, part from Albûrz *and* part from the Albûrz of Aûhar-

¹ Or it may be thus: 'For it says thus: Wherewith will it destroy? When it barks it will destroy the assembly (girâ) of all the disobedient.'

² This is the most obvious meaning, but Spiegel (in a note to Windischmann's *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 95) translates both this sentence and the next very differently, so as to harmonize with Vend. XIII, 78, 99.

³ The five dispositions (khîm) of priests are thus detailed in old Pahlavi MSS.: 'First, innocence; second, discreetness of thoughts, words, and deeds; third, holding the priestly office as that of a very wise and very true-speaking master, who has learned religion attentively and teaches *it* truly; fourth, celebrating the worship of God (yazdân) with a ritual (nîrang) of rightly spoken words and scriptures known by heart (narm naskîhâ); fifth, remaining day and night propitiatingly in *his* vocation, struggling with his own resistance (hamêstâr), and, *all* life long, not turning away from steadfastness in religion, and being energetic in *his* vocation.'

mazd¹; one towards the west, that is the Arag²; *and* one towards the east, that is the Vêh river. 2. After them eighteen rivers flowed forth from the same source, just as the remaining waters have flowed forth from them in great multitude; as they say that they flowed out so very fast, one from the other, as when a man recites one Ashem-vohû³ of a series (padîsâr). 3. All of those, with the same water, are again mingled with these rivers, that is, the Arag river *and* Vêh river. 4. Both of them continually circulate through the two extremities of the earth, and pass into the sea; and all the regions feast owing to the discharge (za hâk) of both, which, after both arrive together at the wide-formed ocean, returns to the sources whence they flowed out; as it says in revelation, that just as the light comes in through Albûrz *and* goes out through Albûrz⁴, the

¹ So in K20, and if correct (being only partially confirmed by the fragment of this chapter found in all MSS. between Chaps. XIII and XIV) this reading implies that the rivers are derived partly from the mountains of Albûrz, and partly from the celestial Albûrz, or the clouds in the sky. M6 has 'flow forth from the north part of the eastern Albûrz.'

² For further details regarding these two semi-mythical rivers see §§ 8, 9.

³ The sacred formula most frequently recited by the Parsis, and often several times in succession, like the Pater-noster of some Christians; it is not, however, a prayer, but a declaratory formula in 'praise of righteousness' (which phrase is often used as its name in Pahlavi). It consists of twelve Avesta words, as follows:

Ashem vohû vahistem astî,
ustâ astî; ustâ ahmâi
hyad ashâi vahistâi ashem.

And it may be translated in the following manner: 'Righteousness is the best good, a blessing it is; a blessing be to that which is righteousness to perfect rectitude' (Asha-vahista the archangel).

⁴ See Chap. V, 5.

water also comes out through Albûrz and goes away through Albûrz. 5. This, too, it says, that the spirit of the Arag begged of Aûharmazd thus: 'O first omniscient creative power¹! from whom the Vêh river begged for the welfare that thou mightest grant, do thou then grant *it* in my quantity!' 6. The spirit of the Vêh river similarly begged of Aûharmazd for the Arag river; *and* on account of loving assistance, one towards the other, they flowed forth with equal strength, as before the coming of the destroyer they proceeded without rapids, and when the fiend shall be destroyed² they *will* again be without rapids.

7. Of those eighteen principal rivers, distinct from the Arag river *and* Vêh river, and the other rivers which flow out from them, I *will* mention the more famous³: the Arag river, the Vêh river, the Diglat⁴ river they call also again the Vêh river⁵, the Frât river, the Dâttk river, the Dargâm river, the Zôndak river, the Harôt river, the Marv river, the Hêtûmand river, the Akhôshir river, the Nâvadâ⁶ river, the Zîsmand river, the Khvegand river, the Balkh river, the Mehrvâ river they call the Hendvâ river, the Spêd⁷ river, the Rad⁸ river which they call also the Koîr, the Khvaraê river which they call

¹ So in M6, but K20 has, 'First is the propitiation of all kinds.'

² Literally, 'when they shall destroy the fiend.'

³ For details regarding these rivers see the sequel.

⁴ The Pâz. Deyrid is evidently a misreading of Pahl. Diglat or Digrat, which occurs in § 12.

⁵ So in K20, but M6 (omitting two words) has, 'they call also the Didgar.'

⁶ No further details are given, in this chapter, about this river, but it seems to be the river Nâhvtâk of Chap. XXI, 6, the Nâivtâk of Chap. XXIX, 4, 5.

⁷ K20 has 'Spend.'

⁸ Called Tort in S. & C.

also the Mesrgân, the Harhaz¹ river, the Teremet river, the Khvanaîdis² river, the Dâraga river, the Kâstk river, the Sêd³ ('shining') river Pêdâ-meyan or Katru-meyan river of Mokarstân.

8. I *will* mention them also a second time: the Arag⁴ river is that of which it is said that it comes out from Albûrz in the land of Sûrâk⁵, *in* which they call it also the Âmi; it passes on through the land of Spêtos, which they also call Mesr, and they call it there the river Niv⁶. 9. The Vêh⁷ river

¹ Miswritten Araz in Pâzand, both here and in § 27.

² M6 has Khvanaîdis, but in K20 it is doubtful whether the extra syllable (which is interlined) is intended to be inserted or substituted; the shorter form is, however, more reconcilable with the Pahlavi form of Vendeses in § 29.

³ As there is no description of any Sêd river it is probably only an epithet of the Pêdâ-meyan or Katru-meyan (pêdâk being the usual Pahlavi equivalent of Av. kithrô). Justi suggests that Mokarstân (Mokarsta rûd in M6) stands for Pers. Moghulstân, 'the country of the Moghuls,' but this is doubtful.

⁴ Sometimes written Arang or Arêng, but the nasal is usually omitted; it is the Av. Rangha of Âbân Yt. 63, Rashnu Yt. 18, Râm Yt. 27, which is described more like a lake or sea in Vend. I, 77, Bahrâm Yt. 29. This semi-mythical river is supposed to encompass a great part of the known world (see Chap. VII, 16), and the Bundahis probably means to trace its course down the Âmû (Oxus) from Sogdiana, across the Caspian, up the Aras (Araxes) or the Kur (Cyrus), through the Euxine and Mediterranean, and up the Nile to the Indian Ocean. The Âmû (Oxus) is also sometimes considered a part of the Vêh river or Indus (see §§ 22, 28).

⁵ Sogdiana (see Chap. XV, 29), the country of the Âmû river.

⁶ The combination of the three names in this clause, as Justi observes, renders it probable that we should read, 'the land of Egypt,' which is called Misr, and where the river is the Nile. The letter S in Pâz. Spêtos is very like an obsolete form of Av. g, or it may be read as Pahl. îk or îg, so the name may originally have been Gpêtos or Ikpêtos; and the Pâz. Niv, if transcribed into Pahlavi, can also be read Nîl.

⁷ The 'good' river, which, with the Arag and the ocean, completes

passes on in the east, goes through the land of Sînd¹, and flows to the sea in Hindûstân, and they call it there the Mehrâ² river. 10. The sources of the Frât³ river are from the frontier of Arûm, they feed *upon it* in Sûristân, and it flows to the Diglat river; and of this Frât *it is*⁴ that they produce irrigation over the land. 11. It is declared that Mânûskîhar excavated the sources, and cast back the water all to one place, as it says thus: 'I reverence the Frât, full of fish, which Mânûskîhar excavated for *the benefit of* his own soul, and he seized the water and gave to drink⁵.' 12. The Diglat⁶ river comes out from Salmân⁷, and flows to the sea in Khûgistân. 13. The Dâitk⁸ river is the river

the circuit of the known world, and is evidently identified with the Indus; sometimes it seems also to include the Âmû (Oxus), as Bactria was considered a part of India; thus we find the Balkh and Teremet rivers flowing into the Vêh (see §§ 22, 28).

¹ See § 30.

² No doubt the Mehrvâ or Hendvâ river of § 7, and the Mihrân of Ouseley's Oriental Geography of the pseudo Ibn 'Haûqal, pp. 148-155, which appears to combine the Satlig and lower Indus. The final n is usually omitted by the Bundahis after â in Pâzand words. This river is also called Kâsak (see § 30).

³ The Euphrates, which rises in Armenia (part of the eastern empire of the Romans), traverses Syria, and joins the Tigris.

⁴ Or, 'and its convenience is this;' a play upon the words farhat and Frât, which are identical in Pahlavi.

⁵ Referring probably to canals for irrigation along the course of the Euphrates.

⁶ The Tigris (Arabic Diglat), Hiddekel of Gen. ii. 14, Dan. x. 4, and perhaps the Av. tighris of Tistar Yt. 6, 37; misread Dêîrid in Pâzand.

⁷ The country of Salm (see Chap. XV, 29), son of Frêdûn (see Chap. XXXI, 9, 10). The name can also be read Dilmân, which is the name of a place in the same neighbourhood.

⁸ The Av. Dâitya of Vend. XIX, 5, Aûtharmazd Yt. 21, Âbân Yt. 112, Gôs Yt. 29. The 'good dâitya of Airyana-vaêgô' is also

which comes out from Aîrân-vêg, *and* goes out through the hill-country¹; of all rivers the noxious creatures in it are most, as it says, that the Dâîtîk river is full of noxious creatures. 14. The Dargâm river is in Sûde. 15. The Zend² river passes through the mountains of Pangistân, *and* flows away to the Haro river. 16. The Haro³ river flows out from the Apârsên range⁴. 17. The Hêtûmand⁵ river is in Sagastân, and its sources are from the Apârsên range; this is distinct from that which Frâsîyâv conducted away⁶. 18. The river Akhôshir is in Kûmîs⁷. 19. The Zîsmand⁸ river, in the direc-

mentioned in Vend. I, 6, II, 42, 43, Âbân Yt. 17, 104, Râm Yt. 2, but this may not be a river, though the phrase has, no doubt, led to locating the river Dâîtîk in Aîrân-vêg.

¹ Pâz. gopestân in K20, which is evidently Pahl. kôfistân, but not the Kôhistân of southern Persia. M6 has 'the mountain of Pangistân,' which must be incorrect, as according to §§ 15, 16, this is in north-east Khurâsân, and too far from Aîrân-vêg in Âtarô-pâtakân (Âdar-bîgân), see Chap. XXIX, 12. Justi proposes to read Gurgistân (Georgia), and identifies the Dâîtîk with the Araxes. But, adhering to the text of K20, the Dâîtîk rises in Âdar-bîgân and departs through a hill-country, a description applicable, not only to the Araxes, but also more particularly to the Safêd Rûd or white river; although this river seems to be mentioned again as the Spêd or Spend river in § 23.

² Written Zôndak in § 7. This can hardly be the Zendah river of Ispahan, but is probably the Tegend river, which flows past Meshhed into the Heri river.

³ This is the Heri, which flows past Herat.

⁴ See Chap. XII, 9.

⁵ The Etymander of classical writers, now the Hêlmand in Afghânistân. The Av. Haêtumat of Vend. I, 50, XIX, 130, Zamyâd Yt. 66, is the name of the country through which it flows.

⁶ See § 34 and Chap. XXI, 6.

⁷ The district about Dâmaghân.

⁸ Perhaps the Zaratân.

tion of Soghd, flows away towards the Khvegand river. 20. The Khvegand¹ river goes on through the midst of Samarkand *and* Pargâna, and they call it also the river Ashârd. 21. The Marv² river, a glorious river in the east³, flows out from the Apârsên range. 22. The Balkh river comes out *from* the Apârsên mountain of Bâmikân⁴, *and* flows on to the Vêh⁵ river. 23. The Spêd⁶ river is in Âtarô-pâtakân; they say that Dahâk begged a favour⁷ here from Aharman and the demons. 24. The Tort⁸ river, which they call also the Koir, comes out from

¹ This is evidently not the small affluent now called the Khugand, but the great Syr-darya or Iaxartes, which flows through the provinces of Farghânah and Samarkand, past Kokand, Khugand, and Tashkand, into the Aral. The Pâz. Ashârd represents Pahl. Khshârt, or Ashârt (Iaxartes).

² The Murghâb.

³ Or, 'in Khûrâsân.'

⁴ Bâmian, near which the river of Balkh has its source.

⁵ Justi observes that it should be 'the Arag river;' but according to an Armenian writer of the seventh century the Persians called the Oxus the Vêh river, and considered it to be in India, because Buddhists occupied the country on its banks (see Garrez in *Journal Asiatique* for 1869, pp. 161-198). It would seem, therefore, that the Oxus was sometimes (or in early times) considered a part of the Arag (Araxes), and sometimes (or in later times) a part of the Vêh (Indus).

⁶ So in M6, but K20 has 'Spend,' both here and in § 7. The name of this river corresponds with that of the Safêd Rûd, although the position of that river agrees best with the account given of the Dâtûk in § 13.

⁷ Compare Râm Yt. 19, 20. K20 has 'there,' instead of 'here.'

⁸ Called Rad in § 7 (by the loss of the first letter of the original Pahlavi name); by its alternative name, Koir, Justi identifies it as the Kûr in Georgia, flowing into the Caspian, or sea of Vergân, the Av. Vehrâna (Hyrcania) of Vend. I, 42, which is Gûrgân in Pahlavi.

the sea of Gîklân¹, and flows to the sea of Vergân².
 25. The Zahâvayi³ is the river *which* comes out from Âtarô-pâtakân, and flows to the sea in Pârs.
 26. The sources of the Khvaraê⁴ river are from Spâhân⁵; it passes on through Khûgîstân, flows forth to the Diglat⁶ river, and in Spâhân they call it the Mesrkân⁷ river.
 27. The Harhaz⁸ river is in Tapa-ristân, and its sources are from Mount Dimâvand.
 28. The Teremet⁹ river flows away to the Vêh river.
 29. The Vendeses¹⁰ river is in *that part of* Pârs which they call Sagastân.
 30. The Kâsak¹¹ river comes out through a ravine (kâ f) in the province of Tûs¹², and they call it there the Kasp river; more-

¹ M6 has Pâz. Keyâseh, but this is in Sagastân (see Chap. XIII, 16).

² The MSS. have Vergâ, but the final nasal after â is often omitted in Pâzand readings in the Bundahis.

³ Not mentioned in § 7. Possibly one of the rivers Zâb, which rise on the borders of Âdarbîgân, flow into the Tigris, and so reach the Persian Gulf, the sea on the coast of Pârs. Or it may be the Shîrvân, another affluent of the Tigris, which flows through the district of Zohab.

⁴ The Kuran, upon which the town of Shûstar was founded by one of the early Sasanian kings, who also dug a canal, east of the town, so as to form a loop branch of the river; this canal was called Nahr-i Masrûqân by Oriental geographers (see Rawlinson, *Journal Roy. Geogr. Soc.* vol. ix. pp. 73-75).

⁵ Ispahân in Persian.

⁶ Miswritten Dayrid in Pâzand (see § 12).

⁷ Written in Pâzand without the final n, as usual. This is the old name of the canal forming the eastern branch of the Kuran at Shûstar; it is now called Âb-i Gargar.

⁸ Flows into the Caspian near Amûl.

⁹ Probably the river which flows into the Âmû (Oxus) at Tarmaz; but, in that case, the Oxus is here again identified with the Vêh (Indus) as in § 22, instead of the Arag (Araxes) as in § 8.

¹⁰ Called Khvanâidis, or Khvanâinidis, in § 7.

¹¹ Called Kâsîk in § 7.

¹² Close to Meshhed.

over, the river, which is there the Vêh, they call the Kâsak¹; even in Sînd they call *it* the Kâsak. 31. The Pêdâk-mîyân², which is the river Katru-mîyân, is that which is in Kangdez³. 32. The Dâraga river is in Aîrân-vêg, on the bank (bâr) of which was the dwelling of Pôrûshasp, the father of Zaratûst⁴. 33. The other innumerable waters and rivers, springs *and* channels are one in origin with those⁵; so in various districts *and* various places they call *them* by various names.

34. Regarding Frâsiyâv⁶ they say, that a thousand springs were conducted away by him into the sea Kyânsîh⁷, suitable for horses, suitable for camels, suitable for oxen, suitable for asses, both great and small⁸; and he conducted the spring Zarînmând (or golden source), which is the Hêtûmand⁹ river, they say, into the same sea; and he conducted the seven navigable waters of the source of the Vakaêni¹⁰ river into the same sea, *and* made men settle *there*.

¹ Or, 'this same Vêh river they call there the Kâsak; even in Sênî they call *it* the Kâsak;' Sênî is apt to be miswritten Sênd or Sînd (see Chap. XV, 29).

² See § 7. The latter half of both names can also be read mâhan, mâhô, or mahân. Pêshyôtan, son of Vistâsp, seems to have taken a surname from this river (see Chap. XXIX, 5).

³ See Chap. XXIX, 10.

⁴ See Chaps. XXIV, 15, XXXII, 1, 2.

⁵ Or, 'are from those as a source.'

⁶ The MSS. have 'Pôrûshasp,' but compare § 17 and Chap. XXI, 6. The two names are somewhat alike in Pahlavi writing.

⁷ See Chap. XIII, 16.

⁸ Compare Chap. XIX, 6. K20 omits the words 'suitable for asses' here.

⁹ Another Hêtûmand according to § 17. Possibly a dried-up bed of that river.

¹⁰ K20 has Vataêni; *k* and *t* being much alike in Pâzand. The

CHAPTER XXI¹.

1. In revelation they mention seventeen² species of liquid (mayâ), as one liquid resides in plants³; second, that which is flowing from the mountains, that is, the rivers; third, that which is rain-water; fourth, that of tanks *and* other special *constructions*; fifth, the semen of animals and men; sixth, the urine of animals and men⁴; seventh, the sweat of animals and men; the eighth liquid is that in the skin of animals and men; ninth, the tears of animals and men; tenth, the blood of animals and men; eleventh, the oil in animals and men, a necessary in both worlds⁵; twelfth, the saliva of animals and men, with which they nourish the embryo⁶; the thirteenth is that which is under the bark⁷ of plants, as it is said that every bark has a liquid, through which a drop *appears* on a twig (têkh) *when placed* four finger-breadths before a fire⁸; fourteenth, the milk of animals and men. 2. All these, through growth, or

'navigable (nâvtâk) waters' may be 'the Nâvadâ river' of § 7, 'the river Nâhvtâk' of Chap. XXI, 6, and Nâîvtâk of Chap. XXIX, 4, 5.

¹ This chapter is evidently a continuation of the preceding one.

² Only fourteen are mentioned in the details which follow.

³ Most of these details are derived from the Pahl. Yas. XXXVIII, 7-9, 13, 14; and several varieties of water are also described in Yas. LXVII, 15.

⁴ This sixth liquid is omitted by K20.

⁵ Departed souls are said to be fed with oil in paradise.

⁶ K20 omits the word pûs, 'embryo.'

⁷ The meaning 'bark' for Pâz. ay van is merely a guess; Anquetil has 'sap' (compare Pers. âvînâ, 'juice'), but this is hardly consistent with the rest of the sentence.

⁸ See Chap. XXVII, 25.

the body which is formed, mingle again with the rivers, for the body which is formed *and* the growth are both one.

3. This, too, they say, that of these three rivers, that is, the Arag river, the Marv river, *and* the Vêh¹ river, the spirits were dissatisfied, so that they would not flow into the world, owing to the defilement of stagnant water (armêst) which they beheld, so that they were in tribulation through it until Zarâtûst was exhibited to them, whom I (Aûharmazd) will create, who *will* pour sixfold holy-water (zôr) into it *and* make *it* again wholesome; he will preach carefulness². 4. This, too, it says, that, of water whose holy-water is more and pollution less, the holy-water has come in excess, *and* in three years it goes back to the sources³; *that* of which the pollution *and* holy-water have both become equal, arrives back in six years; *that* of which the pollution is more and holy-water less, arrives back in nine years. 5. So, also, the growth of plants is connected, in this manner, strongly with the root⁴; so, likewise, the blessings (âfrîn) which the righteous utter, come back, in this proportion, to themselves.

6. Regarding the river Nâhvâtâk⁵ it says, that Frâstiyâv of Tûr conducted it away; *and* when⁶

¹ K20 has 'Hêtûmand,' but M6 has 'Sapîr,' the Huz. equivalent of 'Vêh,' which is more probable.

² Or, 'abstinence *from* impurity.'

³ The source Arêdvîvsûr (see Chap. XIII, 3, 10).

⁴ That is, by the sap circulating like the waters of the earth. The greater part of this sentence is omitted in K20.

⁵ Probably 'the Nâvadâ' and 'navigable waters' of Chap. XX, 7, 34, and Nâivtâk of Chap. XXIX, 4, 5.

⁶ Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see note to Chap. I, 7).

Hûshêdar¹ comes it *will* flow again suitable for horses; so, also, *will* the fountains of the sea Kyânsih². 7. Kyânsih² is the one where the home (gînâk) of the Kayân race is.

CHAPTER XXII.

1. On the nature of lakes it says in revelation, that thus many fountains of waters have come into notice, which they call lakes (var); counterparts of the eyes (kashm) of men are those fountains (kashmak) of waters; such as Lake Kêkast, Lake Sôvbar, Lake Khvârizem³, Lake Frazdân, Lake Zarinmand, Lake Âsvast, Lake Husru, Lake Satavês, Lake Urvis.

2. I *will* mention them also a second time: Lake Kêkast⁴ is in Âtarô-pâtakân, warm is the water *and* opposed to harm, so that nothing whatever is living in *it*; and its source is connected with the wide-formed ocean⁵. 3. Lake Sôvbar is in the upper district and country on the summit of the mountain of Tûs⁶; as it says, that the Sûd-bâhar⁷ ('share of benefit') is propitious and good from which abound-

¹ Written Khûrshêdar, as usual in Bundahis (see Chap. XXXII, 8).

² Written Kayâseh in Pâzand (see Chap. XIII, 16).

³ Pâz. Khvârazm both here and in § 4.

⁴ Av. Kêkastâ of Âbân Yt. 49, Gôr Yt. 18, 21, 22, Ashi Yt. 38, 41, Sîrôz. 9. The present Lake Urumiyah in Âdarbîgân, which is called Khêgest, or Kêgest, by 'Hamdu-l-lâh Mustaûfî.

⁵ Implying that the water is salt.

⁶ The Kôndrâsp mountain (see Chap. XII, 24). This lake is probably a small sheet of water on the mountains near Meshhed.

⁷ Evidently a punning etymology of the name of this lake.

ing liberality is produced. 4. Regarding Lake Khvârizem¹ it says that excellent benefit is produced from it, *that is*, Arshisang² the rich in wealth, the well-portioned *with* abounding 'pleasure. 5. Lake Frazdân³ is in Sagastân; they say, where a generous man, *who is* righteous, throws anything into it, it receives *it*; when not righteous, it throws *it* out again; its source also is connected with the wide-formed *ocean*. 6. Lake Zartnmand is in Hamadân⁴. 7. Regarding Lake Âsvast it is declared that the undefiled⁵ water which it contains is always constantly flowing into the sea, so bright and copious⁶ that *one* might say that the sun had come into it *and* looked at Lake Âsvast, into that water which is requisite for restoring the dead in the renovation *of the universe*. 8. Lake Husru⁷ is within fifty⁸

¹ The province of Khvârizem was between the Aral and Caspian, along the ancient course of the Oxus (see Chap. XVII, 5). This lake has been identified with the Aral.

² Av. *ashis vanguhi*, 'good rectitude,' personified as a female angel whose praises are celebrated in the *Ashi Yast*; in later times she has been considered as the angel dispensing wealth and possessions. She is also called *Arđ* (Av. *areta*, which is synonymous with *asha*), see Chap. XXVII, 24.

³ The 'Frazdânava water' of Âbân Yt. 108 and Farhang-i Oim-khadûk, p. 17. Justi identifies it with the Âb-istâdah ('standing water') lake, south of Ghaznî. It is here represented as a salt lake.

⁴ K20 adds, 'they say.' This lake cannot be the spring Zartnmand of Chap. XX, 34.

⁵ Pâz. *avnasti* transcribed into Pahlavi is *avinastag*, 'unspoiled,' the equivalent of Av. *anâhita* in Yas. LXIV, 1, 16, Visp. I, 18.

⁶ K20 has 'glorious' as a gloss to 'copious.'

⁷ The Av. *Haosravangha* of Sîroz. 9, 'the lake which is named *Husravau*' of Zamyâd Yt. 56. It may be either Lake Van or Lake Sevan, which are nearly equidistant from Lake Urumiyah.

⁸ M6 has 'four leagues.'

leagues (parasang) of Lake *Kêkast*. 9. Lake (or, rather, Gulf) *Satavêš*¹ is that *already* written *about*, between the wide-formed ocean *and* the *Pûtîk*. 10. It is said that in *Kamîndân* is an abyss (*zafar*), from which everything they throw in always comes *back*, and it *will* not receive it unless alive (*gânvar*); when they throw a living creature into it, it carries *it* down; men say that a fountain from hell is in it. 11. Lake *Urvis* is on *Hûgar* the lofty².

CHAPTER XXIII.

1. On the nature of the ape *and* the bear they say, that *Yim*, when reason (*nismô*) departed from him³, for fear of the demons took a demoness as wife, and gave *Yimak*, who was *his* sister, to a demon as wife; and from them have originated the tailed ape and bear *and* other species of degeneracy.

2. This, too, they say, that in the reign of *Az-i Dahâk*⁴ a young woman was admitted to a demon, and a young man was admitted to a witch (*parîk*), and on seeing them they had intercourse; owing to that one intercourse the black-skinned negro arose from them. 3. When *Frêdûn*⁵ came to them they fled from the country of Iran, *and* settled upon the sea-coast; now, *through* the invasion of the Arabs, they are again diffused through the country of Iran.

¹ See Chap. XIII, 9-13.

² See Chaps. XII, 5, XIII, 4.

³ See Chap. XXXIV, 4. This is the *Jamshêd* of the *Shâh-nâmâh*. Perhaps for 'reason' we should read 'glory.'

⁴ See Chaps. XXXI, 6, XXXIV, 5.

⁵ See Chap. XXXIV, 6.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1. On the chieftainship of men and animals *and* every single thing it says in revelation, that first of the human species Gâyômarđ was produced, brilliant and white, with eyes which looked out for the great *one*, him who *was* here the Zaratûstrôtûm (chief high-priest); the chieftainship of all things was from Zaratûst¹. 2. The white ass-goat², which holds *its* head down, is the chief of goats, the first of those species created³. 3. The black sheep which is fat and white-jawed is the chief of sheep; it was the first of those species created³. 4. The camel with white-haired knees *and* two humps is the chief of camels. 5. First the black-haired ox with yellow knees was created; he is the chief of oxen. 6. First the dazzling white (arûs) horse, with yellow ears, glossy hair, *and* white eyes, was produced; he is the chief of horses. 7. The white, cat-footed⁴ ass is the chief of asses. 8. First of dogs the fair (arûs) dog with yellow hair was produced; he is the chief of dogs. 9. The hare was produced brown

¹ So in all MSS., but by reading mûn, 'who,' instead of min, 'from,' we should have, 'him who *was* here the chief high-priest *and* chieftainship of all things, who was Zaratûst.' The Pahlavi Visp. I, 1, gives the following list of chiefs: 'The chief of spirits is Aûharmazd, the chief of worldly existences is Zaratûst, the chief of water-creatures is the Kar-fish, the chief of *land*-animals is the ermine, the chief of flying-creatures is the Karsipt, the chief of the wide-travellers is the . . . , the chief of those suitable for grazing is the ass-goat.'

² See Chap. XIV, 14.

³ It is doubtful whether the phrase, 'the first of those species created,' belongs to this sentence or the following one.

⁴ Or, 'cat-legged.'

(bûr); he is the chief of the wide-travellers. 10. Those beasts which have no dread whatever of the hand are evil. 11. First of birds the griffon of three natures¹ was created, not for here (this world), for the Karsipt² is the chief, which they call the falcon (*kark*), that which revelation says was brought to the enclosure formed by Yim. 12. First of fur animals the white ermine was produced; he is the chief of fur animals; as it says that *it is* the white ermine which came unto the assembly of the arch-angels. 13. The Kar-fish, *or* Ariz³, is the chief of the water-creatures. 14. The Dâtîk⁴ river is the chief of streams. 15. The Dâraga⁵ river is the chief of exalted rivers, for the dwelling of the father of Zaratûst was on its banks⁶, and Zaratûst was born there. 16. The hoary forest⁷ is the chief of forests. 17. Hûgar the lofty⁸, on which the water of Arêdvîvsûr flows and leaps, is the chief of summits, since *it is that* above which is the revolution of the constellation Satavêš⁹, the chief of reser-

¹ The Sîmurgh (see § 29 and Chap. XIV, 11, 23, 24). In Mkh. LXII, 37-39, it is mentioned as follows: 'And Sinamrû's resting-place is on the tree which is opposed to harm, of all seeds; and always when he rises aloft a thousand twigs will shoot forth from that tree; and when he alights he will break off the thousand twigs, and he sheds their seed therefrom.'

² See Chap. XIX, 16. In § 29 *Kamrôs* is said to be the chief.

³ See Chaps. XIV, 12, 26, XVIII, 3-6.

⁴ See Chap. XX, 13.

⁵ See Chap. XX, 32.

⁶ The MSS. have 'in Balkh' instead of 'on the banks.'

⁷ The *arûs-i razur* is the Av. *spaêtitem razurem* of Râm Yt. 31.

⁸ See Chap. XII, 5.

⁹ See Chap. II, 7.

voirs¹. 18. The Hôrn which is out-squeezed is the chief of medicinal plants². 19. Wheat is the chief of large-seeded³ grains. 20. The desert wormwood is the chief of unmedicinal⁴ *plants*. 21. The summer vetch, which they also call 'pag' (gâvirs), is the chief of small-seeded grains⁵. 22. The Kûstik (sacred thread-girdle) is the chief of clothes. 23. The Bââyvâna⁶ is the chief of seas. 24. Of two men, when they come forward together, the wiser and more truthful is chief.

25. This, too, it says in revelation, that Aûharmazd created the whole material world one abode, so that all may be one; for there is much splendour and glory of industry in the world. 26. Whatsoever he performs, who practises that which is good, is the value of the water of life⁷; since water is not created alike⁸ in value, for the undefiled water of Arêdvîvsûr is worth the whole water of the sky and earth of Khvanîras⁹, except the Arag river¹⁰, created by Aûharmazd. 27. Of trees the myrtle *and* date,

¹ The meaning of Pâz. gobarâ is doubtful, but it is here taken as standing for Pahl. gôbalân, equivalent to the plural of Pers. gôl or kôl, 'a reservoir;' Satavêš being a specially 'watery' constellation (see Tîstar Yt. o). Justi traces gobarân to Av. gufra, and translates it by 'protecting stars.'

² Pâz. khvad and baḱagâ evidently stand for Pahl. hûd (Av. huta) and bezashk.

³ Compare Av. as-dânunām-ka yavananām (Tîstar Yt. 29).

⁴ Pâz. abaḱagâ stands for Pahl. abezashk.

⁵ Compare Av. kasu-dânunām-ka vâstranām (Tîstar Yt. 29).

⁶ Justi identifies this with Lake Van, but perhaps Lake Sevan may be meant.

⁷ Or, 'its value is water.' K20 omits the word 'water.'

⁸ Reading ham instead of hamâk, 'all.'

⁹ See Chap. XI, 2-6.

¹⁰ See Chap. XX, 8.

on which *model*, it is said, trees were formed, are worth all the trees of Khvanîras, except the Gôkard tree¹ with which they restore the dead.

28. Of mountains Mount Apârsên's beginning is *in* Sagastân *and* end in Khûgîstân, some say *it is* all the mountains of Pârs, *and* is chief of all mountains except Albûrz. 29. Of birds *Kâmrôs*² is chief, who is worth all the birds in Khvanîras, except the grifon of three natures. 30. The conclusion is this, that every one who performs a great duty has then much value.

CHAPTER XXV.

1. On matters of religion³ it says in revelation thus: 'The creatures of the world were created by me complete in three hundred and sixty-five days,' that is, the six periods of the Gâhanbârs which are completed in a year. 2. It is always necessary first to count the day *and* afterwards the night, for first the day goes off, *and* then the night comes on⁴. 3. And from the season (gâs) of Mêdôk-shêm⁵,

¹ See Chap. XVIII, 1-4.

² See Chap. XIX, 15, where it is written *Kâmrôs*. This § is at variance with § 11, which gives the chieftainship to Karsipt.

³ That is, 'on the *periods* for observance of religious duties.'

⁴ The Jewish and Muhammadan practice is just the contrary.

⁵ The Av. maidhyô-shema of Yas. I, 27, II, 36, III, 41, Visp. I, 3, II, 1, Âfrîngân Gâhanbâr 2, 8. It is the second season-festival, held on the five days ending with the 105th day of the Parsi year, which formerly corresponded approximately to mid-summer, according to the Bundahis. Later writings assert that it commemorates the creation of water.

which is the auspicious¹ day Khûr of the month Tîr², to the season of Mêdyârêm³, which is the

¹ A dispute as to the meaning of this word formed no small part of the Kabîsah controversy, carried on between the leaders of the two rival sects of Parsis in Bombay about fifty years ago. Dastur Edalji Dârâbji, the high-priest of the predominant sect (who adhered to the traditional calendar of the Indian Parsis), insisted that it meant 'solar,' or 'belonging to the calendar rectified for solar time by the intercalation of a month every 120 years;' Mullâ Fîrûz, the high-priest of the new sect (who had adopted the calendar of the Persian Parsis, which is one month in advance of the other), asserted that the word had no connection with intercalation, but meant 'commencing,' or 'pertaining to New-year's day,' as translated into Sanskrit, by Nêryôsang, in Mkh. XLIX, 27. Anquetil translates it either as 'inclusive' or 'complete;' Windischmann simply skips it over; and Justi translates it everywhere as 'inclusive.' Dastur Edalji reads the word vehîgakî or vehîgak; Nêryôsang has vahesa; Mullâ Fîrûz reads nâîkakîk in the Bundahis, but vehîgakîk in the Dînkard, where the word also occurs; Justi has nâîkakîk. The meaning 'inclusive' suits the context in nearly all cases in the Bundahis, but not elsewhere; if it had that meaning the most probable reading would be vikhêgakîk or nikhêgakîk, 'arising, leaping over, including.' It is nearly always used in connection with dates or periods of time, and must be some epithet of a very general character, not only applicable to intercalary periods, but also to New-year's day and dates in general; something like the Arabic epithet mubâarak, 'fortunate,' so commonly used in Persian dates. Dastur Edalji compares it with Pers. bîhrak or bihtarak, 'intercalary month,' which is probably a corruption of it; and this suggests veh, 'good,' as one component of the epithet. The word may be read veh-yazakîk, 'for reverencing the good,' but as veh, 'good,' is an adjective, this would be an irregular form; a more probable reading is veh-îkakîk, 'for anything good,' which, when applied to a day, or any period of time, would imply that it is suitable for anything good, that is, it is 'auspicious.' Sometimes the word is written vehîzak, vehîzakîk, or vehîkô; and epithets of similar forms in Pahlavi are applied by the writers of colophons to themselves, but these should be read vakhêzak or nisîvak, 'lowly, abject.'

² The eleventh day of the fourth month, when the festival commences.

³ The Av. maidhyâirya of Yas. I, 30, II, 39, III, 44, Visp. I,

auspicious day Vâhrâm of the month Dîn¹—the *shortest* day—the night increases; and from the season of Mêdîyârêm to the season of Mêdôk-shêm the night decreases *and* the day increases. 4. The summer day is as much as two of the shortest² winter days, *and* the winter night is as much as two of the shortest summer nights³. 5. The summer day is twelve Hâsars, the night six Hâsars; the winter night is twelve Hâsars, the day six; a Hâsar *being a measure of time and*, in like manner, of land⁴. 6. In the season of Hamêspamadâyêm⁵, that is, the

6, II, 1, Âf. Gâhan. 2, 11. It is the fifth season-festival, held on the five days ending with the 290th day of the Parsi year, which formerly corresponded approximately to midwinter, according to the Bundahis. Later writings assert that it commemorates the creation of animals.

¹ The twentieth day of the tenth month, when the festival ends.

² The word kah-aît is merely a hybrid Huzvâris form of kahist, 'shortest,' which occurs in the next phrase.

³ This statement must be considered merely as an approximation. The longest day is twice the length of the shortest one in latitude 49°, that is, north of Paris, Vienna, and Odessa, if the length of the day be computed from sunrise to sunset; and, if twilight be included, it is necessary to go still further north. In Âdarbigân, the northern province of Persia, the longest day is about 14½ hours from sunrise to sunset, and the shortest is about 9½ hours.

⁴ According to this passage a hâsar of time is one hour and twenty minutes; it is the Av. hâthra of the Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk (p. 43, ed. Hoshangji), which says, 'of twelve Hâsars is the longest day, *and* the day *and* night in which is the longest day are twelve of the longest Hâsars, eighteen of the medium, and twenty-four of the least—an enumeration of the several measures of the Hâsar.' For the hâsar measure of land, see Chap. XXVI.

⁵ So in K20, but this name is rarely written twice alike; it is the Av. hamaspathmaêdaya of Yas. I, 31, II, 40, III, 45, Visp. I, 7, II, 1, Âf. Gâhan. 2, 12. It is the sixth season-festival, held on the five Gâtha days which conclude the Parsi year, just before

five *supplementary* days at the end of the month Spendarmad, the day *and* night are again equal.

7. As from the auspicious day Aûharmazd of the month Fravardîn to the auspicious day Anîrân of the month Mitrô¹ is the summer of seven months, *so* from the auspicious day Aûharmazd of the month Âvân to the auspicious month Spendarmad, on to the end of the five *supplementary* days², is the winter of five months. 8. The priest fulfils the regulation (*vaçar*) about a corpse *and* other things, by this calculation as to summer and winter. 9. In those seven months³ of summer the periods (*gâs*) of the days and nights are five—since *one* celebrates the Rapîtvin—namely, the period of day-break is Hâvan, the period of midday is Rapîtvin, the period of afternoon is Aûzêrîn, when the appearance of the stars *has* come into the sky⁴ until midnight is the period of Aîbisrûtêm, from midnight until the stars become imperceptible is the period of Aûshahîn⁵. 10. In winter are four periods, for *from* daybreak till Aûzêrîn is all Hâvan, *and* the rest as I *have* said; and the reason of it is this, that the appearance⁶ of winter is in the direction of the

the vernal equinox, according to the Bundahis. Later writings assert that it commemorates the creation of man.

¹ That is, from the first day of the first month to the last day of the seventh month.

² That is, from the first day of the eighth month to the last of the five Gâtha days, which are added to the twelfth month to complete the year of 365 days.

³ All MSS. have 'five months' here.

⁴ Kzo has 'when the stars *have* come into sight.'

⁵ The Avesta names of the five Gâhs are Hâvani, Rapithwina, Uzayêirina, Aiwisrûthrema, and Ushahina.

⁶ Pâz. ashâris is evidently a misreading of Pahl. âshkârîh.

north, where the regions Vôrûbarst¹ and Vôrûgarst are; the original dwelling of summer, too, is in the south, where the regions Fradaðafsh *and* Vîdaðafsh are; on the day Âûharmazd of the auspicious month Âvân the winter acquires strength *and* enters into the world, *and* the spirit of Rapitvîn goes from above-ground to below-ground, where the spring (khânî) of waters is, *and* diffuses² warmth and moisture in the water, *and* so many roots of trees do not wither with cold and drought. 11. And *on* the auspicious day Âtarô of the month Dîn³ the winter arrives, with much cold, at Afrân-vêg; *and* until the end, in the auspicious month Spendarmad, winter advances through the whole world; on this account they kindle a fire everywhere *on* the day Âtarô of the month Dîn, *and* it forms an indication that winter *has* come. 12. In those five months the water of springs *and* conduits is all warm⁴, for Rapitvîn keeps warmth *and* moisture there, *and* one does not celebrate the period of Rapitvîn. 13. As the day Âûharmazd of the month Fravardîn advances it diminishes the strength which winter possesses, *and* summer comes in from its own original dwelling, *and* receives strength *and* dominion. 14. Rapitvîn comes up from below-ground, *and* ripens the fruit of the trees; on this account

¹ See Chaps. V, 8, XI, 3. The north, being opposed to the south or midday quarter, is opposed to the midday period of Rapitvîn, which, therefore, disappears as winter approaches from the north.

² If, instead of khânî for khânîk, 'spring,' we read ahû-i, 'lord of,' the translation will be, 'so that the angel of waters may diffuse,' &c.

³ The ninth day of the tenth month.

⁴ That is, warmer than the air, as it is cooler in summer.

the water of springs is cold in summer¹, for Rapítvīn is not there; *and* those seven² months *one* celebrates the Rapítvīn, *and* summer advances through the whole earth. 15. And yet in the direction of Hindûstân, there *where* the original dwelling of summer is nearer, it is always neither cold nor hot; for in the season which is the dominion of summer, the rain always dispels most of the heat, *and* it does not become perceptible; in the winter rain does not fall, *and* the cold does not become very perceptible³. 16. In the northern direction, where the preparation of winter is, *it is* always cold⁴; for in the summer mostly, on account of the more oppressive winter there, it is not possible so to dispel the cold that *one* might make *it* quite warm. 17. In the middle localities the cold of winter *and* heat of summer *both* come on vehemently.

18. Again, the year *dependent* on the revolving moon is not equal to the computed year on this account, for the moon⁵ returns one time in twenty-nine, *and* one time in thirty *days*, and there are four

¹ K20 has 'winter' by mistake.

² K20 has 'six,' and M6 'five,' instead of 'seven.'

³ This is a fairly accurate account of the effect of the monsoons over the greater part of India, as understood by a foreigner unacquainted with the different state of matters in a large portion of the Madras provinces.

⁴ M6 has khûrâsân instead of ârâyisn, 'preparation,' which alters the sense into 'that is, Khûrâsân, of which the winter is always cold.'

⁵ The MSS. have the Huzvâris term for 'month,' which is sometimes used, by mistake, for 'moon.' It is doubtful which word the author intended to use here, but it is usual to count the days of a lunar month from the first actual appearance of the new moon, which usually occurs a full day after the change of the moon.

hours (*zamân*) more than such a one of its *years*¹; as it says, that every one deceives where they speak about the moon (or month), except when they say that it *comes* twice in sixty days. 19. Whoever keeps the year by the revolution of the moon mingles summer with winter *and* winter with summer².

20. This, *too, it says*, that the auspicious month Fravardîn, the month Ardavahist, *and* the month Horvada³ are spring; the month Tir, the month Amerôdad, *and* the month Shatvaîrô are summer; the month Mitrô, the month Âvân, *and* the month Âtarô are autumn; the month Dîn, the month Vohûman, *and* the month Spendarmad are winter⁴.

21. And the sun comes from the sign (*khûrdak*) of Aries, into which it proceeded in the beginning, back to that *same* place in three hundred and sixty-five days and six short times (hours), which are one year. 22. As every three months it (the sun) advances through three constellations, more or less, the moon comes, in a hundred and eighty days, back to the place out of which it travelled in the beginning⁵.

¹ Meaning, probably, that the lunar year is four hours more than twelve months of 29 and 30 days each, alternately. It should be 8 hours, 48 minutes, and 37 seconds. The sentence seems defective, but it is evident from § 21 that *zamân* means 'hour.'

² That is, the lunar year being eleven days shorter than the solar one, its months are constantly retrograding through the seasons.

³ Generally written *Avardâd* in *Pâzand*, and *Khurdâd* in Persian.

⁴ The names of the months are selected from the names of the days of the month (see Chap. XXVII, 24), but are arranged in a totally different order.

⁵ Probably meaning, that the new moon next the autumnal

CHAPTER XXVI.

1. A Hâsar¹ on the ground is a Parasang of one thousand steps of the two feet. 2. A Parasang² is a measure as much as a far-seeing man may look out, see a beast *of burden*, and make known that *it* is black or white. 3. And the measure of a man is eight medium spans³.

equinox is to be looked for in the same quarter as the new moon nearest the vernal equinox, the moon's declination being nearly the same in both cases.

¹ Av. hâthra of Vend. II, 65, VIII, 280, 287, 291, Tîstar Yt. 23, 29. The statements regarding the length of a Hâsar are rather perplexing, for we are told that it 'is like a Parasang' (Chap. XIV, 4), that 'the length of a Hâsar is one-fourth of a Parasang' (Chap. XVI, 7), and that 'a medium Hâsar on the ground, which they also call a Parasang, is a thousand steps of the two feet when walking with propriety' (Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk, ed. Hosh. p. 42). To reconcile these statements we must conclude that the Hâsar is like a Parasang merely in the sense of being a long measure of distance, that it is really the mille passus or mile of the Romans, and that it is a quarter of the actual Parasang. At the same time, as it was usual to call a Hâsar by the name of a Parasang, we are often left in doubt whether a mile or a league is meant, when a Hâsar or Parasang is mentioned. The Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk (p. 41) also mentions other measures of distance, such as the takar (Av. takara) of two Hâsars, the asvâst (or aêast) of four Hâsars, the dashmêst (Av. dakhshmaiti) of eight Hâsars, and the yôgêst (Av. yigaiasti or yugaiasti) of sixteen Hâsars.

² A Parasang is usually from 3½ to 4 English miles, but perhaps a Hâsar is meant here.

³ Reading vitast-i miyânak instead of vitast damânak. The Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk (p. 41) mentions three kinds of spans, the Av. vitasti (Vend. VIII, 243, XVII, 13) of twelve finger-breadths (angûst), or about 9 inches, which is a full span between the thumb and little finger (the one mentioned in the text); the Av. disti (Vend. XVII, 13) of ten finger-breadths, or about 7½ inches, which is a span between the thumb and middle finger; and the

CHAPTER XXVII.

1. On the nature of plants it says in revelation, that, before the coming of the destroyer, vegetation had no thorn and bark about it; and, afterwards, when the destroyer came, it became coated with bark *and* thorny¹, for antagonism mingled with every single thing; owing to that cause vegetation is also much mixed with poison, like Bîs the height of hemp (kand)², that is poisonous, for men when they eat *it* die.

2. In like manner even as the animals, with grain of fifty and five species *and* twelve species of medicinal plants, have arisen from the primeval ox³, ten thousand⁴ species among the species of principal

Av. uzasti (Pahl. lâ-lâ-ast) of eight finger-breadths, or about 6 inches, which is a span between the thumb and fore-finger. Other measures mentioned by the same authority are the pâi (Av. padha, Vend. IX, 15, 20, 29), 'foot,' of fourteen finger-breadths, or about 10½ inches; the gâm (Av. gâya, Vend. III, 57, &c.), 'step,' which 'in the Vendidad is three pâi,' or about 2 feet 7½ inches, 'and in other places is said to be two frârâst' (Av. frârâthni in Vend. VII, 76, 79, 87); so the frârâst, which is probably the distance from the neck to the extended elbow, is half a gâm, or from 15 to 16 inches. Two other measures are mentioned in Vend. VII, 79, 87, 90, IX, 8, the Av. frâbâzu, 'fore-arm or cubit' from elbow to finger-ends, which is about 18 inches (or it may be a half fathom); and Av. vîbâzu, which is probably the 'fathom,' or extent of the two arms out-stretched, from 5½ to 6 feet.

¹ M6 has 'poisonous,' but is evidently copied from an original almost illegible in some places.

² Perhaps 'hemp the height of Bîs' would better express the Pahlavi words, but Bîs (Napellus Moysis) is often mentioned as a poisonous plant. The phrase may also be translated 'like Bîs *and* tall hemp.'

³ See Chap. XIV, 1.

⁴ M6 has 'a thousand,' but marks an omission. See Chap. IX, 4.

plants, *and* a hundred thousand species among *ordinary* plants have grown from all these seeds of the tree opposed to harm¹, the many-seeded, *which* has grown in the wide-formed ocean. 3. When the seeds of all these plants, with those from the primeval ox, have arisen upon it, every year the bird² strips that tree *and* mingles all the seeds in the water; Tistar seizes *them* with the rain-water *and* rains *them on* to *all* regions. 4. Near to that tree the white Hôṃ, the healing and undefiled, has grown at the source of the water of Arêdvivsûr³; every one who eats *it* becomes immortal, and they call it the Gôkard⁴ tree, as it is said that Hôṃ is expelling death⁵; also in the renovation *of the universe* they prepare its immortality therefrom⁶; *and* it is the chief of plants⁷.

5. These are as many genera of plants as exist: trees and shrubs, fruit-trees, corn, flowers, aromatic herbs, salads, spices, grass, wild plants, medicinal

¹ See Chaps. IX, 5, XVIII, 9, XXIX, 5.

² The apparently contradictory account in Chap. IX, 2, refers only to the first production of material plants from their spiritual or ideal representative. The bird here mentioned is *Kamrôṣ* (see Chaps. XIX, 15, XXIV, 29), as appears from the following passage (Mkh. LXII, 40-42): 'And the bird *Kamrôṣ* for ever sits *in* that vicinity; and his work is this, that he collects that seed which sheds from the tree of all seeds, which is opposed to harm, and conveys *it* there where Tistar seizes the water, so that Tistar may seize the water with that seed of all kinds, and may rain *it* on the world with the rain.'

³ See Chaps. XII, 5, XIII, 3-5.

⁴ Here written Gôkarn in all MSS. See Chaps. IX, 6, XVIII, 1, 2.

⁵ That is, in Yas. IX, where Haoma is entitled *dûraosha*.

⁶ See Chap. XXIV, 27.

⁷ See Chap. XXIV, 18.

plants, gum *plants*, and all producing¹ oil, dyes, and clothing. 6. I *will* mention them also a second time: all whose fruit is not welcome as food of men, and are perennial (sâlvâr), as the cypress, the plane, the white poplar, the box, and others of this genus, they call trees and shrubs (dâr va dirakht). 7. The produce of everything welcome as food of men, *that* is perennial, as the date, the myrtle, the lote-plum², the grape, the quince, the apple, the citron, the pomegranate, the peach, the fig, the walnut, the almond, and others in this genus, they call fruit (mîvak). 8. Whatever requires labour with the spade³, and is perennial, they call a shrub (dirakht). 9. Whatever requires that they take its crop through labour, and *its* root withers away, such as wheat, barley, grain, various kinds⁴ of pulse, vetches, and others of this genus, they call corn (gûrdâk). 10. Every *plant with* fragrant leaves, *which* is cultivated by the hand-labour of men, and is perennial (hamvâr), they call an aromatic herb (siparam). 11. Whatever sweet-scented blossom arises *at* various seasons through the hand-labour of men, or has a perennial root and blossoms in *its* season with new shoots and sweet-scented blossoms, as the rose, the narcissus, the jasmine, the dog-rose (nêstarûn),

¹ Comparing this list with the subsequent repetition it appears probable that hamâk barâ is a corruption of aesam bôd (see §§ 19, 21), and that we ought to read 'gum *plants*, woods, scents, and *plants* for oil, dyes, and clothing.' M6 has 'oil and dyes for clothing.'

² The kûnâr (see Chap. XV, 13).

³ The Pâz. pêhani (which is omitted in K20) is evidently a misreading of Pahl. pashang, 'a hoe-like spade.'

⁴ M6 adds Pâz. gavina (Pahl. gûnak) to gvîd gvîd mungân, without altering the meaning materially.

the tulip, the colocynth (kavastîk), the pandanus (kêdi), the *kamba*, the ox-eye (hêri), the crocus, the swallow-wort (zarda), the violet, the *kârda*, and others of this genus, they call a flower (gûl). 12. Everything whose sweet-scented fruit, or sweet-scented blossom, arises in *its* season, without the hand-labour of men, they call a wild plant (vahâr or nihâl). 13. Whatever is welcome as food of cattle and beasts *of burden* they call grass (giyâh). 14. Whatever enters into cakes (pês-pârakîhâ) they call spices (âvzârîhâ). 15. Whatever is welcome in eating of bread, as torn shoots¹ of the coriander, water-cress (kakîg), the leek, and others of this genus, they call salad (têrak)². 16. Whatever is like spinning³ cotton, and others of this genus, they call clothing *plants* (gâmak). 17. Whatever lentil⁴ is greasy, as sesame, dûshdâng, hemp, zandak⁵, and others of this genus, they call an oil-seed (rôkanô). 18. Whatever *one* can dye clothing with, as saffron, sapan-wood, zakava, vaha, and others of this genus, they call a dye-plant (rag). 19. Whatever root, or gum⁶, or wood

¹ Reading stâk darið; Justi has 'baked shoots;' Anquetil has 'the three following;' M6 has stâk va karafs, 'shoots and parsley.'

² Or târak in § 5, Pers. tarah.

³ Reading Huz. neskhuân, 'twisting,' but the word is doubtful; Justi has 'sitting *on the plant*,' which is a rather singular description for cotton.

⁴ Reading maḡag; Anquetil, Windischmann, and Justi read mazg, 'marrow,' but this is usually written otherwise.

⁵ Perhaps for zêtô, 'olive,' as Anquetil supposes, and Justi assumes.

⁶ Reading tûf (compare Pers. tuf, 'saliva').

is scented, as frankincense¹, varâst², kust, sandalwood, cardamom³, camphor, orange-scented mint, *and* others of this genus, they call a scent (bôd). 20. Whatever stickiness comes out from plants⁴ they call gummy (zadâk). 21. The timber which proceeds from the trees, when it is either dry or wet, they call wood (kîbâ). 22. Every one of all these plants which is so, they call medicinal (dârûk)⁵.

23. The principal fruits are *of* thirty kinds (kha-dûînak), and ten species (sardâk) of them are fit to eat inside and outside, as the fig, the apple, the quince, the citron, the grape, the mulberry, the pear, *and* others of this kind; ten are fit to eat outside, *but* not fit to eat inside, as the date, the peach, the white apricot, *and* others of this kind; those which are fit to eat inside, *but* not fit to eat outside, are the walnut, the almond, the pomegranate, the cocoa-nut⁶, the filbert⁷, the chesnut⁸, the pistachio nut, the vargân, *and* whatever else of this description are very remarkable.

24⁹. This, too, it says, that every single flower is appropriate to an angel (ameshôspend)¹⁰, as the

¹ Pâz. kendri for Pahl. kundur probably.

² Justi compares Pers. barghast.

³ Pâz. kâkura may be equivalent to Pers. qaqulah, 'cardamoms,' or to Pers. kâkul or kâkûl, 'marjoram.'

⁴ K20 omits a line, from here to the word 'either.'

⁵ The line which contained this sentence is torn off in K20.

⁶ Pâz. anârsar is a misreading of Pahl. anârgîl (Pers. nârgîl, 'cocoa-nut').

⁷ Pâz. pendak, a misreading of Pahl. funduk.

⁸ Pâz. shahbrôd, a misreading of Pahl. shahbalût; omitted in M6.

⁹ M6 begins a new chapter here.

¹⁰ These are the thirty archangels and angels whose names are applied to the thirty days of the Parsi month, in the order in

white¹ jasmine (*saman*) is for Vohûman, the myrtle and jasmine (*yâsmin*) are Aûharmazd's own, the mouse-ear (or sweet marjoram) is Ashavahist's² own, the basil-royal is Shatvaîrô's own, the musk flower is Spendarmad's, the lily is Horvada'd's, the *kamba* is Amerôdad's, Dîn-pavan-Âtarô has the orange-scented mint (*vâdrang-bôd*), Âtarô has the marigold³ (*âdargun*), the water-lily is Âvân's, the white marv is Khûrshêd's, the ranges⁴ is Mâh's, the violet is Tîr's, the mēren⁵ is Gôs's, the *kârda* is Dîn-pavan-Mitrô's, all violets are Mitrô's, the red chrysanthemum (*khêr*) is Srôsh's, the dog-rose (*nestran*) is Rashnû's, the cockscomb is Fravar-dîn's, the sisebar is Vâhrâm's, the yellow chrysanthemum is Râm's, the orange-scented mint is Vâd's⁶, the trigonella is Dîn-pavan-Dîn's, the hundred-petalled rose is Dîn's, all kinds of wild flowers (*vahâr*) are Ard's⁷, Âstâd has all the white Hôm⁸, the bread-baker's basil is Âsmân's, Zamyâd has the crocus, Mâraspend has the flower⁹ of Ardashîr,

which they are mentioned here, except that Aûharmazd is the first day, and Vohûman is the second.

¹ M6 has 'yellow.'

² Synonymous with the *Arđavahist* of Chap. I, 26.

³ Anquetil, Windischmann, and Justi have 'the poppy.'

⁴ M6 has Pâz. *lg* as only the first part of the word, and Justi translates it by 'red lac,' which is not a plant. Transcribing the Pâzand into Pahlavi, perhaps the nearest probable word is *rand*, 'laurel.'

⁵ M6 has Pâz. *mênr*; Anquetil has 'vine blossom,' and is followed by Windischmann and Justi, but the word is very uncertain.

⁶ The remainder of this chapter is lost from K20.

⁷ This female angel is also called *Arshirang* (see Chap. XXII, 4).

⁸ See § 4.

⁹ M6 leaves a blank space for the name of the flower; perhaps it is the *marv-i Ardashîrân*.

Anîrân *has* this Hôh of the angel Hôh¹, of three kinds.

25. It is concerning plants that every single kind *with* a drop of water on a twig (teh) they should hold four finger-breadths in front of the fire²; most of all it is the lotos (kûnâr) they speak of.

CHAPTER XXVIII³.

[1. On the evil-doing of Aharman *and* the demons it says in revelation, that the evil which the evil spirit has produced for the creation of Aûharmazd it is possible to tell by this winter⁴; and his body is that of a lizard (vazagh)⁵ *whose* place is filth (kalê). 2. [He does not think, nor speak, nor act *for* the welfare (nadûkîh) of the creatures of Aûharmazd; and his business is unmercifulness and the destruction of this *welfare*,] so that the creatures which Aûharmazd shall increase he will destroy; and *his* eyesight (kashm mîkîsn)⁶ does not refrain from doing the creatures harm. 3. As it says that, 'ever

¹ Reading, in Pahlavi, Hôh yêdatô aê hôh.

² See Chap. XXI, 1. Referring to the necessity of drying fire-wood before putting it on the fire. The kûnâr is specially mentioned, as one of the first fire-woods used by mankind, in Chap. XV, 13.

³ Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, and XXXI are omitted in M6 and all MSS. descended from it, whether Pahlavi or Pâzand; and, owing to the loss of a folio from K20 before any of its extant copies were written, the first quarter of Chap. XXVIII has hitherto been missing, but is here supplied (enclosed in brackets) from TD, a MS. belonging to Mobad Tahmuras Dinshaw (see Introduction).

⁴ Winter being one of the primary evils brought upon creation by Angra-mainyu (see Vend. I, 8-12).

⁵ See Chap. III, 9.

⁶ Referring to 'the evil eye.'

since a creature was created by us, I, who am Aûharmazd, have not rested at ease, on account of providing protection for my own creatures; and likewise not even he, the evil spirit, on account of contriving evil for the creatures.' 4. And by *their* devotion to witchcraft (yâtûk-dînôth) he seduces mankind into affection for himself and disaffection to Aûharmazd¹, so that they forsake the religion of Aûharmazd, and practise that of Aharman. 5. He casts this into the thoughts of men, that this religion of Aûharmazd is nought, and it is not necessary to be steadfast in it. 6. Whoever gives that man anything, in whose law (dâd) this saying is established, then the evil spirit is propitiated by him, that is, he has acted by his pleasure.

7. The business of Akôman² is this, that he gave vile thoughts and discord to the creatures. 8. The business of the demon Andar is this, that he constrains the thoughts of the creatures from deeds of virtue, just like a leader who *has* well-constrained (sardâr-i khûp afsârdô); *and* he casts this into the thoughts of men, that it is not necessary to have the *sacred* shirt *and* *thread*-girdle. 9. The business of the demon Sâvar³, that is a leader of the demons, is this, that is, misgovernment, oppressive anarchy, and drunkenness. 10. The business of the demon Nâikîyas⁴ is this, that he gives discontent to the creatures; as it says, that should this *one*

¹ Compare Chap. I, 14.

² The six arch-fiends of this paragraph are those mentioned in Chaps. I, 27, XXX, 29.

³ Written Sôvar in Chap. I, 27.

⁴ Written Nâkahêd in Chap. I, 27, Nâikîyas when repeated in this sentence, and Pâz. Nâûnghas in Chap. XXX, 29.

give anything to those men whose opinion (*dâd*) is this, that it is not necessary to have the *sacred* shirt and thread-girdle, then Andar, Sâvar, and Nâiktyas are propitiated by him. 11. The demon Taprêv¹ is he who mingles poison with plants and creatures; as it says thus: 'Taprêv the frustrater, and Zâîrîk the maker of poison.' 12. All those six, it is said, are arch-fiends² of the demons; the rest are co-operating and confederate with them. 13. This, too, it says, that]³ should *one* give [anything to] a man who says [that it is proper to have one boot], and in his law walking with one boot [is established, then]⁴ the fiend Taprêv is propitiated [by him].

14. The demon Tarômat⁵ [is he who] produces disobedience; the demon Mitôkht⁶ is the liar (*drôgan*) of the evil spirit⁷; the demon Arask⁸ ('malice') is the spiteful fiend of the evil eye. 15. Theirs are the same⁹ appliances as the demon Aeshm's¹⁰, as it

¹ Written Tâîrêv in Chap. I, 27.

² See Chap. III, 2.

³ From this point the Pahlavi text is extant in K20, except some illegible words, the translation of which (supplied from TD) is here enclosed in brackets.

⁴ Anquetil, misled by the lacuna in his MS., thought that there was a change of subject here, and began a new chapter at this point. On this account the numbers of his chapters are henceforth one in excess of those in this translation.

⁵ Written Tarôkmatô in TD, and identified with Nâûnghas (Nâiktyas) in Chap. XXX, 29; a personification of the Av. tarô-maiti, 'disobedience,' of Yas. XXXIII, 4, LIX, 8.

⁶ A personification of the Av. mithaokhta, 'false-spoken,' of Yas. LIX, 8, Vend. XIX, 146, Visp. XXIII, 9, Zamyâd Yt. 96.

⁷ TD has drûg gûmânîkîh, 'the fiend of scepticism.'

⁸ Av. araska of Yas. IX, 18, Râm Yt. 16, personified.

⁹ The word hômanam in K20 is a false Huzvâris reading of ham, owing to the copyist reading am, 'I am;' TD has ham-afzâr, 'having like means.'

¹⁰ Or Khashm, 'wrath;' so written in K20, but it is usually

says that seven powers are given to Aeshm¹, that he may utterly destroy the creatures therewith; with those seven powers he will destroy seven² of the Kayân heroes in his own time, *but* one will remain. 16. There where Mîtôkht ('falsehood') arrives, Arask ('malice') becomes welcome, [and there where Arask is welcome]³ Aeshm lays a foundation⁴, and there where Aeshm has a foundation⁵ many creatures perish, *and* he causes much non-Iranianism⁶. 17. Aeshm mostly contrives all evil for the creatures of Aûharmazd, *and* the evil deeds of those Kayân heroes have been more complete through Aeshm, as it says, that Aeshm, the impetuous assailant, causes them most⁷.

18. The demon Vîzarêsh⁸ is he who struggles with the souls of men which *have* departed, those

Aêshm elsewhere; the Av. aêshma of Vend. IX, 37, X, 23, 27, &c. The Asmodeus of the Book of Tobit appears to be the Av. Aêshmô daêvô, 'demon of wrath.'

¹ TD has 'there were seven powers of Aêshm.'

² TD has 'six,' which looks like an unlucky attempt to amend a correct text. Tradition tells us that only five Kayâns reigned (see Chap. XXXIV, 7), and the Shâhnâmah also mentions Siyâwush (Pahl. Kaî-Siyâvakhsh), who did not reign; but eight Kayâns, besides Lôharâsp and Vistâsp, who were of collateral descent (see Chap. XXXI, 28), are mentioned in the Avesta, whence the author of the Bundahis would obtain much of his information (see Fra-vardîn Yt. 132, Zamyâd Yt. 71, 74).

³ The phrase in brackets occurs only in TD.

⁴ Reading bunak as in TD; K20 has 'sends down a root.'

⁵ So in TD; K20 has 'where Aeshm keeps on.'

⁶ That is, 'many foreign customs.'

⁷ The word vêsh, 'most,' is only in TD.

⁸ So in TD; K20 has Vigêsh. He is the Av. Vîzaresha of Vend. XIX, 94, who is said to convey the souls of the departed to the Kînvad bridge.

days and nights¹ when *they remain* in the world; he carries *them* on, terror-stricken, *and* sits at the gate of hell. 19. The demon Uda² is he who, when a man sits in a private place, or when he eats at meals, strikes *his* knee spiritually on *his* back³, so that he bawls out [*and* looks out, that chattering he may eat, chattering] he may evacuate (riêd), and chattering he may make water (mêzêd), so that he may not attain [unto the] best existence⁴.

[20. The demon Akâtâsh⁵ is the fiend of perversion (nikîrâyîh), who makes the creatures averse (nikîrât) from proper things; as it says, that whoever *has* given anything to that person (tanû) whose opinion (dâd) is this, that it is not necessary to have a high-priest (dastôbar), then the demon Aeshm is propitiated by him. 21. Whoever *has* given anything to that person whose opinion is this, *and* who says, that it is not necessary to have a snake-killer (mâr-van), then Aharman, with the foregoing demons, is propitiated by him; this is said of him who, when he sees a noxious creature, does not kill *it*. 22. A snake-killer (mârô-gnô)⁶ is a stick on the end of which a leathern *thong* is

¹ TD has 'those three nights,' referring to the period that the soul is said to remain hovering about the body after death (see Hâdôkht Nask, ed. Haug, II, 1-18, III, 1-17).

² So in K20; TD has Aûdak (see Pahl.Vend. XVIII, 70).

³ TD has merely 'strikes a slipper (pađîn-pôsh) spiritually,' that is, invisibly, for the purpose of startling the man.

⁴ The short phrases in brackets are taken from TD to supply words torn off from K20, which passes on to Chap. XXIX at this point, but TD supplies a continuation of Chap. XXVIII, which is added here, and enclosed in brackets.

⁵ The Av. Akatasha of Vend. X, 23 Sp., XIX, 43 W.

⁶ See Pahlavi Vend. XVIII, 5, 6.

provided; and it is declared that every one of the good religion must possess one, that they may strike *and* kill noxious creatures *and* sinners more meritoriously with it.

23. Zarmân¹ is the demon who makes decrepit (*dûspad*), whom they call old age (*pîrîh*). 24. *Kîshmâk*² is he who makes disastrous (*vazandak*), and also causes the whirlwind³ *which* passes over for disturbance. 25. The demon Varenô⁴ is he who causes illicit intercourse, as it says thus: 'Varenô the defiling (*âlat*).' 26. The demon Bûsh-âsp⁵ is she who causes slothfulness; Sêg is the fiend (*drûg*) who causes annihilation; and the demon Nîyâz is he who *causes* distress.

27. The demon Âz⁶ ('greediness') is he who swallows everything, and when, through destitution, nothing has come he eats himself; he is that fiendishness which, although the whole wealth of the world be given up to it, does not fill up and is not satisfied; as it says, that the eye of the covetous is a noose (*gamand*), and *in* it the world is nought. 28. Pûs⁷ is the demon who makes a hoard, *and*

¹ A personification of the Av. *zaurva* of Vend. XIX, 43 W., Yas. IX, 18 Sp., Gôz Yt. 10, Râm Yt. 16.

² The reading of this name is uncertain.

³ The small whirlwinds, which usually precede a change of wind in India, are commonly known by the name of *shaîtân*, which indicates that such whirling columns of dust are popularly attributed to demoniacal agency.

⁴ A personification of Av. *varena*, 'desire,' in an evil sense.

⁵ Av. *Bûshyâsta* of Vend. XI, 28, 29, 36, 37, XVIII, 38, &c. The names of the three demons in this sentence are Persian words for 'sloth,' 'trouble,' and 'want.'

⁶ Av. *Âzi* of Vend. XVIII, 45, 50, Yas. XVII, 46, LXVII, 22, Âstâd Yt. 1.

⁷ Compare Pers. *payûs*, 'covetous,' and *piyûs*, 'avarice.' Pûs is evidently the demon of misers, and Âz that of the selfish.

does not consume *it*, *and* does not give to any one; as it says, that the power of the demon Âz is owing to that person who, not content with his own wife, snatches away even those of others.

29. The demon Nas¹ is he who causes the pollution and contamination (nistrûstîh), which they call nasât ('dead matter'). 30. The demon Frîftâr ('deceiver') is he who seduces mankind. 31. The demon Spazg² ('slander') is he who brings *and* conveys discourse (milayâ), *and* it is nothing in appearance such *as* he says; and he shows that mankind fights *and* apologizes (avakhshînêd), individual with individual. 32. The demon Arâst³ ('untrue') is he who speaks falsehood. 33. The demon Aîghâsh⁴ is the malignant-eyed fiend who smites mankind with *his* eye. 34. The demon Bût⁵ is he whom they worship among the Hindûs, and his growth is lodged in idols, as one worships the horse *as* an idol⁶. 35. Astô-vidâd⁷ is the evil flyer (vâê-i sarîtar) who seizes the life; as it says that, when

¹ Av. Nasu of Vend. V, 85-106, VI, 65, 72, 74, 79, VII, 2-27, 70, VIII, 46, 48, 132-228, IX, 49-117, &c.

² Av. spazga of Ardabahist Yt. 8, 11, 15.

³ Always written like anâst.

⁴ Av. aghashi of Vend. XX, 14, 20, 24, which appears to be 'the evil eye;' but see § 36.

⁵ Av. Bûiti of Vend. XIX, 4, 6, 140, who must be identified with Pers. but, 'an idol,' Sans. bhûta, 'a goblin,' and not with Buddha.

⁶ Reading afas vakhsh pavan bûtîhâ mâhmânô, kîgûn bût asp parastêdô, which evidently admits of many variations, but the meaning is rather obscure.

⁷ Here written Astî-vidâd (see Chap. III, 21). Vend. V, 25, 31 says, 'Astô-vidhôtû binds him (the dying man); Vayô (the flying demon) conveys him bound;' from which it would appear that Astô-vidâd and 'the evil flyer' were originally considered as distinct demons.

his hand strokes a man *it is* lethargy, when he casts *it* on the sick *one it is* fever, when he looks in his eyes he drives away the life, and they call it death. 36. The demon of the malignant eye (*sûr-kashmîh*) is he who will spoil anything which men see, *when* they do not say 'in the name of God' (*yazdân*).

37. With every one of them are many demons *and* fiends co-operating, to specify whom a second time *would be* tedious; demons, too, who are furies (*khashmakân*), are in great multitude it is said.

38. They are demons of ruin, pain, and growing old (*zvârân*), producers of vexation and bile, revivers of grief (*nîvagîh*), the progeny of gloom, and bringers of stench, decay, and vileness, who are many, very numerous, and very notorious; and a portion of all of them is mingled in the bodies of men, *and their* characteristics are glaring in mankind.

39. The demon *Apâôsh*¹ and the demon *Aspengargâk*² are those who remain in contest with the rain. 40. Of the evil spirit³ are the law of vileness, the religion of sorcery, the weapons of fiendishness, and the perversion (*khâmîh*) of God's works; and

¹ Av. *Apaosha* of *Tistar Yt.* 21, 22, 27, 28, *Âstâd Yt.* 2, 6; see also Chap. VII, 8, 10, 12.

² Here written *Aspengarôgâ*, but see Chaps. VII, 12, XVII, 1. He is the Av. *Spengaghra* of *Vend.* XIX, 135, and, being a demon, is not to be confounded with the demon-worshipper, *Spingauruska*, of *Gôš Yt.* 31, *Ashi Yt.* 51.

³ The 'evil spirit,' *Ganrâk-maînôk*, seems to be here treated as a demon distinct from *Aharman*, which is inconsistent with what is stated in §§ 1-6, and is contrary to general opinion. This inconsistency would indicate the possibility of this continuation of Chap. XXVIII in TD, or a portion of it, having been added by an editor in later times (although it is difficult to discover any difference of style in the language), if we did not find a similar confusion of the two names in Chap. XXX, 29, 30.

his wish is this, that is: 'Do not ask *about* me, and do not understand me! for if ye ask *about* and understand me, ye *will* not come after me¹.' 41. This, too, it says, that the evil spirit remains at the distance of a cry, even at the cry of a three-year-old cock (kûlêng), even at the cry of an ass, even at the cry of a righteous man when *one* strikes *him* involuntarily *and* he utters a cry². 42. The demon Kûndak³ is he who is the steed (bârak) of wizards.

43. Various new demons *arise* from the various new sins the creatures may commit, *and* are produced for such *purposes*; who make even those planets rush *on* which are in the *celestial* sphere, *and* they stand very numerous in the conflict. 44. Their ringleaders (kamârikân) are those seven *planets*, the head and tail of Gôkîhar, and Mûspar⁴

¹ Compare Mkh. XL, 24-28: 'The one wish that Hôrmezd, the lord, desires from men is this, that "ye shall understand me (Hôrmezd), since every one who shall understand me comes after me, and strives for my satisfaction." And the one wish that Aharman desires from men is this, that "ye shall not understand me (Aharman), since whoever shall understand me wicked, *his* actions proceed not after me, and, moreover, no advantage and friendship come to me from that man."'

² The sentence is rather obscure, but it seems to imply that such cries keep the evil spirit at a distance; it is, however, just possible that it means that the cry of the evil spirit can be heard as far as such cries.

³ Av. Kunda of Vend. XI, 28, 36, XIX, 138.

⁴ TD has Gôk-îhar and Mûs-parîk here, but see Chap. V, 1, where these beings are included among the seven planetary leaders, and not counted in addition to them. This is another inconsistency which leads to the suspicion that this continuation of the chapter may have been written by a later hand. According to this later view, the sun and moon must be included among those malevolent orbs, the planets.

provided with a tail, *which* are ten. 45. And by them these ten worldly creations, *that* is, the sky, water, earth, vegetation, animals, metals, wind, light, fire, and mankind, are corrupted with all this vile-ness; and from them calamity, captivity, disease, death, and other evils and corruptions ever come to water, vegetation, and the other creations which exist *in* the world, owing to the fiendishness of those ten. 46. They whom I *have* enumerated are *furnished* with the assistance and crafty (afzâr-hômand) nature of Aharman.

47. Regarding the cold, dry, stony, and dark interior of mysterious (târik dên afrâg-pêdâk) hell it says, that the darkness is fit to grasp with the hand¹, and the stench is fit to cut with a knife; and if they inflict the punishment of a thousand men within a single span, they (the men) think in this *way*, that they are alone; *and* the loneliness is worse than its punishment². 48. And its connection (band) is with the seven planets, be it through much cold like Saturn³ (Kêvân), be it through much heat like Aharman; and their food is brimstone (gandak), and of succulents the lizard (vazagh), *and* other evil *and* wretchedness (patyân).]

¹ Compare Mkh. VII, 31: 'and always their darkness is such-like as though it be possible to grasp with the hand.'

² Compare Ardâ-Vîrâf-nâmak (LIV, 5-8): 'As *close* as the ear to the eye, and as many as the hairs on the mane of a horse, so *close and* many in number, the souls of the wicked stand, but they see not, and hear no sound, one from the other; every one thinks thus, "I am alone."'

³ Or, 'with more cold than Saturn.'

CHAPTER XXIX¹.

1. On [the *spiritual* chieftainship² of the regions of the earth] it says in revelation, that every one of those six chieftainships³ has one *spiritual* chief; as the chief of Arzah is Ashâshagahad-ê Hvandkân⁴, the chief of Savah is Hoazarôdathri-hanâ Parêstyarô⁵, the chief of Fradadafsh is Spîtôd-i Âuspôsînân⁶, [the chief of Vîdadafsh is Aîrîz-râsp Âuspôsînân⁷,] the chief of Vôrûbarst is Huvâsp⁸, the chief of Vôrûgarst is Kakhravâk⁹. 2. Zaratûst is

¹ For this chapter, which is numbered XXX by previous translators, we have to depend only on K20 and TD (see the note on the heading of Chap. XXVIII); and the words enclosed in brackets are supplied from TD, being either illegible or omitted in K20.

² Perhaps 'patriarchate' or 'episcopate' would be a better translation of rad'ih, and 'patriarch' or 'bishop' of rad, in this chapter, as the chief high-priest (dastûr-i dastûrân) and his office are evidently meant by these words.

³ Of the six other regions, distinct from this one of Khvanîras, see Chap. XI, 2-4.

⁴ TD has Ashashâg, hê-ê aîgh Nêvandân; both MSS. giving these names in a barbarous Pâzand form which cannot be relied on. Perhaps this Dastûr is the Av. Ashâvanghu Bivândangha of Fravardîn Yt. 110.

⁵ TD has Hôazarôkakhhr-hanâ Parêstyrô, all in Pâzand in both MSS., except Huz. hanâ, which stands for Pâz. ê, here used for the idhâfat i. Perhaps this Dastûr is the Av. Garô-danghu Pairistîra of Fravardîn Yt. 110.

⁶ So in TD; K20 has Pâz. Spaitanid-i Huspâsnyân. This Dastûr is, no doubt, the Av. (gen.) Spitôis Uspâsnaos of Fravardîn Yt. 121.

⁷ Omitted in K20, but, no doubt, this Dastûr is the Av. Erez-râspa Uspâsnu of Fravardîn Yt. 121.

⁸ Av. Hvaspa of Fravardîn Yt. 122.

⁹ So in both MSS. As in the case of each of the preceding two pair of regions, two consecutive names of Dastûrs have been taken from the Fravardîn Yast, it may be supposed that the names

spiritual chief of the region of Khvanîras, and also of all the regions; *he is* chief of the world of the righteous, *and* it is said that the whole religion was received by them from Zaratûst¹.

3. In the region of Khvanîras are many places, from which, in this evil time of violent struggling with the adversary, a passage (*vidarg*) is constructed by the power of the spiritual world (*maînôkîh*), *and one* calls *them* the beaten tracks² of Khvanîras.

4. Counterparts of those other regions³ are *such places* as Kangdez, the land of Saukavastân, the plain of the Arabs (*Tâzikân*), the plain of Pêsyânsaî, the river Nâivtâk⁴, Aîrân-vêg, the enclosure (*var*) formed by Yim, *and* Kasmîr in India⁵. 5. And one immortal chief acts in the government of *each*

taken for this third pair of regions will also be consecutive, and this Dastûr must, therefore, be identified with the Av. *Kathwaraspa* of Fravardîn Yt. 122.

¹ TD has 'Zaratûst is chief of this region of Khvanîras, and also of the whole world of the righteous; all chieftainship, also, is from Zaratûst, so that the whole religion,' &c.

² Justi has 'zones, climates;' but transcribing Pâz. *habâvanhâ* back into Pahlavi we have a word which may be read *khâbânôhâ*, pl. of *khâbân*, 'a trampling-place' (comp. Pers. *khâbîdan*). TD has *khvabîsnô-gâs*, which has the same meaning.

³ Meaning, probably, that they resemble the six smaller regions in being isolated and difficult of access; in other words, either mythical, or independent of Iranian rule.

⁴ So in TD, which also omits the second, third, and fourth of these isolated territories. In K20 we might read *rad va khûdâk*, 'chief and lord,' as an epithet of Aîrân-vêg. This river must be the Nâivtâk of Chap. XXI, 6.

⁵ Reading Kasmîr-i andar Hindû, but TD has Kasmîr-i andarûnô; perhaps the last word was originally *anîrânak*, in which case we should read 'the non-Iranian Kasmîr.'

of them; as it says, that Pêshyôtanû¹ son of Vis-tâsp, whom they call Kîtrô-mainô², is in the country of Kangdez³; Aghrêrad⁴ son of Pashang is in the land of Saukavastân⁵, and they call him Gôpat-shah⁶; Parsadgâ⁷ Hvembya is in the plain of

¹ The Av. Peshôtanu of Vishtâsp Yt. 4, where he is described as free from disease and death. TD has Pêshyôk-tanû. See also Chaps. XXXI, 29, XXXII, 5.

² TD has Kîtrô-mâônô, and it may be doubted whether the latter portion of the name be derived from Av. mainyu, 'spirit,' or maunghô, 'moon.' The Dâdîstân-i Dînik (Reply 89) calls him 'Patshâyôtanû who is called from the Kîtrôk-mâhanô (or mîyânô),' the Katru-mîyân river of Chap. XX, 7, 31.

³ See § 10. TD has Kangdez-i bâmîk, 'Kangdez the splendid.'

⁴ The Av. Aghraêratha Narava of Gôš Yt. 18, 22, Fravardîn Yt. 131, Ashi Yt. 38, Zamyâd Yt. 77; he is Aghrîrath, brother of Afrâsiyâb, in the Shâhnâmah; see also Chap. XXXI, 15.

⁵ TD has Pahl. Sakîkstân here, but Sôkapastân in § 13 (the letters îk and p being often much alike in Pahlavi writing). K20 has Pâz. Sâvkavatân, Saukâvasta, and Sâvkavastân.

⁶ TD has Gôpat-malkâ, 'king of Gôpat;' and Dâd. (Reply 89) states that 'the reign of Gôpatshah is over the country of Gôpatô, coterminous with Aîrân-vêg, on the bank of the water of the Dâîtîk; and he keeps watch over the ox Hadhayâs, on whom occurred the various emigrations of men of old.' Mkh. (LXII, 31-36) says, 'Gôpatshâh remains in Aîrân-vêg, within the region of Khvanîras; from foot to mid-body *he is* a bull, and from mid-body to top *he is* a man; at all times he stays on the sea-shore, and always performs the worship of God, and always pours holy-water into the sea; through the pouring of that holy-water innumerable noxious creatures in the sea will die; for if he should not mostly perform that ceremonial, and should not pour that holy-water into the sea, and those innumerable noxious creatures should not perish, then always when rain falls the noxious creatures would fall like rain.' In Chap. XXXI, 20, he is said to be a son of Aghrêrad.

⁷ So in K20; and Av. Parshadgau occurs in Fravardîn Yt. 96, 127; but TD has Fradakhstar Khûmbîkân, and Dâd. (Reply 89) mentions 'Fradakhstô son of Khûmbîkân' as one of the seven

Pêsyânsa¹, and he is *Hvembya* for this reason, because they brought *him* up in a *hvemb* ('jar') for fear of *Khashm* ('Wrath'); [*Asâm-i*² *Yamâhust* is in the place which they call the River *Nâtvtâk*]; the tree opposed to harm³ is in *Aitrân-vêg*; *Urvatadnar*⁴ son of *Zaratûst* is in the enclosure formed by *Yim*. 6. Regarding them it says, they are *those* who are immortal, as are *Narsih*⁵ son of *Vîvanghâû*, *Tûs*⁶ son of *Nôdar*⁷, *Gîw*⁸ son of *Gûdarz*, *Ibairaz*⁹ the causer of strife, and *Ashavazd* son of *Pourudhâkhst*¹⁰; and they will all¹¹ come forth, to the

immortal lords of *Khvanîras*, which name corresponds with the Av. *Fradhâkhsti Khunbya* of *Fravardîn Yt.* 138.

¹ TD has always Pahl. *Pêrânsih*. No doubt the *Pisîn* valley is meant (see § 111).

² Or it may be read *Aêshm-i*. This phrase occurs only in TD, but *Dâd.* (Reply 89) mentions 'the Avesta *Yakhmâyîrad*, son of the same *Fryânô*,' as one of the seven immortal lords of *Khvanîras*.

³ See Chap. XXVII, 2.

⁴ See Chap. XXXII, 5.

⁵ Or *Narsâe* in TD; K20 has *Pâz. Narêi*, but see Chap. XXXI, 3, 5.

⁶ Av. *Tusa* of *Âbân Yt.* 53, 58, and an Iranian warrior in the *Shâhnâmah*.

⁷ Av. *Naotara*, whose descendants are mentioned in *Âbân Yt.* 76, 98, *Fravardîn Yt.* 102, *Râm Yt.* 35.

⁸ Av. *Gaêvani* of *Fravardîn Yt.* 115 is something like this name of one of the Iranian warriors in the *Shâhnâmah*.

⁹ TD has *Pâz. Bairazd*. Perhaps it is not a name, but a *Pâzand* corruption of Pahl. *aêvarz*, 'warrior, trooper' (traditionally); in which case we should have to read 'the warrior who was a causer of strife.'

¹⁰ So in TD; K20 has 'Ashavand son of *Porudakhst*,' and *Dâd.* (Reply 89) mentions 'Ashavazang son of *Pôrûdakhstôih*' as one of the seven immortal lords of *Khvanîras*. He is the Av. 'Ashavazdangh the *Pourudhâkhstiyân*' of *Âbân Yt.* 72, *Fravardîn Yt.*

112.

¹¹ So in TD, but K20 has 'always.'

assistance of Sôshyans, on the production of the renovation of *the universe*.

7. Regarding Sâm¹ it says, that he became immortal, *but* owing to his disregard of the Mazdayasnian religion, a Tûrk whom they call Nihâg² wounded *him* with an arrow, when he was asleep there, in the plain of Pêsyânsaî; and it had brought upon him the unnatural lethargy (bûshasp) *which* overcame *him in* the midst of the heat³. 8. And the glory (far) of heaven stands over him⁴ for the purpose that, when Az-i Dahâk⁵ becomes unfettered (arazak), he may arise and slay him; and a myriad guardian spirits of the righteous are as a protection to him. 9. Of Dahâk, whom they call Bêvarâsp, this, too, it says, that Frêdûn when he captured Dahâk was not able to kill *him*, and afterwards confined him in Mount Dimâvand⁶; when he becomes unfettered, Sâm arises, and smites and slays him.

10. As to Kangdez, *it is* in the direction of the east, at many leagues from the bed (var)⁷ of the

¹ This is not Sâm the grandfather of Rustam, but the Av. Sâma, who appears to have been an ancestor of Keresâspa (see Yas. IX, 30), called Sam, grandfather of Garsâsp, in a passage interpolated in some copies of the Shâhnâmah (compare Chap. XXXI, 26, 27). Here, however, it appears from the Bahman Yast (III, 59, 60) that Keresâspa himself is meant, he being called Sâma Keresâspa in Fravardîn Yt. 61, 136.

² It can also be read Nihâv or Niyâg in K20, and Nihâv or Nihân in TD.

³ TD has 'as he lay *in* the midst of the heat.'

⁴ TD has 'and the snow (vafar) has settled (nishast) over him.'

⁵ See Chaps. XXXI, 6, XXXIV, 5.

⁶ See Chap. XII, 31.

⁷ TD has agvar, 'above,' instead of min var, 'from the bed.'

wide-formed ocean towards that side. 11. The plain of Pêsyânsaî is in Kâvulistân, as it says, that the most remarkable upland (bâlist) in Kâvulistân is where Pêsyânsaî is; there it is hotter, on the more lofty elevations there is no heat¹. 12. Atrân-vêg is in the direction of Âtarô-pâtakân². 13. The land of Saukavastân is on the way from Tûrkistân to Kînistân, in the direction of the north. 14. [The enclosure]³ formed by Yim is *in* the middle of Pârs, in Sruvâ⁴; thus, they say, that *what* Yim formed (Yim-kard) is below Mount Yimakân⁵. 15. Kasmîr is in Hindûstân.

CHAPTER XXX⁶.

1. On the nature of the resurrection and future existence it says in revelation, that, whereas Mâshya and Mâshyôl, who grew up from the earth⁷, first fed upon water, then plants, then milk, *and* then meat, men also, when their time of death *has* come, first desist from eating meat, then milk, then from

¹ Or, 'the hottest there, through the very lofty elevation, is not heat.'

² Pers. Âdarbîgân.

³ The word var is omitted in K20.

⁴ TD has Pahl. Srûbâk.

⁵ Or it may be read Damakân, but TD has Kamakân. It can hardly be Dâmaghân, as that is a town and district in Khurâsân; Justi also suggests the district of Gamagân in Pârs, and thinks Sruvâ means 'cypress wood,' there being a Salvastân between Shîrâz and Fasâ.

⁶ This chapter is found in all MSS., and has been numbered XXXI by former translators.

⁷ See Chaps. XV, 2-16, XXXIV, 3.

bread, till when¹ they shall die they always feed upon water. 2. So, likewise, in the millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh², the strength of appetite (âz) will thus diminish, when men *will* remain three days and nights in superabundance (sîrth) through one taste of consecrated food. 3. Then they will desist from meat food, *and* eat vegetables *and* milk; afterwards, they abstain from milk food *and* abstain from vegetable food, *and* are feeding on water; *and* for ten years before Sôshyans³ comes they remain without food, *and* do not die.

4. After Sôshyans *comes* they prepare the raising of the dead, as it says, that Zaratûst asked of Aûharmazd thus: 'Whence does a body form again, which the wind *has* carried *and* the water conveyed (vazîd)⁴? *and* how does the resurrection occur?'

5. Aûharmazd answered thus: 'When through me the sky *arose* from the substance of the ruby⁵, without columns, on the spiritual support of far-compassed light; when through me the earth arose, which⁶ bore the material life, *and* there is no

¹ Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see the note on Chap. I, 7).

² Written Khûrshêdar-mâh, or Khûrshêd-mâh, in the Bundahis; see Chap. XXXII, 8, and Bahman Yt. III, 52, 53.

³ See Chaps. XI, 6, XXXII, 8, Bahman Yt. III, 62.

⁴ Compare (Vend. V, 26) 'the water carries *him* up, the water carries *him* down, the water casts *him* away.'

⁵ Compare Mkh. IX, 7.

⁶ All MSS. have min, 'out of,' but translators generally suppose it should be mûn, 'which,' as the meaning of 'brought out of material life' is by no means clear. Perhaps the two phrases might be construed together, thus: 'there is no *other* maintainer of the worldly creation, brought from the material life, than it.' Windischmann refers to Fravardîn Yt. 9.

maintainer of the worldly creation but it; when by me the sun and moon *and* stars are conducted in the firmament (andarvâi) of luminous bodies; when by me corn was created so that, scattered about in the earth, it grew again *and* returned with increase; when by me colour¹ of various kinds was created in plants; when by me fire was created in plants *and* other things² without combustion; when *by me* a son was created *and* fashioned³ in the womb of a mother, *and* the structure (pîsak) severally of the skin, nails, blood, feet, eyes, ears, and other things was produced; when by me legs were created for the water, so that it flows away, *and* the cloud was created which carries the water of the world *and* rains there where it has a purpose; when by me the air was created which conveys *in one's* eyesight, through the strength of the wind, the lowermost upwards according to *its* will, *and one* is not able to grasp *it* with the hand out-stretched; each one of them, when created by me, was herein more difficult than causing the resurrection, for⁴ *it is* an assistance to me in the resurrection that they exist, *but* when they were formed it was not *forming* the future out of the past⁵. 6. Observe that when that which was not was then produced, why is it not possible to

¹ Former translators all read rag, 'vein, pore;' but it probably stands for rang, 'colour, dye,' as in Chap. XXVII, 5, 18.

² See Chap. XVII, 1, 2.

³ Pâz. srahtîd is evidently a misreading of Pahl. srîstîd, 'formed, shaped.' Windischmann compares Fravardîn Yt. 11, 22, 28.

⁴ Here kîm is the Pâzand of Huz. mamanam, 'for to me;' being a different word from the interrogative kîm, 'why?' of the next §.

⁵ Literally, '*what* becomes out of *what* was.'

produce again that which was? for at that time *one will* demand the bone from the spirit of earth, the blood from the water, the hair from the plants, *and* the life from fire, since *they* were delivered to them in the original creation.'

7. First, the bones of Gâyômarđ are roused up, then those of Mâshya *and* Mâshyôł, then those of the rest of mankind; in the fifty-seven years of Sôshyans¹ they prepare all the dead, *and* all men stand up; whoever is righteous *and* whoever is wicked, every human creature, they rouse up from the spot where its life departs. 8. Afterwards, when all material living beings assume again their bodies *and* forms, then they assign (barâ yehabûnd) them a single class². 9. Of the light accompanying (levatman) the sun, one half will *be* for Gâyômarđ, and one half will give enlightenment among the rest of men, so that the soul *and* body will know that this is my father, and this is my mother, and this is my brother, and this is my wife, and these are some other of my nearest relations.

10. Then is the assembly of the Sadvâstarân³, where all mankind will stand at this time; in that assembly every one sees his own good deeds and his own evil deeds; *and* then, in that assembly, a wicked *man* becomes as conspicuous as a white sheep among those which are black. 11. In that

¹ K20 omits 'Sôshyans.'

² The phrase is obscure, and K20 omits the numeral 'one' (the idhâfat of unity); but the meaning is probably that all former distinctions of class, or caste, are abolished.

³ Windischmann suggests that it may be 'the assembly of Isadvâstar,' the eldest son of Zaratûst (see Chap. XXXII, 5); perhaps supposed to be presided over by him as the first supreme high-priest after Zaratûst's death.

assembly whatever righteous *man* was friend of a wicked *one* in the world, *and* the wicked *man* complains of him who is righteous, thus: 'Why did he not make me acquainted, when in the world, with the good deeds which he practised himself?' if he who is righteous did not inform him, then it is necessary for him to suffer shame accordingly in that assembly¹.

12. Afterwards, they set the righteous *man* apart from the wicked; *and* then the righteous is for heaven (*garôdmân*), and they cast the wicked back to hell. 13. Three days *and* nights they inflict punishment bodily in hell, *and* then he beholds bodily those three days' happiness in heaven². 14. As it says that, on the day when the righteous *man* is parted from the wicked, the tears of every one, thereupon, run down unto *his* legs. 15. When, after they set apart a father from his consort (*ham-bâz*), a brother from his brother, and a friend from

¹ In the *Ardâ-Vîrâf*-namak (Chap. LXVIII) it is related that *Ardâ-Vîrâf* saw the souls of a husband and wife, that of the husband destined for heaven, and that of the wife for hell; but the wife clung to her husband and asked why they should be separated, and he told her it was on account of her neglect of religious duties; whereupon she reproached him for not teaching and chastising her. 'And, afterwards, the man went to heaven and the woman to hell. And owing to the repentance of that woman she was in no other affliction in hell but darkness and stench. And that man sat in the midst of the righteous of heaven in shame, from not converting and not teaching the woman, who might have become virtuous in his keeping.'

² As an aggravation of his punishment in hell. It has generally been supposed that this last phrase refers to the reward of the righteous man, but this cannot be the case unless *akhar* be taken in the sense of 'other,' which is unlikely; besides, beholding the happiness of others would be no reward to an Oriental mind.

his friend, they suffer, every one for his own deeds, *and* weep, the righteous for the wicked, and the wicked about himself; for there may be a father who is righteous *and* a son wicked, *and* there may be one brother who is righteous *and* one wicked. 16. Those for whose peculiar deeds it is appointed, such as Dahâk and Frâstiyâv of Tûr, *and* others of this sort, as those deserving death (marg-argânân), undergo a punishment no other men undergo; they call *it* 'the punishment of the three nights'¹.

17. Among his producers of the renovation of *the universe*, those righteous men of whom it is written² that they are living, fifteen men and fifteen damsels, will come to the assistance of Sôshyans. 18. As Gôkthar³ falls in the *celestial* sphere from a moon-beam on to the earth, the distress of the earth becomes such-like as *that of* a sheep when a wolf falls *upon it*. 19. Afterwards, the fire and halo⁴ melt the metal of Shatvatrô, in the hills *and* mountains, *and* it remains on this earth like a river.

¹ According to the Pahlavi Vend. VII, 136 (p. 96, Sp.) it appears that a person who has committed a marg-argân or mortal sin, without performing patîr or renunciation of sin thereafter, remains in hell till the future existence, when he is brought out, beheaded three times for each mortal sin unrepented of, and then cast back into hell to undergo the punishment tishrām khshafnām ('of the three nights') before he becomes righteous; some say, however, that this punishment is not inflicted for a single mortal sin. This period of three nights' punishment is quite a different matter from the three nights' hovering of the soul about the body after death.

² See Chap. XXIX, 5, 6. As the text stands in the MSS. it is uncertain whether the fifteen men and fifteen damsels are a portion of these righteous immortals, or an addition to them.

³ Probably a meteor (see Chap. V, 1).

⁴ Reading khîrman; M6 has 'the fire and angel Aîrman (Av. Airyaman) melt the metal in the hills,' &c.

20. Then all men will pass into that melted metal and will become pure; when *one* is righteous, then it seems to him just as though he walks continually in warm milk; *but* when wicked, then it seems to him in such manner as though, in the world, he walks continually in melted metal.

21. Afterwards, with the greatest affection, all men come together, father and son and brother and friend ask one another thus: 'Where has it¹ been these many years, and what was the judgment upon thy soul? hast thou been righteous or wicked?'

22. The first soul the body sees, it enquires of it with those words (gûft). 23. All men become of one voice *and* administer loud praise to Aûharmazd and the archangels.

24. Aûharmazd completes *his work* at that time, *and* the creatures become so that it is not necessary to make any effort about them; *and* among those by whom the dead are prepared, it is not necessary *that* any effort be made. 25. Sôshyans, with his assistants, performs a Yazisn *ceremony* in preparing the dead, *and* they slaughter the ox Hadhayôs² in that Yazisn; from the fat of that ox and the white Hôm³ they prepare Hûsh, *and* give *it* to all men, and all men become immortal for ever *and* everlasting. 26. This, too, it says, that whoever has been the size of a man, they restore him then with an age of forty years; they who have been little *when* not dead, they restore then with an age of fifteen years; and they give every one *his* wife, and

¹ K20 has 'have I;' probably hômanîh, 'hast thou,' was the original reading.

² See Chap. XIX, 13.

³ See Chap. XXVII, 4.

show *him his* children with the wife ; so they act as now in the world, but there is no begetting of children.

27. Afterwards, Sôshyans *and his assistants*, by order of the creator Aûharmazd, give every man the reward and recompense suitable to *his* deeds ; this is even the righteous existence (ait) where it is said that they convey *him* to paradise (vahist), and the heaven (garôdmân) of Aûharmazd takes up the body (kerp) as itself requires ; with that assistance he continually advances for ever *and* everlasting. 28. This, too, it says, that whoever has performed no worship (yast), and has ordered no Gêti-kharîd¹, and has bestowed no clothes as a righteous gift, is naked there ; and he performs the worship (yast) of Aûharmazd, and the heavenly angels² provide him the use of his clothing.

¹ The Sad-dar Bundahis says that by Gêti-kharîd 'heaven is purchased in the world, and one's own place brought to hand in heaven.' The Rivâyât of Dastûr Barzû (as quoted in MS. 29 of Bombay University Parsi Collection) gives the following details in Persian : 'To celebrate Gêti-kharîd it is necessary that two hêrbads (priests) perform the Nâbar, and with each khshnûman which they pray it is fit and necessary that both hêrbads have had the Nâbar ; and the first day they recite the Nônâbar yast, and consecrate the Nônâbar drôn and the Nônâbar âfrîngân which they recite in each Gâh ; in the Hâvan Gâh it is necessary to recite fravarânê (as in Yas. III, 24 W. to end), ahurahê mazdau raêvatô (as in Aûharmazd Yt. o, to) frasastayaêka, then Yas. III, 25 W., XVII, 1-55 Sp., ashem vohû thrice, âfrînâmi khshathryân (as in Âfrîngân I, 14, to end). The second day the Srôsh yast and Srôsh drôn and âfrîngân are to be recited ; and the third day it is necessary to recite the Sîrôzah yast, the Sîrôzah drôn and âfrîngân dahmân ; and it is needful to recite the second and third âfrîngâns in each Gâh, and each day to consecrate the barsom and drôn afresh with seven twigs, so that it may not be ineffective.'

² Pâz. gehân is probably a misreading of Pahl. yazdân, as

29. Afterwards, Aûharmazd seizes on¹ the evil spirit, Vohûman *on* Akôman², Ashavahist *on* Andar³, Shatvairô *on* Sâvar, Spendarmad *on* Tarômat who is Nâûnghas⁴, Horvada*d* and Amerôdad *on* Tâtrêv and Zâîrîk⁵, true-speaking *on* what is evil-speaking, Srôsh⁶ *on* Aeshm⁷. 30. Then two fiends remain at large, Aharman⁸ and Âz⁹; Aûharmazd comes to the world, himself the Zôta and Srôsh the Râspî¹⁰, and holds the Kûstî in *his* hand;

neither 'the spirit of the world,' nor 'the spirit of the Gâhs' is a likely phrase. It is possible, however, that *mainôk gehân* is a misreading of *min aîvyahân*, 'from the girdle,' and we should translate as follows: 'and out of its girdle (that is, the *kûstî* of the barsom used in the ceremony) he produces the effect of his clothing.'

¹ Instead of *vakhdûnd*, 'seize on,' we should probably read *vânend*, 'smite,' as in the parallel passages mentioned below.

² Compare *Zamyâd Yt.* 96. Each archangel (see Chap. I, 25, 26) here seizes the arch-fiend (see Chaps. I, 27, XXVIII, 7-12) who is his special opponent.

³ Here written *Pâz*. Inder. Compare *Pahlavi Yas.* XLVII, 1: 'When among the creation, in the future existence, righteousness smites the fiend, Ashavahist *smites* Indar.'

⁴ Written *Nâkahêd* in Chap. I, 27, and *Nâîkiyas* in Chap. XXVIII, 10, where he is described as a distinct demon from *Tarômat* in XXVIII, 14.

⁵ Here written *Tâtrêv* and *Zâîrîk*.

⁶ *Av. Sraosha*, a personification of attentive hearing and obedience, who is said to watch over the world and defend it from the demons, especially at night; see *Vend.* XVIII, 48, 51, 70, &c., *Yas.* LVI, *Srôsh Yt.* *Hâdôkht*, &c.

⁷ See Chap. XXVIII, 15-17.

⁸ Comparing § 29 with § 30 it is not very clear whether the author of the *Bundahis* considered *Aharman* and the evil spirit as the same or different demons; compare also Chap. XXVIII, 1-6 with 40, 41.

⁹ See Chap. XXVIII, 27.

¹⁰ The *Zôta* is the chief officiating priest in all ceremonies, and the *Râspî* is the assistant priest.

defeated by the Kûstî¹ formula the resources of the evil spirit and Âz act most impotently, *and* by the passage through which he rushed into the sky² he runs back to gloom *and* darkness. 31. Gôkhar³ burns the serpent (mâr)⁴ in the melted metal, *and* the stench and pollution *which* were in hell are burned in that metal, *and* it (hell) becomes quite pure. 32. He (Aûharmazd) sets the vault⁵ into which the evil spirit fled, in that metal; he brings the land of hell back for the enlargement of the world⁶; the renovation arises in the universe by *his* will, *and* the world is immortal for ever *and* everlasting.

33. This, too, it says, that this earth *becomes* an iceless⁷, slopeless plain⁸; even the mountain⁹,

¹ The words zak g, hâni, for ân g, hâni, are probably a misreading of ašvyahân, 'the kûstî or sacred thread-girdle,' which is tied round the waist in a peculiar manner, during the recital of a particular formula, in which Aûharmazd is blessed and Aharman and the demons are cursed.

² See Chap. III, 10-12.

³ See § 18 and Chap. V, 1.

⁴ Probably referring to Âz, which means both 'greediness' and 'serpent.' It is, however, possible to read 'Gôkhar the serpent burns in' &c., and there can be no doubt that Gôkhar is represented as a malevolent being.

⁵ Or, perhaps, 'hiding-place.' Comparing K20 and M6 together the word seems to be alôm, which may be compared with Heb. מִלְּאָה 'a vault,' or Chald. מִלְּאָה 'a porch;' it may, however, be vâlôm, which may be traced to מִלְּאָה 'to conceal.' In the old MSS. it is certainly not shôlman, 'hell,' which is an emendation due to the modern copy in Paris.

⁶ Or, 'to the prosperity of the world.'

⁷ Former translators read anhîkhar, 'undefiled,' but this does not suit the Pahlavi orthography so well as anhasâr, 'iceless' (compare Pers. hasar, khasar, or khasâr, 'ice'); cold and ice, being produced by the evil spirit, will disappear with him.

⁸ Pâz. âmâvan is a misreading of Pahl. hāmûn, so the reading is ansîp (compare Pers. sîb) hāmûn. Mountains, being the work of the evil spirit, disappear with him.

⁹ Kakâd-i-Dâtîk, see Chap. XII, 7.

whose summit is the support of the *K'invar bridge*, they keep down, *and it will not exist.*]

CHAPTER XXXI¹.

o. On the race and genealogy of the Kayâns.

1. Hôshyang² *was son of Fravâk, son of Styâk-mak³, son of Mâshya⁴, son of Gâyômarâ.* [2. Takhmôrup⁵ *was son of Vîvanghât⁶, son of Yanghad⁷, son of Hôshyang.* 3. Yim,]⁸ Takhmôrup, Spîtûr⁹, *and Narsih¹⁰, whom they also call 'the Rashnû of K'inô¹¹,*

¹ For this chapter, which is numbered XXXII by previous translators, we have to depend only on K20, TD, and K20b (a fragment evidently derived from the same original as K20 and M6, but through some independent line of descent).

² So in K20, but usually Hôshâng (see Chaps. XV, 28, XXXIV, 3, 4).

³ See Chap. XV, 25, 30.

⁴ See Chaps. XV, 2-24, 30, XXXIV, 3.

⁵ Av. Takhmô-urupa of Râm Yt. 11, Zamyâd Yt. 28, Âfrîn Zarat. 2; written Tâkhmôrup in TD, which is the only MS. in which the passage enclosed in brackets is found, the omission of which by K20 was suspected by Windischmann (*Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 199). This king is the Tahmûras of the Shâhnâmâh. See also Chaps. XVII, 4, XXXIV, 4.

⁶ Av. Vîvanghau of Yas. IX, 11, 20, XXXII, 8, Vend. II, 8, 28, 94, Fravardîn Yt. 130, Zamyâd Yt. 35.

⁷ As this Pâzand name or title begins with a *medial y*, its initial vowel is probably omitted (see p. 141, note 8).

⁸ Av. Yima or Yima khshaêta of Vend. II, &c., the Jamshêd of the Shâhnâmâh (see Chaps. XVII, 5, XXXIV, 4).

⁹ Av. Spityura of Zamyâd Yt. 46.

¹⁰ Here written Nârsî in K20 and K20b, and Nôsfî in TD; but see § 5 and Chap. XXIX, 6. Windischmann suggests that he may be the Av. Aoshnara pouru-gîra of Fravardîn Yt. 131, Âf. Zarat. 2.

¹¹ An epithet equivalent to 'the Minos of China'; Rashnû being the angel of justice, who is said to weigh the meritorious deeds of

were all brothers. 4. From Yim and Yimak¹, who was *his* sister, was born a pair, man *and* woman, and they became husband *and* wife together; Mîrak the Âsپیân² and Ztyânak Zardâhim were *their* names, *and* the lineage went on. 5. Spîtûr was he who, with Dahâk, cut up Yim³; Narsih⁴ lived then⁵ also, *whom* they call Nêsr-gyâvân⁶; they say that such destiny (gadman) is allotted to him⁷, that he shall pass every day in troubles, and shall make all food purified *and* pure.

6. Dahâk⁸ *was* son of Khrûtâsp, *son* of Zâtnîgâv,

the departed soul against its sins. Neither word is, however, quite certain, as rashnûk may stand for rasnîk, 'spear,' and has also been translated by 'light' and 'hero;' Kîñö, moreover, was probably not China, but Samarkand (see Chaps. XII, 13, 22, XV, 29).

¹ See Chap. XXIII, 1.

² Av. Âthwyâna of Âbân Yt. 33, Gôr Yt. 13, Fravardîn Yt. 131, Zamyâd Yt. 36, &c., where it is the family name of Thraêtaona, who is said to be a son of Âthwya in Yas. IX, 23, 24. In the text this name seems to be used rather as a title than a patronymic, and in § 7 it appears to be a family surname.

³ As stated in Zamyâd Yt. 46.

⁴ Here written Nârsak in K20 and K20b, and Nôsfîh in TD.

⁵ TD has 'together,' instead of 'then.'

⁶ So in K20, but K20b has Narst-gyâvân, and TD has Nôsfîh-vîyâvânîk (or nîyâzânîk). Perhaps we may assume the epithet to have been nîgîr-vîyâvânîk (or nîyâzânîk), 'one with a bewildering (or longing) glance.'

⁷ Justi supposes this clause of the sentence refers to Yim and the disease which attacked his hand. If this be the case it may be translated as follows: 'they say aîghash is produced on his hand (yadman), so that,' &c.; aîghash being a disease, or evil, mentioned in Vend. XX, 14, 20, 24; compare Chap. XXVIII, 33.

⁸ Or As-i Dahâk, the Av. Azi Dahâka, 'destructive serpent,' of Yas. IX, 25, Vend. I, 69, Âbân Yt. 29, 34, Bahrâm Yt. 40, Zamyâd Yt. 46-50. A name applied to a foreign dynasty (probably Semitic) personified as a single king, which conquered the dominions of Yim (see Chap. XXXIV, 5).

son of Virafsang, *son* of Tâz, *son* of Fravâk, *son* of Sîyâkmak¹; by *his* mother Dahâk *was* of Udaï², *son* of Bayak, *son* of Tambayak, *son* of Owokhm³, *son* of Pairi-urvaêsm⁴, *son* of Gadhwithw⁵, *son* of Drûgâskân⁶, *son* of the evil spirit.

7. Frêdûn the Âspiyan⁷ *was son of* Pûr-tôrâ⁸ the Âspiyan, *son of* Sôk-tôrâ⁹ the Âspiyan, *son of* Bôr-tôrâ the Âspiyan, *son of* Sîyâk-tôrâ the Âspiyan, *son of* Spêd-tôrâ the Âspiyan, *son of* Gefar-tôrâ the Âspiyan, *son of* Ramak-tôrâ the Âspiyan, *son of*

¹ For the last three names, see Chap. XV, 25, 28.

² Pahl. Aûd in TD; compare 'the demon Uda' of Chap. XXVIII, 19. The following two names look like 'fear' and 'gloom-fear,' both appropriate names for demons.

³ TD has Pâz. Owôikh; compare Av. aoiwra, 'a species of nightmare,' observing that r and ô are often written alike in Pahlavi.

⁴ TD and K20 have Pâz. Pairi-urva-urvaêsm, and K20 has Pai-urvaêsm.

⁵ TD has Pâz. Gawithw.

⁶ So in TD, but K20 has Pâz. Drus-i ayaskâ, and K20b has Drug-i ayaskâ. It corresponds to Av. drugaska in Vend. XIX, 139, Vistâsp Yt. 26. This genealogy appears to trace Dahâk's maternal descent through a series of demons.

⁷ Av. Thraêtaona, son of Âthwya, but generally called 'the Âthwyânian,' who slew the destructive serpent (*asi dahâka*), see Yas. IX, 24, 25, Vend. I, 69, Âbân Yt. 33, 61, Gôs Yt. 13, Fravardîn Yt. 131, Bahrâm Yt. 40, Râm Yt. 23, Ashi Yt. 33, Zamyâd Yt. 36, 92, Âf. Zarat. 2. In the Shâhnâmah he is called Ferîdûn son of Abtîn.

⁸ This name is omitted in K20, but occurs in the other two MSS.; it is a Huzvâris hybrid equivalent to Pâz. Pûr-gau and Av. Pouru-gau, which is a title of an Âthwyânian in Âf. Zarat. 4, Vistâsp Yt. 2. This genealogy consists almost entirely of such hybrid names, which have a very artificial appearance, though suitable enough for a race of herdsmen, meaning, as they severally do, 'one with abundant oxen, with useful oxen, with the brown ox, with the black ox, with the white ox, with the fat ox, and with a herd of oxen.'

⁹ So in TD, but the other two MSS. have Sîyâk-tôrâ, which is probably wrong, as the same name occurs again in this genealogy.

Vanfraghesn¹ the Âspiyân, *son* of Yim, *son* of Vivanghâû; as these, apart from the Âspiyân Pûr-tôrâ, were ten generations, they every one lived a hundred years, which becomes one thousand years; those thousand years were the evil reign of Dahâk. 8. By the Âspiyân Pûr-tôrâ was begotten Frêdûn, who exacted vengeance for Yim; together *with him*² also were the sons Barmâyûn *and* Katâyûn, *but* Frêdûn was fuller of glory than they.

9. By Frêdûn three sons were begotten, Salm and Tûg and Atrik³; and by Atrik one son *and* one pair⁴ were begotten; the names of the couple of sons were Vânidâr *and* Anastokh⁵, *and* the name of the daughter was Gûzak⁶. 10. Salm *and* Tûg slew *them* all, Atrik *and* *his* happy sons, *but* Frêdûn kept the daughter in concealment, *and* from that daughter a daughter was born⁷; they became aware *of it*, *and* the mother was slain by them. 11. Frêdûn provided for the daughter⁸, also in concealment, for

¹ In TD this name can be read Vanfrôkîsn or Vanfrôkgân.

² TD has 'as well as *him*.' Kzob omits most of this sentence by mistake.

³ These sons, as Windischmann observes, are not mentioned in the extant Avesta, but their Avesta names, Sairima, Tûirya or Tûra, and Airya or Airyu, may be gathered from the names of the countries over which they are supposed to have ruled (see Fravardîn Yt. 143).

⁴ TD has 'two sons *and* one daughter.'

⁵ TD has Anîdâr and Anastabô.

⁶ Or Gûgak, in TD; the other MSS. have Pâz. Ganga here, but Guzak in § 14; it is identical with the name of Hôshyang's sister and wife in Chap. XV, 28. In the Pâzand Gâmâsp-nâmah the name of Frêdûn's daughter is written Vîrak.

⁷ Reading *min zak dûkht dûkht-1 zâd*, as in Kzob and TD; some uncertainty arises here from the words *dûkht*, 'daughter,' and *dvâd*, 'pair,' being written alike in Pahlavi.

⁸ TD has *bartman*, 'daughter,' indicating that the word in Kzob must be read *dûkht*, and not *dvâd*, 'pair.'

ten generations, when Mânûs-i Khûrshêd-vînk was born from *his* mother, [*so called* because, as he was born, *some of*]¹ the light of the sun (khûrshêd) fell upon *his* nose (vînk). 12. From Mânûs-i Khûrshêd-vînk *and his* sister² was Mânûs-khûrnar, *and* from Mânûs-khûrnar [*and his* sister] was Mânûskîhar born³, by whom Salm and Tûg were slain in revenge for Aîrîk⁴. 13. By Mânûskîhar were Fris, Nôdar⁵, and Dûrâsrôb⁶ begotten.

14. Just as Mânûskîhar *was* of Mânûs-khûrnar, of Mânûs-khûrnâk⁷, who was Mâm-sozak⁸, of Aîrak, of Thritak, of Bîtak, of Frazûsak, of Zûsak⁹, of Fragûzak, of Gûzak, of Aîrîk, of Frêdûn, *so* Frâstiyâv¹⁰ *was*

¹ The phrase in brackets occurs only in TD; and the whole passage from 'vînk' to 'sun' is omitted in K20, evidently by mistake.

² TD has 'from Mânûs and *his* sister,' and K20b has 'from Mânûs-hûkîhar *and* Mânûs-khûrshêd.'

³ The words in brackets occur only in TD, and K20b has 'from Mânûs-khûrnar also was Mânûs-khûrnâk, *from* Mânûs-khûrnâk was Mânûskîhar born,' but this introduction of an extra generation is not confirmed by the list of names in § 14. The term khûrnâk (or khûrnak) seems to be merely a transcript of the Avesta word of which khûrshêd-vînk, 'sun-nose,' is a translation. The other term khûrnar can also be read khûrvar, but K20 has Pâz. *hvar-nar*. Mânûskîhar is the Av. Manusîthra of Fravardîn Yt. 131, where he is styled the Airyavan, or descendant of Airyu (Aîrîk).

⁴ TD has '*and* vengeance exacted for Aîrîk.'

⁵ See Chap. XXIX, 6.

⁶ Pâz. Durâsro, but the Pahlavi form, given in the text, occurs in § 31 and Chap. XXXII, 1 in TD, which MS. omits this § by mistake.

⁷ The same as Mânûs-i khûrshêd-vînk, as noted above.

⁸ This Pâzand epithet seems to mean 'mother-burning,' and may have some connection with the legend mentioned in § 11. TD has mûn am Gûgak, 'whose mother was Gûgak.'

⁹ K20b omits the five names from Aîrak to Zûsak.

¹⁰ Av. Frangrasyan, the Tûryan, of Yas. XI, 21, Âbân Yt. 41,

of Pashang, of Zaêsm¹, of Tûrak, of Spaênyasp, of Dûrôshasp, of Tûg, of Frêdûn. 15. He (Frâstyâv) as well as Karsêvaz², whom they call Kadân³, and Aghrêrad⁴ were all three brothers.

[16⁵. Pashang and Vîsak were both brothers. 17. By Vîsak were Pîrân⁶, Hûmân, Sân⁷, and other brothers begotten. 18. By Frâstyâv were Frasp-i Kûr, Sân, Shêdak⁸, and other sons begotten; and Vispân-fryâ⁹, from whom Kat-Khûsrôb was born, was daughter of Frâstyâv, and was of the same mother with Frasp-i Kûr. 19. From Frasp-i Kûr were Sûrâk, Asûrîk, and other children; and by them were Khvâst-atrikht, Yazdân-atrikht, Yazdân-sarâd, Frêh-khûrd, Lâ-vahâk¹⁰, and others begotten; a recital of whom *would* be tedious.

20. By Aghrêrad was Gôpatshah¹¹ begotten. 21. When Frâstyâv made Mânûskîhar, with the Iranians, captive in the mountain-range (gar) of Padashkh-

Gôr Yt. 18, 22, Ashi Yt. 38, 42, Zamyâd Yt. 56-63, 82, 93; called Afrâsiyâb in the Shâhnâmah.

¹ Zâdram in the Shâhnâmah.

² Garsîvaz in the Shâhnâmah.

³ TD has Pahl. Kîdân.

⁴ See Chap. XXIX, 5.

⁵ The remainder of this chapter is found only in TD.

⁶ Pîrân Vîsah is Afrâsiyâb's chief general in the Shâhnâmah, and Hûmân and Pîlsam are his brothers.

⁷ This name is very ambiguous in Pahlavi, as it can be read many other ways.

⁸ Shêdah in the Shâhnâmah.

⁹ She is called Farangîs in the Shâhnâmah.

¹⁰ The reading of several of these names is more or less uncertain, but the object of the author is evidently to apply opprobrious epithets to all the male descendants of Afrâsiyâb.

¹¹ TD has Gôpat-malkâ here, as also in Chap. XXIX, 5, where it is said to be a title of Aghrêrad (always written Agrêrad in TD).

vâr¹, *and* scattered ruin *and* want among them, Aghrêrad begged a favour of God (yazdân), and he obtained the benefit that the army and champions of the Iranians were saved by him from that distress. 22. Frâstyâv slew Aghrêrad for that fault; *and* Aghrêrad, as his recompense, begat *such* a son as Gôpatshah.

23. Aûzôbô the Tûhmâspian², Kanak-i Barzist, Arawisanasp, *and* Vaêtand-i Râghinôid *were* the three sons *and* the daughter of Agâimasvâk³, the *son* of Nôdar, *son* of Mânûskîhar, who begat Aûzôbô.

24. Kavâd⁴ was a child in a waist-cloth (kuspûd); they abandoned *him* on a river, *and* he froze upon the door-sills (kavâdakân); Aûzôbô perceived and took *him*, brought *him* up, *and* settled the name of the trembling child.

25. By Kavâd *was* Kaî-Aptvêh begotten; by Kaî-Aptvêh *were* Kaî-Arsh, Kaî-Vyârsh, Kaî-Pisân, *and* Kaî-Kâûs begotten; by Kaî-Kâûs *was* Styâvakhsh begotten; by Styâvakhsh *was* Kaî-Khûsrôb⁵

¹ The mountains south of the Caspian (see Chap. XII, 17).

² Av. Uzava Tûmâspana of Fravardîn Yt. 131, called Zav, or Zâb, son of Tahmâsp, in the Shâhnâmah.

³ None of these names, which TD gives in Pâzand, are to be found in the portion of the Avesta yet extant.

⁴ Av. Kavi Kavâta of Fravardîn Yt. 132, Zamyâd Yt. 71, called Kaî-Qubâd in the Shâhnâmah. There appears to be an attempt, in the text, to derive his name from the 'door-sill' on which he is said to have been found.

⁵ The Avesta names of these seven other Kayâns are, respectively, Kavi Aipi-vanghu, Kavi Arshan, Kavi Byârshân, Kavi Pisanangh, Kavi Usadhan, Kavi Syâvarshân, and Kavi Husravangh (see Fravardîn Yt. 132, Zamyâd Yt. 71, 74); omitting the third, they are called, respectively, Armîn, Aris, Pasîn, Kaî-Kâvûs, Siyâvush, and Kaî-Khusrô in the Shâhnâmah. TD, omitting the first letter, has Sâno for Pisân; it also writes Kaî-Kâyûks and Kaî-Khûsrôvî.

begotten. 26. Keresâsp¹ and Aûrvakhsh² were both brothers. 27. Athrat³ was son of Sâhm, son of Tûrak, son of Spaênyasp, son of Dûrôshasp⁴, son of Tûg, son of Frêdûn. 28. Lôharâsp⁵ was son of Aûzâv⁶, son of Mânûs, son of Kaî-Pisîn⁷, son of Kaî-Aptvêh, son of Kaî-Kavâd. 29. By Kaî-Lôharâsp were Vistâsp, Zarîr⁸, and other brothers begotten; by Vistâsp were Spend-dâd⁹ and Pêshyôtanû¹⁰ begotten; and by Spend-dâd were Vohûman¹¹, Âtarô-tarsah, Mitrô-tarsah, and others begotten.

30. Artakhshatar descendant of Pâpak—of whom his mother was daughter—was son of Sâsân¹², son of

¹ Av. Keresâspa of Yas. IX, 31, 36, 39, Vend. I, 36, Âbân Yt. 37, Fravardîn Yt. 61, 136, Râm Yt. 27, Zamyâd Yt. 38-44, Âf. Zarat. 3; he is called Garrâsp in the Shâhnâmah.

² Av. Urvâkhshaya of Yas. IX, 31, Râm Yt. 28, Âf. Zarat. 3. These brothers were sons of Thrîta or Athrat, mentioned in the next §.

³ Av. Thrîta of the Sâma race (see Yas. IX, 30, Vend. XX, 11) and father of Keresâspa, whose genealogy is given in a passage interpolated in some copies of the Shâhnâmah as follows: Garrâsp, Atrat, Sam, Tûrag, Sîdasb, Tûr, Jamshêd.

⁴ Written Dûrôshap in TD, both here and in § 14.

⁵ Av. Aurvad-aspa of Âbân Yt. 105, Vistâsp Yt. 34, 46, called Luhrâsp in the Shâhnâmah.

⁶ Reading doubtful.

⁷ Written Ka-Pisîn here, but he is the same person as Kaî-Pisân of § 25; the latter part of the name is written both Pisanangh and Pisina in the Avesta.

⁸ Probably Zargar (being Av. Zairivairi of Âbân Yt. 112, 117, Fravardîn Yt. 101), but called Zarîr in the Shâhnâmah.

⁹ Av. Spentô-dâta of Fravardîn Yt. 103, Vistâsp Yt. 25, called Isfendiyâr in the Shâhnâmah.

¹⁰ See Chaps. XXIX, 5, XXXII, 5.

¹¹ Called Bahman in the Shâhnâmah, and Ardashîr the Kayânian in Bahman Yt. II, 17; the successor of his grandfather Vistâsp (see Chap. XXXIV, 8).

¹² The text is rather obscure, but the Kârnâmak of Ardashîr-i Pâpakân states clearly that Ardashîr was son of Sâsân by the

Vêh-âfrîd and ¹ Zarîr, son of Sâsân, son of Artakhshatar who was the said Vohûman son of Spend-dâd.

31. The mother of Kai-Apîvêh was Farhank ², daughter of him who is exalted on the heavenly path ³, Urvad-gâi-frâst ⁴, son of Râk, son of Dûrâsrôb, son of Mânûskîhar. 32. This, too, it says, that the glory ⁵ of Frêdûn settled on the root of a reed (kanyâ) in the wide-formed ocean; and Nôktargâ ⁶, through sorcery, formed a cow for tillage, and begat children there; three years he carried the reeds there, and gave them to the cow, until the glory went on to the cow; he brought the cow, milked her milk, and gave it to his three sons; as their walking was on hoofs, the glory did not go to the sons, but to Farhank. 33. Nôktargâ wished to injure ⁷ Farhank, but Farhank went with the glory away from

daughter of Pâpak, a tributary ruler of Pârs under Ardavân, the last of the Askâniyân monarchs.

¹ So in the Pahlavi text, which therefore makes Vêh-âfrîd a woman's name (like Pers. Beh-âfrîn); but this is doubtful, as the MSS. often confound *va*, 'and,' and *i*, 'son of.'

² In the Shâhnâmah Farhang is mother of Kai-Kâvûs. The Pahlavi name can also be read Farânak, the name of the mother of Ferîdûn in the Shâhnâmah.

³ Pâz. vîdharg-âfrâstaka, which looks more like an epithet than a name.

⁴ Or, perhaps, 'Urvad-gâ son of Frâst.'

⁵ The divine glory which was supposed to accompany all legitimate sovereigns of Iran, from the time of Hôshyang even to that of the Sasanian dynasty; it is the Av. *hvaranagh* of the Zamyâd Yast, and is said to have fled to the ocean for refuge during the reign of foreign dynasties and wicked kings (see Âbân Yt. 42, Zamyâd Yt. 51, 56, 59, 62).

⁶ The last syllable is so written, in Pâzand, in § 33.

⁷ Reading *hangîdanô*, 'to injure,' instead of *khungdanô*, which may mean 'to embrace;' the difference between the two words being merely the letter *h*.

the fierce (tīb) father, and made a vow (patyastāk) thus: 'I will give *my* first son to Aûshbâm¹.' 34. Then Aûshbâm saved her from the father; and the first son, Kaŭ-Apîvêh, she bore and gave to Aûshbâm, was a hero associating with Aûshbâm, and travelled in Aûshbâm's company.

35. The mother of Aûzôbô was the daughter of Nâmûn the wizard, when Nâmak² was with Frâsiyâv.

36. And, moreover, together with those begotten by Sâm³ were six children in pairs, male *and* female; the name of one *was* Damnak, of one Khûsrôv, *and of one* Mârgandak, *and* the name of *each* man and woman together was one. 37. And the name of one *besides* them was Dastân⁴; he was considered more eminent than they, and Sagânsih⁵ and the southern quarter were given to him; and Avar-shatrô⁶ and the governorship were given by him to Avarnak. 38. Of Avar-shatrô this is said, that *it is* the district of Avarnak, *and* they offered blessings to Srôsh and Ardavahist in succession; on this account is *their* possession of horses and possession of arms; and on account of firm religion, purity, and manifest joy, good estimation and extensive fame are greatly

¹ This name means 'the dawn;' perhaps it may be identified with Av. Usinemangh or Usenemangh of Fravardîn Yt. 113, 140, whose wife Frēni may possibly be the Farhank (or Frânak) of the text.

² So in TD, but it is probably only a variant of Nâmûn.

³ The grandfather of Rustam (see § 41). In the Avesta he is usually called Sâma Keresâspa with the title Nairimanau; while in the Shâhnâmah Sâm is son of Narîmân.

⁴ Another name for Zâl, the father of Rustam, in the Shâhnâmah.

⁵ The same as Sagastân.

⁶ Or, perhaps, 'the upper district.'

among them. 39. To Damnak the governorship of Asûristân was given; sovereignty and arranging the law of sovereignty, wilfulness and the stubborn defects they would bring, were among them. 40. To Sparnak¹ the governorship of Spâhân² was given; to Khûsrôv the governorship of Râi³ was given; to Mârgandak the kingdom, forest settlements, and mountain settlements of Padashkhvârgar were given; *where* they travel nomadically, and *there* are the forming of sheep-folds, prolificness, easy procreation, and continual triumph over enemies. 41. From Dastân proceeded Rûdâstâm⁴ and Hûzavârak⁵.]

CHAPTER XXXII⁶.

1. On the kindred of Pôrûshasp⁷, son of Patti-râsp⁸, son of Aurvadasp⁹, son of Hâêkadâsp¹⁰, son of

¹ He would seem not to have been a son of Sâm, as he is not mentioned before. The reading of all these names is uncertain.

² The Pahlavi form of Ispahân.

³ Av. Ragha of Yas. XIX, 51, Vend. I, 60, whose ruins are near the modern Teherân.

⁴ The usual Pahlavi form of Rustam.

⁵ Or Aûzvârak; Rustam's brother is called Zavârah in the Shâhnâmah.

⁶ This chapter, which is numbered XXXIII by previous translators, is found in all MSS., but in TD it forms a continuation of the preceding chapter, beginning with the name Pôrûshasp.

⁷ Av. Pourushaspa of Yas. IX, 42, 43, Vend. XIX, 15, 22, 143, Âbân Yt. 18, &c.

⁸ K20 has Pâz. Spitarasp, and M6 has Pâz. Pirtrasp (see note on Chap. XXXIII, 1). The reading in the text is doubtful.

⁹ Omitted in K20 and TD.

¹⁰ Av. Hâêkadâspa of Yas. XLV, 15, LII, 3.

*Kakhshnûs*¹, son of *Pâtîrâsp*, son of *Hardarsn*², son of *Hardâr*³, son of *Spîtâmân*⁴, son of *Vîdast*⁵, son of *Ayazem*, son of *Ragan*⁶, son of *Dûrâsrôb*⁷, son of *Mânûskîhar*⁸. 2. As *Pâtîrâsp* had two sons, one *Pôrûshasp* and one *Ârâsti*⁹, by *Pôrûshasp* was *Zaratûst* begotten for a sanctuary of good religion¹⁰, and by *Ârâsti* was *Mêdyôk-mâh*¹¹ begotten. 3. *Zaratûst*, when he brought the religion, first celebrated

¹ Windischmann suggests Av. *Kâkhshnôis* (gen.) of *Fravardîn* Yt. 114.

² K20 has *Pâz. Harsn* and TD has *Harakîdârsnô*.

³ TD has *Harâîdâr*, or *Arâîdâr*.

⁴ Or *Spîtâm* (as the last syllable is the patronymical suffix), Av. *Spîtâma*, the usual patronymic of *Zaratûst*.

⁵ May be read *Vâdist* in TD.

⁶ Possibly the same person as *Râk* in Chap. XXXI, 31; but see XXXIII, 3.

⁷ So in TD, but *Pâz. Durâsrûn* in K20, M6.

⁸ This genealogy is somewhat differently given in the *Vagarkard-i Dînk* (pp. 28, 29), as published in Bombay by Dastur Peshotanji Behramji Sanjânâ in 1848; and is extended back, through the generations mentioned in Chap. XXXI, 1, 2, 7, 14, to *Gâyômarz*, as follows: '*Pôrûshâspô* son of *Paîtîrâsp*, and *Arâspô* son of *Paîtîrâsp*, *Urvandasp*, *Haêtadâsp*, *Kîkhshnûs*, *Paêtîrâsp*, *Hardarsn*, *Haridâr*, *Spîtâmânô*, *Vaêdist*, *Nayâzem*, *Ragîsn*, *Dûrâsrôb*, *Mânûskîhar* sovereign of Iran, *Mânus-khûrnar*, *Mânus-khûrnâk*, *Nêryôsang*, *Varsîd-dîn*, *Vîzak*, *Airyak*, *Aithritak*, *Ibitak*, *Frazîsak*, *Zîsak*, *Frasîzak*, *Izak*, *Aîrîâ*, *Frêdûn* lord of *Khvanîras*, *Pûr-tôrâ* the *Âspîkân*, *Nêvak-tôrâ* the *Âspîkân*, *Sôg-tôrâ* the *Âspîkân*, *Gêfar-tôrâ* the *Âspîkân*, *Vanô-i-fravîsn* the *Âspîkân*, *Yim* lord of the seven regions, *Vîvanghâû*, *Ayanghad*, *Ananghad*, *Takhmôrup*, *Hôshâng* the *Pêrdâd*, lord of the seven regions, *Fravâk*, *Sîyâmak*, *Mashyô* whose wife was *Mashyâk*, *Gâyôkmarz* the first man, and father of all mankind in the material world.'

⁹ Av. *Ârâstaya* of *Fravardîn* Yt. 95; TD has *Ârâstih*.

¹⁰ The *Pâzand* words *dargâ hidainis* appear to be merely a misreading of Pahl. *dargâs-i hûdîndîh*.

¹¹ Av. *Maidhyô-maungha* of *Yas. L*, 19, *Fravardîn* Yt. 95, 106. He is said to have been *Zaratûst*'s first disciple.

worship¹ and expounded in Atrân-vêg, and Mêdyôk-mâh received the religion from him. 4. The Môbads² of Pârs are all *traced* back to this race of Mânûskîhar.

5. Again, I say, by Zaratûst³ were begotten three sons and three daughters⁴; one son was Isadvâstar⁵, one Aûrvatađ-nar⁶, and one Khûrshêd-kîhar⁷; as Isadvâstar was chief of the priests he became the Môbad of Môbads, and passed away in the hundredth year of the religion; Aûrvatađ-nar was an agriculturist, and the chief of the enclosure formed by Yim⁸, which is below the earth; Khûrshêd-kîhar was a warrior, commander of the army of Pêshyôtanû, son of Vistâsp, and dwells in Kangdez⁸; and of the three daughters the name of one was Frên, of one Srtt, and of one Pôrukîst⁹. 6. Aûrvatađ-nar and Khûrshêd-kîhar were from a serving (kakar) wife¹⁰, the rest were from a privileged (pâdakhshah) wife.

¹ Reading frâg yast; but it may be frâg gast, 'wandered forth.'

² The class of priests whose special duty is to perform all religious rites and ceremonies.

³ This paragraph is quoted, with a few alterations, in the Vagarkard-i Dînik, pp. 21-23.

⁴ K20 omits the 'three daughters' here, by mistake.

⁵ Av. Isad-vâstra of Yas. XXIII, 4, XXVI, 17, Fravardîn Yt. 98.

⁶ Av. Urvatađ-nara of Vend. II, 143, Fravardîn Yt. 98. K20 and M6 have Aûrvatađ-nar, and TD has Aûrvâtađ-nar.

⁷ Av. Hvare-kîthra of Fravardîn Yt. 98; TD has Khûr-kîhar.

⁸ See Chap. XXIX, 5. Windischmann and Justi consider the clause about Pêshyôtanû as inserted by mistake, and it is omitted in the Vagarkard-i Dînik (p. 21); it is found, however, in all MSS. of the Bundahis.

⁹ These daughters are the Av. Frêni, Thrîti, and Pouru-kîsta of Fravardîn Yt. 139; the last is also mentioned in Yas. LII, 3.

¹⁰ The following is a summary of the Persian descriptions of the five kinds of marriage, as given in the Rivâyats:—

A pâdshâh ('ruling, or privileged') wife is when a man marries,

7¹. By Isadvâstar was begotten a son *whose* name was Ururviga², and they call him Arang-i Bîrâdân³ ('fore-arm of brothers') for this reason, that, as they

with the parents' consent, an unbetrothed maiden out of a family, and she and her children remain his in both worlds.

A yûkan or ayûk ('only child') wife is an only child, married with the parents' consent, and her first child belongs to them; after its birth she becomes a pâdshâh wife. She is entitled to one-third of her parents' property for giving up the child.

A satar ('adopted') wife is when a man over fifteen years of age dies childless and unmarried, and his relatives provide a maiden with a dowry, and marry her to another man; when half her children belong to the dead man, and half to the living, and she herself is the dead man's wife in the other world.

A kâkar or kâkar ('serving') wife is a widow who marries again; if she had no children by her first husband she is acting as a satar wife, and half her children by her second husband belong to her first one; and she herself, in any case, belongs to her first husband in the other world.

A khûd-sarâf or khûd-sarâf ('self-disposing') wife is one who marries without her parents' consent; she inherits no property from her parents until her eldest son has given her as a pâdshâh wife to his father.

¹ Instead of this sentence the Vagarkard-i Dînfk (pp. 21, 22) has the following, which appears to rest upon a misinterpretation of the text:—

'And Zaratûst the righteous had three wives; all three were in the lifetime of Zaratûst, and all three wives were living throughout the lifetime of Zaratûst; the name of one was Hvôv, of the second Urvig, of the third Arnig-baredâ. And from Urvig, who was a privileged wife, four children were born; one was the son Isadvâstar, and the three daughters, namely, Frên, Srîtak, and Pôrukist; these four were from Urvig. And from the wife Arnig-baredâ two sons were born, one Aûrvart-nar, and the second Khûrshêd-kîhar; and Arnig-baredâ was a serving wife, and the name of the former husband of Arnig-baredâ was Mitrô-ayâr. And from Hvôv, who was a privileged wife, *were* three sons, namely, Hûshêdar, Hûshêdar-mâh, and Sôshâns, as it says, &c. (as in § 8).

² TD has Pahl. Aûrvarvîgak or Khûrûrûpak.

³ So in TD.

were from a serving wife, *she* then delivered them over to Isadvâstar through adoption. 8. This, too, *one* knows, that three sons of Zaratûst, namely, Hûshêdar, Hûshêdar-mâh¹, and Sôshyans², were from Hvôv³; as it says, that Zaratûst went near unto Hvôv three times, *and* each time the seed went to the ground; the angel Nêryôsang⁴ received the brilliance and strength of that seed, delivered *it* with care to the angel Anâhîd⁵, *and* in time will blend *it* with a mother. 9. Nine thousand, nine hundred, and ninety-nine, and nine myriads⁶ of the guardian spirits of the righteous are intrusted with *its* protection, so that the demons may not injure *it*⁷.

10. The name of the mother of Zaratûst was Dughdâ⁸, *and* the name of the father of the mother of Zaratûst was Frahimravâ⁹.

¹ Av. Ukhshyad-ereta and Ukhshyad-nemangh of Fravardîn Yt. 128.

² Av. Saoshyâs of Vend. XIX, 18, Fravardîn Yt. 129, &c. See Chaps. XI, 6, XXIX, 6, XXX, 3, 4, 7, 17, 25, 27.

³ Av. Hvôvi of Fravardîn Yt. 139, Dîn Yt. 15; the Pahlavi form of the name, as given once in TD, is Hûvâôbô.

⁴ See Chap. XV, 1.

⁵ Av. anâhita of Âbân Yt. 1, &c.; a female personification of 'unsullied' water, known generally by the epithet ardvî sûra (the Arêdvîvsûr of Chap. XIII), and whose name is also applied to the planet Venus (see Chap. V, 1).

⁶ So in M6; other MSS. have '9,999 myriads,' but see Fravardîn Yt. 62.

⁷ This last phrase, about the demons, is omitted in TD and the Vagarkard-i Dînik.

⁸ The Avesta word for 'daughter.'

⁹ TD has Pâz. Fereâhimruvânâ.

[CHAPTER XXXIII¹.

o. The family of the Mōbads ('priests').

1. Bahak² *was* son of Hūbakht, *son* of Âtarô-bôndak, *son* of Mâhdad, *son* of Mēdyôk-mâh, *son* of Frâh-vakhsh-vindâd³, *son* of Mēdyôk-mâh, *son* of Kâd⁴, *son* of Mēdyôk-mâh, *son* of Ârâstih, *son* of Paltirâsp⁵. 2. As Bahak was Mōbad of Mōbads (high-priest) unto Shâhpûhar⁶, son of Aûharmazd, so Kâd was the great preceptor (farmâdâr) unto Dârâi⁷.

3. Âtarô-pâd⁸ *was* son of Mâraspend, *son* of Dâd-ardâ, *son* of Dâdîrâd, *son* of Hûdînô, *son* of Âtarô-dâd, *son* of Mânûskîhar, *son* of Vohûman-kîhar, *son* of Fryânô⁹, *son* of Bâhak¹⁰, *son* of Frêdûn, *son* of Fra-

¹ This chapter is found only in TD, where it forms a continuation of the preceding, and affords a means (see §§ 10, 11) for determining the age of the recension of the text contained in that MS. As nearly all the names are written in Pahlavi letters, the pronunciation of many of them is merely a matter of guess.

² Here written Bôhak, but it is Bahak or Bâk in § 2; compare Bâhak in § 3, and Av. Baungha of Fravardîn Yt. 124.

³ Compare Av. Frashâvakhsha of Fravardîn Yt. 109.

⁴ Compare Av. Kâta of Fravardîn Yt. 124.

⁵ See Chap. XXXII, 2, for the last three generations; TD has Pirtarâsp here, like the variant of M6 in Chap. XXXII, 1.

⁶ The Sasanian king Shâpûr II, who reigned A.D. 309-379.

⁷ According to the chronology of the Bundahis (Chap. XXXIV, 8, 9), Dârâi lived only some four centuries before Shâpûr II, for which period only seven generations of priests are here provided. This period, moreover, is certainly about three centuries less than the truth.

⁸ This priest was prime minister of Shâpûr II.

⁹ Compare Av. Fryâna of Yas. XLV, 12.

¹⁰ This name is repeated in TD, probably by mistake (compare Bahak in §§ 1, 2).

shâltar¹, son of Pôrushasp, son of Vînâsp, son of Nivar, son of Vakhsh, son of Vahidhrôs, son of Frast, son of Gâk², son of Vakhsh, son of Fryân, son of Ragan, son of Dûrâsrôb, son of Mânûskîhar³.

4. Mitrô-varâz was son of Nigâs-afzûd-dâk, son of Shîrtashôsp, son of Parstva, son of Urvad-gâ, son of Tâham, son of Zarîr, son of Dûrâsrôb, son of Mânûs⁴.

5. Dûrnâmîk was son of Zâgh, son of Masvâk, son of Nôdar⁵, son of Mânûskîhar.

6. Mitrô-akâvîd is son of Mardân-vêh⁶, son of Afrôbag-vindâd, son of Vindâd-i-pêdâk, son of Vâê-bûkht⁷, son of Bahak, son of Vâê-bûkht. 7. The mother from whom I was born is Hûmât, daughter of Freh-mâh, who also was the righteous daughter⁸

¹ This is probably a semi-Huzvâris form of Frashôstar.

² Perhaps this name should be read along with the next one, so as to give the single Pâzand name Skinas or Skivas.

³ See Chap. XXXII, 1, for the last three generations. According to this genealogy Âtarôpâd-i Mâraspendân was the twenty-third in descent from Mânûskîhar, whereas his contemporary, Bahak (§ 1), was twenty-second in descent from the same.

⁴ No doubt Mânûskîhar is meant; if not, we must read Mânûs-dûrnâmîk in connection with § 5.

⁵ Here written Nîdar, but see Chaps. XXIX, 6, XXXI, 13.

⁶ Here written Mard-vêh, but see § 8.

⁷ Here written Aê-vûkht, but see § 8; it may be Vîs-bûkht, or Vêr-bûkht.

⁸ The text is amîdar mûnas li agas zerkhûnd Hûmôf dûkht-i Freh-mâh-ik aharôb vûkht (dûkht?). We might perhaps read 'Freh-mâh son of Kahârôb-bûkht,' but it seems more probable that §§ 7, 8 should be connected, and that the meaning intended is that Hûmât was daughter of Freh-mâh (of a certain family) and of Pûyisn-shâd (of another family); she was also the mother of the editor of that recension of the Bundahis which is contained in TD; but who was his father? The singularly unnecessary repetition of the genealogy of the two brothers, Mitrô-akâvîd and Pûyisn-shâd, in §§ 6, 8, leads to the suspicion that if the latter

of Mâh-ayâr *son* of Mâh-bôndak, *son* of Mâh-bûkht.
8. Pûyisn-shâd *is son* of Mardân-vêh, *son* of Afrôbag-vindâd, *son* of Vindâd-i-pêdâk, *son* of Vâê-bûkht, *son* of Bahak, *son* of Vâê-bûkht. .

9. All the other Môbads who have been renowned in the empire (khûdâ-yîh) *were* from the same family it is said, *and* were of this race of Mânûskîhar¹. 10. Those Môbads, likewise, who now exist are all from the same family they assert, and I, too, they boast, whom they call ² 'the administration of perfect rectitude' (Dâdakîh-i Ashôvahistô)³. 11. Yûdân-Yim *son* of Vâhrâm-shâd, *son* of Zaratûst, Âtarô-pâd *son* of Mâraspend, *son* of Zâd-sparham⁴,

were his mother's father, the former was probably his own father or grandfather. Unfortunately the text makes no clear statement on the subject, and § 10 affords further material for guessing otherwise at his name and connections.

¹ Compare Chap. XXXII, 4.

² Reading va lîk laband-i karîftûnd.

³ This looks more like a complimentary title than a name, and if the editor of the TD recension of the Bundahîs were the son or grandson of Mitrô-akâvîd (§ 6) we have no means of ascertaining his name; but if he were not descended from Mitrô-akâvîd it is possible that §§ 10, 11 should be read together, and that he was the son of Yûdân-Yim. Now we know, from the heading and colophon of the ninety-two questions and answers on religious subjects which are usually called the Dâdîstân-i Dînik, and from the colophons of other writings which usually accompany that work, that those answers were composed and certain epistles were written by Mânûskîhar, son of Yûdân-Yim, who was high-priest of Pârs and Kirmân in A.Y. 250 (A.D. 881), and apparently a more important personage than his (probably younger) brother Zâd-sparham, who is mentioned in § 11 as one of the priests contemporary with the editor of the TD recension. If this editor, therefore, were a son of Yûdân-Yim (which is a possible interpretation of the text) he was most probably this same Mânûskîhar, author of the Dâdîstân-i Dînik (see the Introduction, § 4).

⁴ The last name is very probably superfluous, Zâd-sparham

*Zâd-sparham son of Yûdân-Yim*¹, *Âtarô-pâd son of Hâmîd*², *Ashôvahist son of Freh-Srôsh*, and the other *Môbads* have sprung from the same family.

12. This, too, it says, that 'in one winter I *will* locate (*gâkînam*) the religion of the Mazdayasnians, *which* came out into the other six regions.']

having been written twice most likely by mistake. This *Âtarô-pâd* son of *Mâraspend* was probably the one mentioned in the following extract from the old Persian *Rivâyat* MS., No. 8 of the collection in the Indian Office Library at London (fol. 142 a) :—

'The book *Dînkard* which the *dastûrs* of the religion and the ancients have compiled, likewise the blessed *Âdarbâd* son of *Mahrasfend*, son of *Asavahist* of the people of the good religion, in the year three hundred of *Yazdagard Shahryâr*, collected some of the more essential mysteries of the religion as instruction, and of these he formed this book.' That is, he was the last editor of the *Dînkard*, which seems to have remained unrevised since his time, as the present copies have descended from the MS. preserved by his family and first copied in A.Y. 369.

¹ *Zâd-sparham* was brother of the author of the *Dâdîstân-i Dînik* ; he was high-priest at *Sîrkân* in the south, and evidently had access to the *Bundahis*, of part of which he wrote a paraphrase (see Appendix). His name is usually written *Zâd-sparam*.

² In the history of the *Dînkard*, given at the end of its third book (see *Introd. to Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk*, p. xxxiv), we are told as follows :—

'After that, the well-meaning *Âtarô-pâd* son of *Hêmîd*, who was the leader of the people of the good religion, compiled, with the assistance of God, through inquiry, investigation, and much trouble, a new means of producing remembrance of the *Mazdayasnian* religion.' He did this, we are further told, by collecting all the decaying literature and perishing traditions into a work 'like the great original *Dînkard*, of a thousand chapters' (*mânâk-i zak rabâ bûn Dînô-kartô 1000-darakô*). We thus learn from external sources that the group of contemporary priests, mentioned in the text, was actively employed (about A.D. 900) in an attempted revival of the religious literature of the *Mazdayasnians*, to which we owe either the revision or compilation of such works as the *Dînkard*, *Dâdîstân-i Dînik*, and *Bundahis*.

CHAPTER XXXIV¹.o. On the reckoning of the years².

1. Time was *for* twelve thousand years; *and* it says in revelation, that three thousand years was the duration of the spiritual *state*, where the creatures were unthinking, unmoving, *and* intangible³; *and* three thousand years⁴ was the duration of Gâyômarđ, with the ox, in the world. 2. As *this* was six thousand years the series of millennium reigns⁵ of Cancer, Leo, and Virgo had elapsed, because it was six thousand years when the millennium reign came to Libra, the adversary rushed in, and Gâyômarđ lived thirty years in tribulation⁶. 3. After the thirty years⁷ Mâshya *and* Mâshyôî grew up; it was fifty years while they were not wife *and* husband⁸, *and* they were ninety-three years together *as* wife *and* husband till the *time* when Hôshyang⁹ came.

4. Hôshyang *was* forty years¹⁰, Takhmôrup¹¹ thirty years, Yim till *his* glory¹² departed six hundred and

¹ This chapter is found in all the MSS.

² TD adds 'of the Arabs (Tâzîkân).'

³ See Chap. I, 8.

⁴ See Chaps. I, 22, III, 1.

⁵ This system of a millennium reign for each constellation of the zodiac can hardly have any connection with the precession of the equinoxes, as the equinoxes travel backwards through the zodiac, whereas these millennium reigns travel forwards.

⁶ See Chap. III, 21-23.

⁷ That is, forty years after the thirty (see Chap. XV, 2).

⁸ See Chap. XV, 19, 20.

⁹ See Chaps. XV, 28, XXXI, 1.

¹⁰ K20 omits, by mistake, from 'together' in § 3 to this point.

¹¹ See Chap. XXXI, 2.

¹² So in K20, but M6 has nismô, 'soul, reason,' as in Chap. XXXIII, 1; the word 'glory' would refer to the supposed divine glory of the Iranian monarchs (see Chap. XXXI, 32).

sixteen years and six months, *and* after that he was a hundred years in concealment. 5. Then the millennium¹ reign came to Scorpio, and Dahâk² ruled a thousand years. 6. After the millennium reign came to Sagittarius, Frêdûn³ *reigned* five hundred years; in the same five hundred years of Frêdûn *were* the twelve years of Atrîk; Mânûskîhar⁴ *was* a hundred and twenty years, *and* in the same reign of Mânûskîhar, when he was in the mountain fastness (dûshkhvâr-gar)⁵, *were* the twelve years of Frâstiyâv; Zôb⁶ the Tûhmâspian *was* five years.

7. Kaî-Kabâd⁷ *was* fifteen years; Kaî-Kâûs, till he went to the sky, seventy-five years, *and* seventy-five years after that, altogether a hundred and fifty years; Kaî-Khûsrôv sixty years; Kaî-Lôrâsp⁸ a hundred and twenty years; Kaî-Vistâsp, till the coming of the religion, thirty years⁹, altogether a hundred and twenty years.

8. Vohûman¹⁰ *son* of Spend-dâd a hundred and

¹ The seventh millennium, ruled by Libra, is computed by Windischmann as follows: $30 + 40\frac{1}{2} + 50 + 93 + 40 + 30 + 616\frac{1}{2} + 100 = 1000$. The eighth millennium, ruled by Scorpio, is the thousand years of Dahâk.

² See Chap. XXXI, 6.

³ See Chap. XXXI, 7-11.

⁴ See Chap. XXXI, 12-14.

⁵ See Chap. XXXI, 21.

⁶ Written Aûzôbbô in Chap. XXXI, 23, 24.

⁷ Usually written Kaî-Kavâd in Pahlavi (see Chap. XXXI, 24, 25).

⁸ Also written Kaî-Lôharâsp (see Chap. XXXI, 28, 29).

⁹ This is the end of the ninth millennium, ruled by Sagittarius, which is computed by Windischmann as follows: $500 + 120 + 5 + 15 + 150 + 60 + 120 + 30 = 1000$.

¹⁰ See Chap. XXXI, 29, 30, where he is said to have been also called Artakhshatar, which seems to identify him with Artaxerxes Longimanus and his successors down to Artaxerxes Mnemon; so that Hûmât may perhaps be identified with Parysatis, and Dârâî Kîhar-âzâdân with Artaxerxes Ochus, as Dârâî Dârâyân must be

twelve years; Hûmâi, who *was* daughter of Vohûman, thirty years; Dârâi son of Kîhar-âzâd¹, that is, *of the daughter* of Vohûman, twelve years; Dârâi son of Dârâi fourteen years; Alexander the Rûman² fourteen years.

9. The Askânians bore the title in an uninterrupted (a-arûbâk) sovereignty two hundred and eighty-four years³, Ardashîr son of Pâpak *and* the number of the Sâsânians four hundred and sixty years⁴, *and* then it went to the Arabs.

Darius Codomannus, while the reign of Kaî-Vistâsp seems intended to cover the period from Cyrus to Xerxes.

¹ A surname of Hûmâi.

² Sikandar-i Arûmâk, that is, Alexander the Roman (of the eastern or Greek empire), as Pahlavi writers assume.

³ This period is nearly two centuries too short.

⁴ The actual period of Sasanian rule was 425 years (A. D. 226-651). According to the figures given in the text, the tenth millennium, ruled by Capricornus, must have terminated in the fourth year of the last king, Yazdakard. This agrees substantially with the Bahman Yast, which makes the millennium of Zaratûst expire some time after the reign of Khûsrô Nôshirvân; probably in the time of Khûsrô Parvîz, or some forty years earlier than the fourth year of Yazdakard. According to the text we must now be near the end of the first quarter of the twelfth and last millennium.

APPENDIX TO THE BUNDAHIS.

SELECTIONS OF ZÂD-SPARAM,

BROTHER OF THE DASTÛR OF

PÂRS AND KIRMÂN,

A. D. 881.

PART I, CHAPTERS I-XI.

(PARAPHRASE OF BUNDAHIS, I-XVII.)

OBSERVATIONS.

1-5. (The same as on p. 2.)

6. Abbreviations used are :— Av. for Avesta. Bund. for Bundahis, as translated in this volume. B. Yt. for Bahman Yast, as translated in this volume. Haug's Essays, for Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis, by Martin Haug, 2nd edition. Mkh. for Mainyô-i-khard, ed. West. Pers. for Persian. Vend. for Vendîdâd, ed. Spiegel. Yas. for Yasna, ed. Spiegel. Yt. for Yast, ed. Westergaard.

7. The MS. mentioned in the notes is K₃₅ (written probably A. D. 1572), No. 35 in the University Library at Copenhagen.

SELECTIONS

OF

Z Â D - S P A R A M.

THEY call these memoranda *and* writings the Selections (*kîdakthâ*) of Zâd-sparam, son of Yûdân-Yim.

CHAPTER I.

o. In propitiation of the creator Aûharmazd and all the angels—who are the whole of the heavenly and earthly sacred beings (*yazdân*)—*are* the sayings of Herbad Zâd-sparam, son of Yûdân-Yim, who is of the south¹, about the meeting of the beneficent spirit *and* the evil spirit.

1. It is in scripture thus declared, that light *was* above and darkness below, and between those two was open space. 2. [Aûharmazd *was* in the light, and Aharman in the darkness²; Aûharmazd *was* aware of the existence of Aharman and of *his* coming for strife; Aharman was not aware of the existence of light *and* of Aûharmazd³.] 3. It happened to Aharman, in the gloom *and* darkness, *that*

¹ Zâd-sparam appears to have been dastûr of Sîrkân, about thirty parasangs south of Kirmân, and one of the most southern districts in Persia (see Ouseley's Oriental Geography, pp. 138, 139, 141, 143-145).

² See Bund. I, 2-4.

³ Or 'of the light of Aûharmazd' (compare Bund. I, 8, 9).

he was walking humbly (frô-tanû) on the borders, *and* meditating other *things* he came up to the top, and a ray of light was seen by him; and because of *its* antagonistic nature to him he strove that he might reach it, so that it might also be within his absolute power. 4. And as he came forth to the boundary, accompanied by certain others¹, Aûharmazd came forth to the struggle for keeping Aharman away from His territory; and He did it through pure words, confounding witchcraft, and cast him back to the gloom.

5. For protection from the fiend (drûg) the spirits rushed in, the spirits of the sky, water, earth, plants, animals, mankind, and fire He *had* appointed, and they maintained it (the protection) three thousand years. 6. Aharman, also, ever collected means in the gloom; and at the end of the three thousand years he came back to the boundary, blustered (patîstâd), and exclaimed thus: 'I *will* smite thee, I *will* smite the creatures which thou thinkest *have* produced fame for thee—thee who art the beneficent spirit—I will destroy everything about them.'

7. Aûharmazd answered thus: 'Thou art not a doer of everything, O fiend²!']

8. And, again, Aharman retorted thus: 'I will seduce all material life into disaffection to thee and affection to myself³.'

9. Aûharmazd perceived, through the spirit of wisdom, thus: 'Even the blustering of Aharman is capable of performance, if I do not allow disunion

¹ Reading pavan kâtârânô ham-tanû, but the phrase is somewhat doubtful, and rather inconsistent with Bund. I, 10.

² Bund. I, 16.

³ Bund. I, 14.

(lâ barînnam) during a period of struggle.' 10. And he demanded of him a period for friendship¹, for it was seen by him that Aharman does not rely upon the intervention of any vigorous ones, *and* the existence of a period is obtaining the benefit of the mutual friendship *and* just arrangement of both; and he formed it into three periods, each period being three millenniums. 11. Aharman relied upon *it*, and Aûharmazd perceived that, though it is not possible to have Aharman sent down, ever when he wants he goes back to his own requisite, which is darkness; *and* from the poison which is much diffused endless strife arises².

12. And after the period was appointed by him, he brought forward the Ahûnavar *formula*³; and in his Ahûnavar these⁴ kinds of benefit were shown:—

13. The first is that, of all things, [that is proper which is something declared *as* the will of Aûharmazd; so that, whereas that is proper which is declared the will of Aûharmazd, where anything exists which is not within the will of Aûharmazd, it is created injurious from the beginning, a sin of a distinct nature.] 14. The second is this, that [whoever shall do that which is the will of Aûharmazd, his reward *and* recompense are his own; and of him who shall not do that which is the will of Aûharmazd, the punishment at the bridge⁵ owing thereto

¹ Bund. I, 17, 18.

² Or 'the poison of the serpent, which is much diffused, becomes endless strife.'

³ Bund. I, 21.

⁴ The word ân, 'those,' however, is probably a miswriting of the cipher for 'three.'

⁵ The *Kîvad* or *Kînar* bridge (see Bund. XII, 7).

is his own; which is shown from this ¹ *formula*; and the reward of doers of good works, the punishment of sinners, and the tales of heaven *and* hell are from it. 15. Thirdly, *it is* shown that the sovereignty of Aûharmazd increases that which is for the poor, *and* adversity is removed; by which *it is* shown that there are treasures for the needy *one*, *and* treasures are to be *his* friends; as the intelligent creations *are* to the unintelligent, so also *are* the treasures of a wealthy *person* to a needy *one*, treasures liberally given which are his own. 16. And the creatures of the trained hand of Aûharmazd are contending *and* angry (ârdîk), one with the other, as the renovation *of the universe* must occur through these three things. 17. That is, first, true religiousness in oneself, *and* reliance upon a man's original hold on the truly glad tidings (nav-barhâm), that Aûharmazd is all goodness without vileness, and his will is a will altogether excellent; *and* Aharman is all vileness without goodness. 18. Secondly, hope of the reward *and* recompense of good works, serious fear of the bridge *and* the punishment of crime, strenuous perseverance in good works, *and* abstaining from sin. 19. Thirdly, the existence of the mutual assistance of the creatures, or along with and owing to mutual assistance, *their* collective warfare; it is the triumph of warfare over the enemy which is one's own renovation².

¹ The MS. has hûman, 'well-meditating,' instead of denman, 'this;' but the two words are much alike in Pahlavi writing.

² This commentary on the Ahûnavar, or Yathâ-ahû-vairyô formula, is rather clumsily interpolated by Zâd-spâram, and is much more elaborate than the usual Pahlavi translation and explanation of this formula, which may be translated as follows:—

20. By this formula he (Aharman) was confounded, *and* he fell back to the gloom¹; *and* Aûharmazd produced the creatures bodily for the world; first, the sky; the second, water; the third, earth; the fourth, plants; the fifth, animals; the sixth, mankind². 21. Fire was in all, diffused originally through the six substances, of which it was as much the confiner of each single substance in which it was established, it is said, as an eyelid when they lay one down upon the other.

22. Three thousand years the creatures were possessed of bodies and not walking on *their* navels; *and* the sun, moon, *and* stars stood still. 23. In the mischievous incursion, at the end of the period, Aûharmazd observed thus: 'What advantage is there from the creation of a creature, although thirstless, which is unmoving *or* mischievous?' 24.

'As is the will of the living spirit (as is the will of Aûharmazd) so should be the pastor (so excellent should he be) owing to whatsoever are the duties and good works of righteousness (the duties and good works should be as excellent as the will of Aûharmazd). Whose is the gift of good thought (that is, the reward *and* recompense good thought gives, it gives also unto him) which among living spirits is the work of Aûharmazd (that is, they would do that which Aûharmazd requires); there are *some* who say it is thus: Whose gift is through good thought (that is, the reward *and* recompense which they will give to good thought, they would give also unto him); Âtarô-pâd son of Zaratûst said that by the gift of good thought, when among living spirits, they comprehend the doing of deeds. The sovereignty is for Aûharmazd (that is, the sovereignty which is his, Aûharmazd has kept with advantage) who gives necessities [or comfort, or clothing] to the poor (that is, they would make intercession for them).'

Additional phrases are sometimes inserted, and some words altered, but the above is the usual form of this commentary.

¹ Bund. I, 22.

² Bund. I, 28.

And in aid of the *celestial* sphere he produced the creature Time (zôrvân)¹; and Time is unrestricted, so that he made the creatures of Aûharmazd moving, distinct from the motion of Aharman's creatures, for the shedders of perfume (bôt-dâdân) were standing one opposite to the other while emitting it. 25. And, observantly of the end, he brought forward to Aharman a means out of himself, the property of darkness, with which the extreme limits (vîrûnakö) of Time *were* connected by him, an envelope (pôstô) of the black-pated and ash-coloured kind. 26. And in bringing it forward he spoke thus: 'Through their weapons the co-operation of the serpent (azö) dies away, *and this which* is thine, indeed thy own daughter, *dies* through religion; and if at the end of nine thousand years, as it is said *and* written, is a time of upheaval (madam kardânö), *she is* upheaved, not ended.'

27. At the same time Aharman came from accompanying Time out to the front, out to the star station; the connection of the sky with the star station *was* open, which showed, since it hung down into empty space, the strong communication of the lights and glooms, the place of strife in which is the pursuit of both. 28. And having darkness with himself he brought it into the sky, *and* left the sky so to gloom that the internal deficiency in the sky extends as much as one-third² over the star station.

¹ This is the Av. zrvâna akarana, 'boundless time or antiquity,' of Vend. XIX, 33, 44. He is a personification of duration and age, and is here distinctly stated to be a creature of Aûharmazd. This throws some doubt upon the statements of Armenian writers, who assert that the two spirits sprang from Zrvâna.

² Compare Bund. III, 11.

CHAPTER II.

1. On the coming in of Aharman to the creatures it is thus declared in revelation, that *in* the month Fravardîn *and* the day Aûharmazd, at noon¹, he came forth to the frontier of the sky. 2. The sky sees *him* and, on account of *his* nature, fears as much as a sheep trembles at a wolf; *and* Aharman came on, scorching *and* burning into it. 3. Then he came to the water which was arranged below the earth², and darkness without an eyelid was brought on by him; and he came on, through the middle of the earth, as a snake all-leaping comes on out of a hole; and he stayed within the whole earth. 4. The passage where he came on is his own, the way to hell, through which the demons make the wicked run.

5. Afterwards, he came to a tree, such as was of a single root, the height of which *was* several feet, and *it was* without branches and without bark, juicy *and* sweet; and to keep the strength of all kinds of trees in its race, it was in the vicinity of the middle of the earth; and at the self-same time *it became* quite withered³.

6. Afterwards, he came to the ox, the sole-created⁴, as it stood as high as Gâyômarđ on the

¹ Bund. III, 12.

² Bund. III, 13.

³ Bund. III, 14, 16.

⁴ The primeval ox, or first-created representative of animals, as Gâyômarđ was of mankind; from which two representatives all mankind and animals are said to have been afterwards developed. There seems to have been some doubt as to the sex of this mythological ox; here it is distinctly stated to have been a female, but from Bund. X, 1, 2, XIV, 3, it would appear to have been a male, and this seems to be admitted by Dâd-spâram himself, in Chap. IX, 7.

bank of the water of Dâitih¹ *in* the middle of the earth; and its distance from Gâyômarđ being as much as its own height, it was also distant from the bank of the water of Dâitih by the same measure; and it was a female, white *and* brilliant as the moon. 7. As the adversary came upon *it* Aûharmazd gave *it* a narcotic, which is also called 'bang,' to eat, and to rub the 'bang' before the eye², so that the annoyance from the assault of crimes may be less; it became lean and ill, *and* fell upon its right breast³ trembling.

8. Before the advance to Gâyômarđ, who was then about one-third the height of Zaratûst, *and* was brilliant as the sun, Aûharmazd forms, from the sweat⁴ on the man, a figure of fifteen years, radiant *and* tall, and sends it on to Gâyômarđ; and he also brings his sweat⁵ on to him as long as one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô⁶ is *being* recited. 9. When he issued from the sweat, and raised his eyes, he saw the world when it was dark as night⁷; on the whole earth were the snake, the scorpion, the lizard (*vazak*), and noxious creatures of many kinds; *and* so the other kinds of quadrupeds stood among the

¹ The Dâitik river (see Bund. XX, 13).

² This is a misunderstanding of the corresponding phrase in Bund. III, 18. The narcotic here mentioned is usually prepared from the hemp plant, and is well known in India *and* the neighbouring countries.

³ See Bund. IV, 1.

⁴ The word which, as it stands in the MS., looks like *hômanâe*, is here taken as a transposition of *min khvâe*, in accordance with Bund. III, 19; but it may be a variant of *anumâe*, 'embryo,' in which case the translation should be, 'forms an embryo into the shape of a man of fifteen years.'

⁵ Or it may be 'sleep,' both here and in § 9.

⁶ See Bund. I, 21.

⁷ Bund. III, 20.

reptiles; every approach of the whole earth was as though not as much as a needle's point remained, in which there was no rush of noxious creatures. 10. *There were* the coming of a planetary *star* into planetary conjunction, and the moon and planets at sixes and sevens¹; many dark forms with the face and curls of Az-i Dahâk suffered punishment in company with certain non-Iranians; *and* he was amazed at calling the wicked out from the righteous.

11. Lastly, he (Aharman) came up to the fire, and mingled darkness and smoke with it².

CHAPTER III.

1. And Gôstûrvan, as she was herself the soul of the primeval ox, when the ox passed away, came out from the ox, even as the soul from the body of the dead, and kept up the clamour of a cry to Aûhar-mazd in such fashion as that of an army, a thousand strong, when they cry out together³. 2. And Aû-harmazd, in order to be much more able to keep watch over the mingled creatures than in front of Gâyômarđ, went from the earth up to the sky. 3. And Gôstûrvan continually went after him crying, and she kept up the cry thus: 'With whom may the guardianship over the creatures be left by thee?'

CHAPTER IV.

1. This was the highest predominance of Aharman, for he came on, with all the strength which he

¹ Literally, 'in fours and fives.'

² Bund. III, 24.

³ Bund. IV, 2.

had, for the disfigurement of the creatures; and he took as much as one-third of the base of the sky¹, in a downward direction, into a confined *and* captive state, so that it was all dark *and* apart from the light, for it was itself, at the coming of the adversary, *his* enemy among the struggles for creation. 2. And this is opposing the renovation *of the universe*, for the greatest of all the other means of the fiend, when he *has* come in, are of like origin and strength this day, in the sleep² of the renovation, *as on* that when the enemy, who is fettered on coming in, is kept back.

3. Amid all this struggling were mingled the instigations of Aharman, *crying* thus: 'My victory *has* come completely, for the sky is split and disfigured by me with gloom and darkness, and taken by me as a stronghold; water is disfigured by me, and the earth, injured by darkness, is pierced by me; vegetation is withered by me, the ox is put to death by me, Gâyômarđ is made ill by me, and opposed to those revolving³ are the glooms and planets arranged by me; no one *has* remained for me to take *and* pervert in combat except Aûharmazd, and of the earth *there* is only one man, who is alone, what is he able to do?'

4. And he sends Astô-vidâd⁴ upon him with the thousand decrepitudes (aûzvârânô) *and* diseases

¹ Compare Bund. III, 11. The involved style of Zâš-sparam is particularly conspicuous in this chapter.

² The word seems to be khvâpîsnô.

³ Meaning probably the zodiacal signs, but the word is doubtful, being spelt vardîsnânô instead of varđîsnânô. A very small alteration would change it into varôîsnânô, 'believers,' but there were no earthly believers at the time alluded to.

⁴ See Bund. III, 21, and XXVIII, 35.

which are his own, sicknesses of various kinds, so that they may make him ill *and* cause death. 5. Gâyô-mard was not secured by them, and the reason was because it was a decree of appointing Time (zôrvânô) in the beginning of the coming in of Aharman, that: 'Up to thirty winters I appoint Gâyô-mard unto brilliance and preservation of life.' 6. And his manifestation in the *celestial* sphere was through the forgiveness of criminals *and* instigators of confusion by *his* good works, and for that reason no opportunity was obtained by them during the extent of thirty years.

7. For in the beginning it was so appointed that the star Jupiter (A ûharmazd) was life towards the creatures, not through its own nature, but on account of *its* being within the control (band) of the luminaries¹; and Saturn (Kêvân) was death towards the creatures. 8. Both were in their supremacy (bâlîst)² at the beginning of the crea-

¹ These luminaries are the fixed stars, especially the signs of the zodiac, to whose protection the good creation is committed (see Bund. II, 6-4); whereas Jupiter and all other planets are supposed to be, by nature, disturbers of the creation, being employed by Aharman for that purpose (see Mkh. VIII, 17-21, XII, 7-10, XXIV, 8, XXXVIII, 5).

² The most obvious meaning of bâlîst is 'greatest altitude,' and this is quite applicable to Jupiter when it attains its highest northern declination on entering Cancer, but it is not applicable to Saturn in Libra, when it has only its mean altitude. At the vernal equinox, however, which was the time of the beginning mentioned in the text, when Aharman invaded the creation (see Chap. II, 1), Libra is in opposition to the sun, and Saturn in Libra would be at its nearest approach to the earth, and would, therefore, attain its maximum brightness; while Jupiter in Cancer would be at its greatest altitude and shining with four-fifths of its maximum brightness. Both planets, therefore, were near their most conspicuous position (which would seem to be the meaning of bâlîst

tures, as Jupiter was in Cancer on rising, that which is also called *Givân* ('living')¹, for it is the place in which life is bestowed upon it; *and* Saturn was in Libra, in the great subterranean, so that its own venom and deadliness *became* more evident and more dominant thereby. 9. And it was when both shall not be supreme *that* *Gâyômarđ* was to complete his own life, which is the thirty years² Saturn came not again to supremacy, that is, *to* Libra. 10. And at the time when Saturn came into Libra, Jupiter was in Capricornus³, on account of whose own lowness⁴, and the victory of Saturn over Jupiter, *Gâyômarđ* suffered through those very defects which came and are to continue advancing, the continuance of that disfigurement which Aharman can bring upon the creatures of Aûharmazd.

here), and might each be supposed to be exercising its maximum astrological influence, so that the presumed deadly power of Saturn would be neutralised by the supposed reviving influence of Jupiter.

¹ This reading suits the context best, but the name can also be read *Snahan*, and in many other ways. It may possibly be the tenth lunar mansion, whose name is read *Nahn* in *Bund. II*, 3, by Pâzand writers, and which corresponds to the latter part of Cancer.

² Saturn revolves round the sun in about 29 years and 167 days, so it cannot return into opposition to the sun (or to its maximum brightness), at or near the vernal equinox, in less than thirty years.

³ That is, while Saturn performs one revolution round the sun, Jupiter performs two and a half, which is very nearly correct, as Jupiter revolves round the sun in about 11 years and 315 days. Therefore, when the supposed deadly influence of Saturn has returned to its maximum, the supposed reviving influence of Jupiter is at its minimum, owing to the small altitude of Capricornus, and no longer counterbalances the destructive power of Saturn.

⁴ There seems to be no other reasonable translation, but the MS. has *lâ* instead of *râî*, and *niskasp* instead of *nisîv*.

CHAPTER V.

1. When in like manner, and equally oppressively, as his (Aûharmazd's) creatures were disfigured, then through that same deterioration his own great glory was exhibited; for as he came within the sky¹ he maintains the spirit of the sky, like an intrepid warrior who has put on metal armour²; and the sky in its fortress³ spoke these hasty, deceitful words to Aharman, thus: 'Now when thou shalt have come in I *will* not let thee back;' and it obstructed *him* until Aûharmazd prepared another rampart, that is stronger, around the sky, *which* is called 'righteous understanding' (ashôk âkâsîh). 2. And he arranged the guardian spirits⁴ of the righteous who are warriors around that rampart, mounted on horses and spear in hand, in such manner as the hair on the head; and they acquired the appearance of prison guards who watch a prison from outside, and would not surrender the outer boundaries to an enemy descended from the inside.

3. Immediately, Aharman endeavours that he may go back to his own complete darkness, but he found no passage; and he recapitulated, with seeming misgiving, his fears of the worthiness which is to arise at the appearance of the renovation of the universe at the end of the nine thousand years.

¶4. As it is said in the Gâthas, thus⁵: 'So also

¹ See Chap. III, 2.

² Compare Bund. VI, 2.

³ Or 'zodiacal signs,' for būrgō means both.

⁴ Bund. VI, 3, 4.

⁵ This quotation from the Gâthas is from the Pahlavi Yas. XXX, 4, and agrees with the Pahlavi text, given in Dastûr Jâm-

both those spirits have approached together unto that which was the first creation—that is, both spirits have come to the body of Gâyômarđ. Whatever is in life is so through this purpose of Aûhar-mazd, that is: So that I may keep it alive; whatever is in lifelessness is so through this purpose¹ of the evil spirit, that is: So that I may utterly destroy it; and whatever is thus, is so until the last in the world, so that they (both spirits) come also on to the rest of mankind. And on account of the utter depravity of the wicked *their* destruction is fully seen, *and* so is the perfect meditation of him who is righteous, the hope of the eternity of Aûharmazd.]

5. And this was the first contest², *that of* the sky with Aharman.

CHAPTER VI.

1. And as he (Aharman) came secondly to the water, together with him rushed in, *on* the horse Cancer, he who is the most watery Tistar; the equally watery *one*, that is called Avrak³, gave forth a cloud *and* went down in the day; that is

âspji's old MS. of the Yasna in Bombay, very nearly as closely as Spiegel's edition does. It appears, therefore, that Dâd-spam used the same Pahlavi translation of the Yasna as the Parsis do at the present day.

¹ The MS. here omits the words 'through this purpose,' by mistake.

² The word ârdîk, which Dâd-spam uses instead of the kharah, 'conflict,' of Bund. V, 6, VI, 1, &c., may be connected with Pers. ârd, 'anger.'

³ The ninth lunar mansion (see Bund. II, 3, VII, 1).

declared as the movement of the first-comers of the creatures. 2. Cancer became a zodiacal constellation (akhtar); it is the fourth constellation *of the zodiac* for this reason, because the month Tîr is the fourth month of the year¹.

3. And as Tîstar begged for assistance, Vohû-man and Hôm are therefore co-operating with him in command, Bûrg of the waters and the water in mutual aid, and the righteous guardian spirits in keeping the peace. 4. He was converted into three forms, which are the form of a man, the form of a bull, *and* the form of a horse; and each form was distinguished in brilliance for ten nights, and lets its rain fall on the night for the destruction of noxious creatures. 5. The drops became each separately *like* a great bowl in which water is drawn; and as to that on *which* they are driven, they kill all the noxious creatures except the reptiles², who entered into the muddiness of the earth.

6. Afterwards, the wind spirit, in the form of a man, became manifest on the earth; radiant *and* tall he had a kind of wooden boot (mûkvô-aê-i dârtîô) on *his* feet; *and* as when the life shall stir the body, the body is advancing with like vigour, *so* that spirit of the wind stirs forth the inner nature of the atmospheric wind, the wind pertaining to the whole earth is forth, and the water in its grasp is flung out from it to the sides of the earth, and its wide-formed ocean arose therefrom.

7. It (the ocean) keeps one-third of this earth³,

¹ Bund. VII, 2-6 is paraphrased in §§ 2-6.

² Reading neksûnd barâ min khasandakânô instead of the MS. barâ nasûnd min khasandakânô.

³ Compare Bund. XIII, 1, 2.

and among its contents are a thousand sources *and* fountains, such as are called lakes (var); a thousand water-fountains, whose water is from the ocean, come up from the lakes *and* are poured forth into it. 8. And the size of some of all the lakes and all the fountains of water is as much as a fast rider on an Arab horse, *who* continually compasses *and* canters around *them*, will attain in forty days, which is 1900¹ long leagues (parasang-i akarîk), each league *being* at least 20,000 feet.

9. And after the noxious creatures died², and the poison therefrom was mixed up in the earth, in order to utterly destroy that poison Tistar went down into the ocean; and Apâôsh, the demon, hastened to meet him, and *at* the alarm of the first contest Tistar was in terror (*pard*). 10. And he applied unto Aûharmazd, *who* brought such power unto Tistar *as* arises through propitiation and praise and invoking by name³, and they call forth such power unto Tistar *as that of* ten vigorous horses, ten vigorous camels, ten vigorous bulls, ten mountains when hurled, and ten single-stream rivers when together. 11. And without alarm he drove out Apâôsh, the demon, and kept him away from the sources of the ocean.

12. And with a cup and measuring bowl, which possessed the diligence even of a guardian spirit (*fravâhar*), he seized many more handfuls of water,

¹ Bund. XIII, 2 has 1700, but as neither number is a multiple of forty in round numbers, it is probable that both are wrong, and that we ought to read 1600.

² Bund. VII, 7-14 is paraphrased in §§ 9-14.

³ The Av. aokhtô-nâmana yasna of Tistar Yt. II, 23, 24.

and made *it* rain down¹ much more prodigiously, for destruction, drops as large as men's heads and bulls' heads, great and small. 13. And in that cloud and rain were the chastisement *and* beating which Tistar and the fire Vâzist *inflicted* on the opposition of Apâôsh; the all-deciding (vispô-viêtr) fire Vâzist struck down with a club of fire, all-deciding among the malevolent (kêbarânô).

14. Ten days *and* nights there was rain, and its darting² *was* the shooting of the noxious creatures; afterwards, the wind drove *it* to the shore of the wide-formed ocean, and it is portioned out into three, and three seas arose from it; they are called the Pûtîk, the Kamîrid, and the Gêhân-bûn³. 15. Of these the Pûtîk itself is salt water, in which is a flow *and* ebb⁴; and the control of its flow and ebb is connected with the moon, and by its continual rotation, in coming up *and* going down, that of the moon is manifested. 16. The wide-formed *ocean* stands forth on the south side as to (pavan) Albûrz⁵, and the Pûtîk stands contiguous to it, and amidst it is the gulf (var) of Satavês, whose connection is with Satavês, which is the southern quarter. 17. In the activity of the sea, and in the increase and decrease of the moon, whose circuit is the whole of Iran, are the flow *and* ebb; of the

¹ Or perhaps 'made the cloud rain,' if madam vâranînîd stands for avar vâranînîd.

² Reading partâv instead of the MS. patûtâv, 'powerful fury.'

³ This is a variant of the Sahî-bûn or Gâhî-bûn of Bund. XIII, 7, 15; the other two names differ but little from those given in Bund. XIII. In the MS. Pûtîk occurs once, and Puitîk twice.

⁴ Compare §§ 15-18 with Bund. XIII, 8-14.

⁵ Compare Bund. XIII, 1.

curving tails in front of the moon two issue forth, *and* have an abode in Satavês; one is the up-drag *and* one the down-drag; through the up-drag occurs the flood, *and* through the down-drag occurs the ebb¹. 18. And Satavês itself is a gulf (var) and side *arm* of the wide-formed ocean, for it drives back the impurity *and* turbidness which *come* from the salt sea, when they are continually going into the wide-formed ocean, with a mighty high wind², while that which is clear through purity goes into the Arêdvisûr sources of the wide-formed ocean. 19. Besides these four³ there are the small seas⁴.

20. And, afterwards, *there* were made to flow from Albûrz, out of its northern border, two rivers⁵, which *were* the Arvand⁶—that is, the Diglit, *and* the flow

¹ This is even a more mechanical theory of the tides than that detailed in Bund. XIII, 13. Whether the 'curving tails' (gagak dunbak) are the 'horns' of the crescent moon is uncertain.

² By an accidental transposition of letters the MS. has âtarô, 'fire,' instead of vâtô, 'wind.'

³ The ocean and three principal seas.

⁴ Said to be twenty-three in number in Bund. XIII, 6.

⁵ Bund. VII, 15, 16, XX, 1.

⁶ This appears to be a later identification of the Arag, Arang, or Arêng river of Bund. XX with the Tigris, under its name Arvand, which is also found in the Bahman Yast (III, 21, 38) and the Âfrîn of the Seven Ameshâspends (§ 9). The Bundahis (XX, 8) seems to connect the Arag (Araxes?) with the Oxus and Nile, and describes the Diglat or Tigris as a distinct river (Bund. XX, 12). This difference is one of the indications of the Bundahis having been so old a book in the time of Zâd-spâram that he sometimes misunderstood its meaning, which could hardly have been the case if it had been written by one of his contemporaries. As the Persian empire has several times included part of Egypt, the Nile must have then been well known to the Persians as the great western river of their world. The last time they had possession of part of Egypt was, for about half a century, in the reigns of Khusrô

of that river *was* to those of the setting *sun* (val frôd-yehevundânô)—*and* the Vêh¹ was the river of the first-comers to the sun; formed as two horns they went on to the ocean. 21. After them eighteen² great rivers came out from the same Albûrz; *and* these twenty rivers, whose source is in Albûrz, go down into the earth, and arrive in Khvanîras.

22. Afterwards, two fountains of the sea are opened out for the earth³, which are called the Kêkast⁴—a lake which has no cold wind, *and* on whose shore rests the triumphant fire Gûsnasp⁵—*and*, secondly, the Sôvar⁶ which casts on *its* shores all turbidness, and keeps its own salt lake clear *and* pure, for it is like the semblance of an eye which casts out to *its* edges every ache and every impurity; and on account of its depth it is not reached to the bottom, for it goes into the ocean; and in its vicinity rests the beneficial fire Bûrzîn-Mitrô⁷.

23. And this was the second contest, which was with the water.

CHAPTER VII.

1. And as he (Aharman) came thirdly to the earth, which arrayed the whole earth against him—

Nôshirvân, Aûharmazd IV, and Khusrô Parvîz; but since the early part of the seventh century the Tigris has practically been their extreme western limit; hence the change of the old Arag or Arang into the very similarly written Arvand, a name of the Tigris.

¹ See Bund. XX, 9.

² Bund. XX, 2, 7.

³ Bund. VII, 14.

⁴ Bund. XXII, 2.

⁵ Written Gûsasp in Bund. XVII, 7, and Gûsnâsp in B. Yt. III, 30, 40, while the older form Visnâsp occurs in B. Yt. III, 10.

⁶ The Sôvbar of Bund. VII, 14, XII, 24, XXII, 3.

⁷ Bund. XVII, 8.

since *there was* an animation of the earth through the shattering—Albûrz grew up¹, which is the boundary of the earth, *and* the other² mountains, which are amid the circuit of the earth, come up 2244 in number³. 2. And by them the earth *was* bound together and arranged, and on them *was* the sprouting *and* growth of plants, wherefrom *was* the nourishment of cattle, and therefrom was the great advantage of assistance to men.

3. Even so it is declared that before the coming of the destroyer to the creatures, for a thousand years the substance of mountains was created in the earth—especially as antagonism came on the earth, *and* settled on *it* with injury—*and* it came up over the earth just like a tree *whose* branch *has* grown at the top, and its root at the bottom. 4. The root of the mountains is passed on *from* one to the other, *and* is arranged in connection *with them*, and through it is produced the path *and* passage of water *from* below to above, so that the water may flow in it in such manner as blood in the veins, from all *parts* of the body to the heart, the latent vigour which they possess. 5. And, moreover, in six hundred years⁴, at first, all the mountains apart from Albûrz were completed. 6. Albûrz was growing during eight hundred years⁵; in two hundred years it grew up to

¹ Bund. VIII, 1-4 is paraphrased in §§ 1-4.

² The MS. has âvânö, 'waters,' instead of avârîk, 'other,' which alters the meaning into, 'which is the boundary of the waters of the earth, *and* the mountains,' &c.

³ Bund. XII, 2.

⁴ Bund. VIII, 5, and XII, 1, have 'eighteen years.' As both numbers are written in ciphers it would be easy for either to be corrupted into the other.

⁵ Bund. XII, 1.

the star station, in two hundred years up to the moon station, two hundred years up to the sun station, *and* two hundred years up to the sky. 7. After Albûrz the Aparsên mountain¹ is the greatest, as it is also called the Avar-rôyisn² ('up-growth') mountain, whose beginning is in Sagastân and its end unto Pârs *and* to Kînistân³.

8. This, too, is declared, that after the great rain in the beginning of the creation⁴, *and* the wind's sweeping away the water to the ocean, the earth is in seven portions⁵ a little above *it*, as the compact earth, after the rain, is torn up by the noise and wind *in* various places. 9. One portion, moreover, as much as one-half the whole earth, is in the middle, and in *each of* the six portions around is as much as Sagastân; moreover, as much as Sagastân is the measure *of what* is called a kêshvar ('region') for the reason that one was defined from the other by a kêsh ('furrow'). 10. The middle *one* is Khvanîras, of which Pârs is the centre, and those six regions are like a coronet (a vîsar) *around it*. 11. One part of the wide-formed ocean wound around it, among those six regions; the sea and forest seized upon the south side, *and* a lofty mountain grew up on the north, so that they might become separate, one from the other, *and* imperceptible.

12. This is the third contest, about the earth.

¹ The Apârsên of Bund. XII, 9.

² Written Apû-rôyisn, as if it were an Arabic hybrid meaning 'father of growth.'

³ Bund. XII, 9. XXIV, 28, have Khûgîstân instead of Kînistân; the latter appears to be an old name of the territory of Samarkand (see note to Bund. XII, 13).

⁴ Literally, 'creature.'

⁵ Bund. XI, 2-4 is paraphrased in §§ 8-11.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. As he (Aharman) came fourthly to the plants—which have struggled (*kûkhshî-aitō*) against him with the whole vegetation—because the vegetation *was* quite dry¹, Amerôdad, by whom the essence of the world's vegetation² was seized upon, pounded it up small, and mixed *it* up with the rain-water of Tistar. 2. After the rain the whole earth is discerned sprouting, and ten thousand³ special species and a hundred thousand⁴ additional species (*levatman sardakō*) so grew as if *there were* a species of every kind; and those ten thousand species are provided for⁵ keeping away the ten thousand³ diseases.

3. Afterwards, the seed was taken up from those hundred thousand species of plants, *and* from the collection of seed the tree of all germs, amid the wide-formed ocean, was produced, from which all species of plants continually grow. 4. And the griffon bird (*sênô mûrûvō*) has his resting-place upon it; when he wanders forth *from* within it, he scatters the dry seed into the water, *and* it is rained back to the earth with the rain.

5. And in its vicinity the tree was produced *which* *is* the white Hôm, the counteractor of decrepitude,

¹ This chapter is a paraphrase of Bund. IX.

² Or, perhaps, 'the worldly characteristics of vegetation.'

³ Written like 'one thousand,' but see the context and Bund. IX, 4.

⁴ In Bund. IX, 4. the MSS. have '120,000,' which is probably wrong, as Bund. XXVII, 2, agrees with the text above.

⁵ The MS. has *barâ* instead of *pavan*, a blunder due probably to some copyist reading the *Huzvâris* in Persian, in which language *bih* (= *barâ*) and *bah* (= *pavan*) are written alike. In *Pâzand* they are usually written *be* and *pa*, respectively.

the reviver of the dead, *and* the immortalizer of the living.

6. This was the fourth contest, about the plants.

CHAPTER IX.

1. As he (Aharman) came fifthly to cattle—which struggled against him with all the animals—and likewise as the primeval ox¹ passed away, from the nature of the vegetable principle it possessed, fifty-five² species of grain and twelve species of medicinal plants grew from *its* various members; *and* forasmuch as they should see from which member each one *proceeds*, it is declared in the Dâmdâd Nask³. 2. And every plant grown from a member

¹ See Chaps. II, 6, III, 1, and Bund. IV, 1, X, 1, XIV, 1.

² The MS. has 'fifty-seven' in ciphers, but Bund. X, 1, XIV, 1, XXVII, 2, have 'fifty-five' in words.

³ This was the fourth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which gives a very short and superficial account of its contents. But, according to the Dînf-vagarkard and the Rivâyats of Kâmah Bahrah, Narîmân Hôshang, and Barzû Qiyâmu-d-dîn, it was the fifth nask, and was called Dvâzdah-hâmâst (or homâst). For its contents, as given by the Dînf-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, p. 127. The Rivâyât of Kâmah Bahrah, which has a few more words than the other Rivâyats, gives the following account (for the Persian text of which, see 'Fragmens relatifs à la religion de Zoroastre,' par Olshausen et Jules Mohl):—

'Of the fifth the name is Dvâzdah-homâst, and the interpretation of this is "the book about help" (dar imdâd, but this is probably a corruption of dâmdâd). And this book has thirty-two sections (kardah) that the divine and omnipotent creator sent down, in remembrance of the beginning of the creatures of the superior world and inferior world, and *it is* a description of the whole of them and of that which God, the most holy and omnipotent, mentioned about the sky, earth, and water, vegetation and

promotes that member, as it is said that there *where* the ox scattered *its* marrow¹ on to the earth, grain afterwards grew up, corn² and sesame, vetches³ *and* peas; so sesame, on account of⁴ *its* marrow quality, is itself a great thing for developing marrow. 3. And it is also said that from the blood is the vine⁵, a great vegetable thing—as wine itself is blood—for more befriending the sound quality of the blood. 4. And it is said that from the nose is the pulse (*mâys* or *mâsah*) which is called *dônak*, and was a variety of sesame (*samagâ*)⁶, *and it is* for other noses.

fire, man and quadrupeds, grazing and flying *animals*, and what he produced for their advantage and use, and the like. Secondly, the resurrection and *heavenly* path, the gathering and dispersion, and the nature of the circumstances of the resurrection, as regards the virtuous and evil-doers, through the weight of every action they perform for good and evil.'

This description corresponds very closely with what the Bundahis must have been, before the addition of the genealogical and chronological chapters at the end; and Dâd-spāram mentions in his text here, and again in § 16, particulars regarding the Dâmdâd which also occur in the Bundahis (XIV, 2, 14–18, 21–24). There can be very little doubt, therefore, that the Bundahis was originally a translation of the Dâmdâd, though probably abridged; and the text translated in this volume is certainly a further abridgment of the original Bundahis, or Zand-âkâs. Whether the Avesta text of the Dâmdâd was still in existence in the time of Dâd-spāram is uncertain, as he would apply the name to the Pahlavi text. At the present time it is very unusual for a copyist to write the Pahlavi text without its Avesta, when the latter exists, but this may not always have been the case.

¹ Or 'brains.'

² Supposing the MS. *galôlag* is a corruption of *gallak* (Pers. *ghallah*).

³ Assuming the MS. *alûnô* or *arvanô* to be a corruption of *alûm* or *aršanô*.

⁴ Reading *rât* instead of *lâ*.

⁵ Compare Bund. XIV, 2.

⁶ Either this sentence is very corrupt in the MS. or it cannot be

5. And it is also said that from the lungs are the rue-like herbs¹ *which* heal, and are for the lung-disease of cattle. 6. This, rooted amid the heart, is thyme, from which is Vohûman's thorough withstanding of the stench of Akôman², and *it is* for that which *proceeds* from the sick and yawners.

7. Afterwards, the brilliance of the seed, seized upon, by strength, from the seed *which* was the ox's, they would carry *off* from it, *and* the brilliance was intrusted to the angel of the moon³; in a place therein that seed was thoroughly purified by the light of the moon, and was restored in its many qualities, and made fully infused with life (*gânvar-hômand*). 8. Forth from there it produced for Aitrân-vêg, first, two oxen, a pair, male and female⁴, *and*, afterwards, other species, until the completion of the 282 species⁵; and they were discernible as far as two long leagues *on* the earth. 9. Quadrupeds walked forth on the land, fish swam in the water, *and* birds flew *in* the atmosphere; *in* every two, at the time good eating is enjoyed, a longing (*âv-dahân*) arose therefrom, and pregnancy and birth.

10. Secondly, their subdivision is thus:—First, they are divided into three, that is, quadrupeds walking on the earth, fish swimming in the water,

reconciled with the corresponding clause of Bund. XIV, 2. Altering *dônak* and *gûnak* into *gandanak*, and *samagâ* into *samasdar*, we might read, 'from the nose is *mâys*, which is called the leek, and the leek was an onion;' but this is doubtful, and leaves the word *mâys* unexplained.

¹ The MS. has *gôspendânô*, 'cattle,' instead of *sipandânô*, 'rue herbs.'

² See Bund. I, 24, 27, XXVIII, 7, XXX, 29.

³ Bund. X, 2, XIV, 3.

⁴ Bund. X, 3, XIV, 4.

⁵ Bund. X, 3, XIV, 13.

and birds flying in the atmosphere. 11. Then, into five classes¹, that is, the quadruped which is round-hoofed, the double-hoofed, the five-clawed, the bird, *and* the fish, whose dwellings are in five places, *and* which are called aquatic, burrowing, oviparous, wide-travelling, *and* suitable for grazing. 12. The aquatic are fish *and* every beast of burden, cattle, wild beast, dog, *and* bird which enters the water; the burrowing are the marten (samûr) and musk *animals*, and all other dwellers and movers in holes; the oviparous are birds of every kind; the wide-travelling sprang away for help, and are also those of a like kind; those suitable for grazing are whatever are kept grazing in a flock.

13. And, afterwards, they were divided into genera, as the round-hoofed are one, *which* is all called 'horse;' the double-hoofed are many, as the camel and ox, the sheep and goat, *and* others double-hoofed; the five-clawed are the dog, hare, musk *animals*, marten, *and* others; then are the birds, and then the fish. 14. And then they were divided into species², as eight species of horse, two species of camel, ten³ species of ox, five species of sheep, five species of goat, ten of the dog, five of the hare, eight of the marten, eight of the musk *animals*, 110 of the birds, and ten of the fish; some are counted for the pigs, and with all those declared *and* all those undeclared *there were*, at first, 282 species⁴; *and* with the species within species *there were* a thousand varieties.

¹ Bund. XIV, 8-12.

² Bund. XIV, 13-23, 26, 27.

³ Bund. XIV, 17 says 'fifteen,' which is probably correct.

⁴ Only 181 species are detailed or 'declared' here.

15. The birds are distributed¹ into eight groups (rîstakô), and from that which is largest to that which is smallest *they* are so spread about as *when* a man, who is sowing grain, first scatters abroad *that* of heavy weight, then that which is middling, *and* afterwards that which is small.

16. And of the whole of the species, as enumerated a second time in the Dâmdâd *Nask*², and written by me in the manuscript (nipîk) of 'the summary enumeration of races'³—this is a lordly⁴ summary—the matter which is shown is, about the species of horses, the first is the Arab, and the chief of them⁵ is white *and* yellow-eared, and secondly the Persian, the mule, the ass, the wild ass, the water-horse, *and* others. 17. Of the camel *there are* specially two, *that for* the plain, *and* the mountain *one which* is double-humped. 18. Among the species of ox are the white, mud-coloured, red, yellow, black, and dappled, the elk, the buffalo, the camel-leopard⁶, the ox-fish, *and* others. 19. Among sheep are those having tails and those which are tailless, also the wether and the Kûrisk *which*, because of its trampling the hills, *its* great horn, and also being suitable

¹ Bund. XIV, 25.

² See § 1; the particulars which follow are also found in Bund. XIV, 14-18, 21-24, showing that the Bundahis must be derived from the Dâmdâd.

³ The title of this work, in Pahlavi, is Tôkhm-aûsmaris-nîh-i hangardîkô, but it is not known to be extant.

⁴ Reading marâk (Chaldee מֶרַק), but this is doubtful, though the Iranian final k is often added to Semitic Huzvâris forms ending with â. It may be minâk, 'thinking, thoughtful,' or a corruption of manîk, 'mine,' in which last case we should translate, 'this is a summary of mine.'

⁵ Bund. XXIV, 6.

⁶ Literally, 'camel-ox-leopard.'

for ambling, became the steed of Mânûskêthar. 20. Among goats are the ass-goat, the Arab, the fawn (varîkō), the roe, *and* the mountain goat. 21. Among martens are the white ermine, the black marten, the squirrel, the beaver (khaz), and others. 22. Of musk *animals* with a bag, one is the Bîsh-musk—which eats the Bîsh poison and does not die through it, and it is created for the great advantage that it should eat the Bîsh, *and less of it* should succeed in poisoning the creatures—*and* one is a musk *animal* of a black colour which they desired (ayûftō) who were bitten *by* the fanged serpent—as the serpent of the mountain water-courses (makō) is called—which is numerous on the river-banks; *one* throws the same unto it for food, which it eats, *and* then the serpent enters its body, when his¹ serpent, at the time *this* happens, feeds upon the same belly in which the serpent is, and he will become clear from that malady. 23. Among birds two were produced of a different character from the rest, and those are the griffon bird *and* the bat, which have teeth *in* the mouth, *and* suckle *their* young with animal milk from the teat.

24. This is the fifth contest, as to animals.

CHAPTER X.

1. As he (Aharman) came sixthly to Gâyômarđ there was arrayed against *him*, with Gâyômarđ, the

¹ This appears to be the meaning here of amat zak garzakō, but the whole sentence is a fair sample of Dâd-spam's most involved style of writing. By feeding the black musk animal with snakes the effect of a snake-bite, experienced by the feeder, is supposed to be neutralized.

pure propitious liturgy (*mânsarspend*), as heard from *Gâyômarđ*; *and* *Aûharmazd*, in pure meditation, considered that which is good and righteousness as destruction of the fiend (*drûgô*). 2. And when he (*Gâyômarđ*) passed away eight kinds of mineral of a metallic character arose from *his* various members; they are gold, silver, iron, brass, tin, lead, quicksilver (*âvgtinakô*), and adamant; *and* on account of the perfection of gold it is produced from the life and seed.

3. *Spendarmad* received the gold of the dead *Gâyômarđ*¹, *and* it was forty years in the earth. 4. At the end of the forty years, *in* the manner of a *Rivâs-plant*, *Mashya and Mashyôî*² came up, and, one joined to the other, *were* of like stature *and* mutually adapted³; and its middle, on which a glory came, through their like stature⁴, *was* such that it was not clear which is the male and which the female, and which is the one with the glory which *Aûharmazd* created. 5. This is that glory for which man is, indeed, created, as it is thus said in revela-

¹ Compare Bund. XV, 1.

² The MS. has *Mashâî Mashâyê*, but see Bund. XV, 6. The Avesta forms were probably *mashya mashyôî* (or *mashyê*), which are regular nominatives dual, masculine and feminine, of *mashya*, 'mortal,' and indicate that they were usually coupled together in some part of the Avesta which is no longer extant. Pâzand writers have found it easy to read *Mashyanî* instead of *Mashyôî*.

³ Reading *ham-basnô ham-dakhîk*, but whether this is more likely to be the original reading than the *ham-badisn va ham-dasak* of Bund. XV, 2, is doubtful. The last epithet here might also be read *ham-sabîk*, 'having the same shirt,' but this is an improbable meaning.

⁴ It is evident that *ham-badisnîh*, 'mutual connection,' in accordance with Bund. XV, 3, would be preferable to the *ham-basnôîh*, 'like stature,' of this text.

tion: 'Which existed before, the glory¹ or the body?' And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'The glory was created by me before; afterwards, for him who is created, the glory is given a body so that it may produce activity, and its body is created only for activity.' 6. And, afterwards, they changed from the shape of a plant into the shape of man², *and* the glory went spiritually into them.

CHAPTER XI.

1. As he (Aharman) came seventhly to fire, which was all together *against* him, the fire *separated* into five kinds³, which are called the Propitious, the Good diffuser, the Aûrvâzist, the Vâzist, *and* the Supremely-benefiting. 2. And it produced the Propitious fire itself in heaven (garôdmân); its manifestation is in the fire which is burning on the earth, and its propitiousness is this, that all the kinds are of its nature. 3. *The Good diffuser* is that which is in men and animals⁴, and its business *consists* in the digestion of the food, the sleeping of the

¹ The old word nismô, 'soul' (see Bund. XV, 3, 4), has become corrupted here (by the omission of the initial stroke) into gadman, 'glory.' This corruption may be due either to Dâd-sparam not understanding the word (in which case the Bundahis must have been an old book in his time), or else to some later copyist confounding the old word for 'soul' with the better-known 'glory' of the Iranian sovereigns.

² Bund. XV, 5.

³ Bund. XVII, 1. Three of the Avesta names are here translated, the first two being the Spênist and Vohu-fryân, which are the fifth and second in the Bundahis, and the fifth being the Berezi-savang, which is the first in the Bundahis.

⁴ See Bund. XVII, 2.

body, *and* the brightening of the eyes. 4. The Aûrvâztst is that which is in plants, in whose seed *it* is formed, and its business *consists* in piercing the earth, warming the chilled water¹ and producing the qualities and fragrance of plants and blossoms therefrom, and elaborating the ripened produce into many fruits. 5. And the Vâztst is that which has its motion in a cloud, and its business *consists* in destroying the atmospheric gloom and darkness, and making the thickness of the atmosphere fine and propitious in quality, sifting the hail, moderately warming the water which the cloud holds, *and* making sultry weather showery. 6. The Supremely-benefiting, like the sky, is that glory whose lodgment is in the Behrâm fire², as the master of the house is over the house, *and* whose propitious power *arises* from the growing brightness of the fire, the blazing forth in³ the purity of the place, the praise of God (yazdânö), *and* the practice of good works. 7. And its business is *that* it struggles with the spiritual fiend, it watches the forms of the witches—who walk up from the river⁴, wear woven clothing, disturb the luminaries by the concealment of stench, *and* by witchcraft injure the creatures—and the occurrences of destruction, burning, and celebration of witchcraft, especially at night; being an assistant of Srôsh the righteous.

¹ Reading mayâ-i afsardînîdö tâftanö instead of the seemingly unmeaning mayâ asardînîdö âftanö of the MS.

² The Verehrânö âtâsh, or sacred fire of the fire-temples.

³ Reading pavan instead of barâ (see p. 176, note 5).

⁴ Or 'sea' (darîyâvö). This long-winded sentence is more involved and obscure in the original than in the translation.

8. And in the beginning of the creation¹ the whole earth was delivered over into the guardianship of the sublime Frôbak fire, the mighty Gûsnasp fire, and the beneficial Bûrzn-Mitrô fire², *which* are like priest, warrior, and husbandman. 9. The place of the fire Frôbak was formed *on* the Gadman-hômand ('glorious') mountain in Khvârizem³, the fire Gûsnasp *was* on the Asnavand mountain in Âtarô-pâtâkân, *and* the fire Bûrzn-Mitrô on the Rêvand mountain which is in the Ridge *of* Vistâsp, and its material manifestation in the world was the most complete.

10. In the reign of Hôshâng⁴, when men were continually going forth to the *other* regions (kêsh-var) on the ox Srûvô⁵, one night, half-way, while admiring the fires, the fire-stands which were prepared in three places on the back of the ox, *and* in which the fire was, fell into the sea, and the substance of that one great fire *which* was manifest, is divided into three, *and* they established *it* on the three fire-stands, and it became itself three glories whose lodgments are in the Frôbak fire, the Gûsnasp fire, and the Bûrzn-Mitrô⁶.

¹ Literally, 'creature.'

² The epithets of these three sacred fires are, respectively, vargân, tagîkô, and pûr-sûdô in Pahlavi.

³ See Bund. XVII, 5, 7, 8.

⁴ Bund. XVII, 4 says, 'in the reign of Takhmôrup,' his successor.

⁵ Sarsaok or Srisaok in the Bundahis.

⁶ The remainder of 'the sayings of Zâd-spâram, about the meeting of the beneficent spirit *and* the evil spirit,' have no special reference to the Bundahis. They treat of the following matters:—

The coming of the religion, beginning in the time of Frâ-sîyâv and Mânûskîhar, with an anecdote of Kâî-ûs and the hero Sritô (Av. Thrîta). The manifestation of the glory of Zarâtûst

before his birth. The begetting of Zaratûst through the drinking of h  m-juice and cow's milk infused, respectively, with his guardian spirit and glory, as declared in the manuscript on 'the guidance of worship.' The connection of Zaratûst with A  harmazd, traced back through his genealogy as far as G  y  mar  . The persistent endeavours of the fiends to destroy Zaratûst at the time of his birth, and how they were frustrated. His receiving the religion from A  harmazd, with another anecdote of K  i-  s and S  rit  , and of Zaratûst's exclamation on coming into the world. The enmity borne to him by five brothers of the Karap  n family, and how it was frustrated; his own four brothers, and some of his wonderful deeds. The worthiness of his righteousness; his compassionate and liberal nature; his giving up worldly desires; his pity; his good selection of a wife; and what is most edifying for the soul. What occurred when he was thirty years old, and his being conducted by the archangel Voh  man to the assembly of the spirits. The questions asked by Zaratûst, and A  harmazd's replies thereto. The seven questions he asked of the seven archangels in seven different places, in the course of one winter. [Westergaard's MS. K35 ends in the middle of the second of these questions.] The five dispositions of priests, and the ten admonitions. The three preservatives of religion, with particulars about the G  thas and the connection of the Ahunavar with the Nasks. Zaratûst's obtaining one disciple, M  dy  k-m  h, in the first ten years, and the acceptance of the religion by Vist  sp two years afterwards.

The second of the writings of Z  d-sparam consists of his 'sayings about the formation of men out of body, life, and soul;' and the third (which is imperfect in all known MSS.) contains his 'sayings about producing the renovation of the universe.'

BAHMAN YAST,
OR
ZAND-I VOHÛMAN YASNO,
OF WHICH ZAND, OR COMMENTARY,
THIS WORK SEEMS TO BE AN EPITOME.

OBSERVATIONS.

1-5. (The same as on p. 2.)

6. Abbreviations used are:—Av. for Avesta. Bund. for Bundahis, as translated in this volume. Dâd. for Dâdîstân-i Dînîk. Gr. for Greek. Haug's Essays, for Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis, by Martin Haug, 2nd edition. Huz. for Huzvârî. Pahl. for Pahlavi. Pâz. for Pâzand. Pers. for Persian. Sans. for Sanskrit. Sls. for Shâyast lâ-shâyast, as translated in this volume. SZS. for Selections of Zâd-spâram, as translated in this volume. Vend. for Vendîdâd, ed. Spiegel. Yas. for Yasna, ed. Spiegel. Yt. for Yast, ed. Westergaard.

7. The manuscripts mentioned in the notes are:—

K20 (about 500 years old), No. 20 in the University Library at Copenhagen.

Pâz. MSS. (modern), No. 22 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich, and a copy of one in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis at Bombay.

Pers. version (composed A. D. 1496, copied A. D. 1679) in a Rivâyat MS., No. 29 of the University Library at Bombay.

BAHMAN YAST.

CHAPTER I.

o. *May* the gratification of the creator Aûharmazd, the beneficent, the developer, the splendid, and glorious, and the benediction of the archangels, which *constitute* the pure, good religion of the Mazdayasnians, *be* vigour of body, long life, and prosperous wealth for him whose writing I am ¹.

1. As ² it is declared by the Stûdgar Nask³ that

¹ Or, possibly, 'for whom I am written,' the meaning of mûn yektîbûnîhêm being not quite clear. In fact, the construction of the whole of this initial benediction is rather obscure.

² It is possible that this is to be read in connection with Chap. II, 1, with the meaning that 'as it is declared by the Stûdgar Nask that Zarâtûst asked for immortality from Aûharmazd, so in the Vohûman Yast commentary it is declared that he asked for it a second time.' This introductory chapter is altogether omitted in both the Pâz. MSS. which have been examined, but it is given in the Pers. version. It is also omitted in the epitome of the Bahman Yast contained in the Dabistân (see Shea's translation, vol. i. pp. 264-271).

³ This was the first nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which calls it Sûdkar; but according to the Dînî-vagarkard and the Rivâyats it was the second nask, called Stûdgar or Istûdgar. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-vagarkard (which agrees with the account in the Rivâyats), see Haug's Essays, p. 126. In the Dînkard, besides a short description of this Nask, given in the eighth book, there is also a detailed account of the contents of each of its fargard's, or chapters, occupying twenty-five quarto pages of twenty-two lines each, in the ninth book. From this detailed statement it appears

Zaratûst asked for immortality from Aûharmazd, then Aûharmazd displayed the omniscient wisdom to Zaratûst, and through it he beheld the root of a tree, on which were four branches, one golden, one of silver, one of steel, and one was mixed up with iron. 2. Thereupon he reflected in this *way*, that this was seen in a dream, and when he arose from sleep Zaratûst spoke thus : ' Lord of the spirits and earthly existences ! it appears that I saw the root of a tree, on which were four branches.'

3. Aûharmazd spoke to Zaratûst the Spîtâmân¹ thus : ' That root of a tree which thou sawest, and those four branches, are the four periods which *will*

that the passage mentioned here, in the text, constituted the seventh fargard of the Nask, the contents of which are detailed as follows :—

' The seventh fargard, Tâ-ve-ratō (Av. *tâ ve urvâtâ*, Yas. XXXI, 1), is about the exhibition to Zaratûst of the nature of the four periods in the Zaratûstian millennium (*hazangrôk zim*, "thousand winters"). First, the golden, that in which Aûharmazd displayed the religion to Zaratûst. Second, the silver, that in which Vistâsp received the religion from Zaratûst. Third, the steel, the period within which the organizer of righteousness, Âtarô-pâd son of Mâr-spend, was born. Fourth, the period mingled with iron is this, in which is much propagation of the authority of the apostate *and* other villains (*sarîtarânō*), along with destruction of the reign of religion, the weakening of every kind of goodness *and* virtue, *and* the departure of honour *and* wisdom from the countries of Iran. In the same period is a recital of the many perplexities and torments of the period for that desire (*girâyîh*) of the life of the good which consists in seemliness. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness (Av. *ashem vohû vahistem astî*, Yas. XXVII, 14, W.).'

If this be a correct account of the contents of this fargard, the writer was evidently consulting a Pahlavi version of the Nask, composed during the later Sasanian times.

¹ Generally understood to mean 'descendant of Spitama,' who was his ancestor in the ninth generation (see Bund. XXXII, 1).

come. 4. That of gold is when I and thou converse, *and* King Vistâsp shall accept the religion, and shall demolish the figures of the demons, *but* they *themselves* remain for¹ . . . concealed proceedings. 5. And that of silver is the reign of Ardakhshîr² the Kayân king (Kai shah), and that of steel is the reign of the glorified (anôshak-rûbân) Khûsrô son of Kêvâd³, and that which was mixed with iron is the evil sovereignty of the demons with dishevelled hair⁴ of the race of Wrath⁵, and when it is the end of the tenth hundredth winter (satô zim) of thy millennium, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân!’

*late, discarded
(Mackenzie)*

6. It is declared in the commentary (zand)⁶ of the Vohûman Yast, Horvadað Yast, and Âstâd Yast

¹ A word is lost here in K20 and does not occur in the other copies and versions, nor can it be supplied from the similar phrase in Chap. II, 16. The meaning of the sentence appears to be that Vistâsp destroyed the idols, but the demons they represented still remained, in a spiritual state, to produce evil.

² See Chap. II, 17.

³ Khusrô Nôshirvân son of Qubâd, in modern Persian, who reigned in A. D. 531-579. Kêvâd is usually written Kavâd.

⁴ The epithet *vigârd-vars* may also mean ‘dressed-hair,’ but the term in the text is the more probable, as the Persian version translates it by *kushâdah muî*, ‘uncovered hair.’ That it is not a name, as assumed by Spiegel, appears clearly from the further details given in Chap. II, 25.

⁵ Or, ‘the progeny of Aêshm,’ the demon. Wrath is not to be understood here in its abstract sense, but is personified as a demon. It is uncertain whether the remainder of this sentence belongs to this § or the next.

⁶ If there were any doubt about *zand* meaning the Pahlavi translation, this passage would be important, as the Avesta of the Horvadað (Khordâd) and Âstâd Yasts is still extant, but contains nothing about the heretic Mazdîk or Mazdak (see Chap. II, 21). No Avesta of the Vohûman Yast is now known.

that, during this time, the accursed Mazdāk son of Bāmdād, who is opposed to the religion, comes into notice, and is to cause disturbance among those in the religion of God (yazdān). 7. *And* he, the glorified *one*¹, summoned Khûsrô son of Mâh-dād and Dād-Aûharmazd of Nishâpûr, who were high-priests of Âtarô-pâtakân, and Âtarô-frôbâg the un-deceitful (akadbâ), Âtarô-pâd, Âtarô-Mitrô, and Bakht-âfrîd to *his* presence, and he demanded of them a promise², thus: 'Do not keep these Yasts in concealment, *and* do not teach the commentary except among your relations³.' 8. *And* they made the promise unto Khûsrô.

CHAPTER II.

1. In the Vohûman Yast commentary (zand) it is declared⁴ that Zaratûst asked for immortality from

¹ That is, Khusrô Nôshirvân. As the names of his priests and councillors stand in K20 they can hardly be otherwise distributed than they are in the text, but the correctness of the MS. is open to suspicion. Dād-Aûharmazd was a commentator who is quoted in Chap. III, 16, and in the Pahl. Yas. XI, 22; Âtarô-frôbâg was another commentator mentioned in Sls. I, 3; and Âtarô-pâd and Bakht-âfrîd are names well known in Pahlavi literature, the former having been borne by more than one individual (see Sls. I, 3, 4).

² The Pers. version says nothing about this promise, but states that Khûsrô sent a message to the accursed Mazdak, requiring him to reply to the questions of this priestly assembly on pain of death, to which he assented, and he was asked ten religious questions, but was unable to answer one; so the king put him to death immediately.

³ A similar prohibition, addressed to Zaratûst, as regards the Avesta text, is actually found in the Horvada Yt. 10.

⁴ This seems to imply that this text is not the commentary

Aûharmazd a second time, *and* spoke thus: 'I am Zaratûst, more righteous and more efficient among these thy creatures, O creator! when *thou* shalt *make* me¹ immortal, as the tree opposed to harm², and Gôpatshah, Gôst-i Fryân, *and* Kîtrôk-miyân son of Vistâsp, who is Pêshyôtanû, were made³. 2. When thou shalt make me immortal they in thy good religion *will* believe that the upholder of religion, who receives from Aûharmazd his pure *and* good religion of the Mazdayasnians, will become immortal; then those men *will* believe in thy good religion.'

3. Aûharmazd spoke⁴ thus: 'When I shall make thee immortal, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! then Tûr-i Brâdarvash the Karap⁵ will become immortal, and

itself, but merely an epitome of it. The Pâz. MSS. which have been examined, begin with this chapter.

¹ Or, 'when I shall *become*;' the verb is omitted by mistake in K20.

² Three of these immortals are mentioned in Bund. XXIX, 5, and Gôst-i Fryân is included in a similar enumeration in Dâd. (Reply 89). The tale of Gôst-i Fryân (Av. Yôistô yô Fryananâm, of Âbân Yt. 81 and Fravardîn Yt. 120) has been published with 'The Book of Arđâ-Vîrâf,' ed. Hoshangji and Haug.

³ Or, 'became;' most of this verb is torn off in K20.

⁴ The verb is placed before its nominative in the Pahlavi text, both here and in most similar sentences, which is an imitation of the Avesta, due probably to the text being originally translated from an Avesta book now lost, or, at any rate, to its author's wish that it might appear to be so translated. In such cases of inverted construction, when the verb is in a past tense, the Pahlavi idiom often requires a pronominal suffix, corresponding to the nominative, to be added to the first word in the sentence; thus, gûftôs Aûharmazd, or afas gûft Aûharmazd, does not mean 'Aûharmazd spoke to him (or said it),' but merely 'Aûharmazd spoke' (lit. 'it was said by him, Aûharmazd').

⁵ According to an untranslated passage in the Selections of Zâd-spâram, mentioned in the note on p. 187, this is the name of

when Tûr-i Brâdarvash the Karap shall become immortal the resurrection *and* future existence are not possible.'

4. Zaratûst seemed uneasy about *it* in *his* mind¹; and Aûharmazd, through the wisdom of omniscience, knew what was thought by Zaratûst the Spîtâmân with the righteous spirit, and he² took hold of Zaratûst's hand. 5. And he, Aûharmazd the propitious spirit, creator of the material world, the righteous *one*, even he put the omniscient wisdom, in the shape of water, on the hand of Zaratûst, and said to him thus: 'Devour it.'

one of the five brothers in the Karapân family of sorcerers, who were enemies of Zaratûst during his childhood. Their names, as written in SZS., may be read as follows, 'Brâdarvakhsh, Brâdrôysnô, Tûr Brâgrêsh, Azânô, and Nasm,' and the first is also called 'Tûr-i Brâdarvakhsh;' they are described as descendants of the sister of Manûskîhar. In the seventh book of the Dînkard a wizard, who endeavours to injure Zaratûst in his childhood, is called 'Tûr-i Brâdrôk-rêsh, the Karapô,' and was probably the third brother, whose name (thus corrected) indicates brâthrô-raêsha as its Avesta form. Karap or Karapân in all these passages is evidently the name of a family or caste, probably the Av. karapanô which Haug translates by 'performers of (idolatrous) sacrificial rites,' in connection with Sans. kalpa, 'ceremonial ritual' (see Haug's Essays, pp. 289-291).

¹ K20 has 'among the spirits;' the word mînisn having become maînôkân by the insertion of an extra stroke.

² Reading afas instead of minas (Huz. of agas, 'from or by him,' which is written with the same letters as afas, 'and by him'), not only here, but also in §§ 5, 7, 9. The copyist of K20 was evidently not aware that afas is a conjunctive form, but confounded it with the prepositional form agas, as most Parsis and some European scholars do still. The Sasanian inscriptions confirm the reading afas for the conjunctive form; and Nêryôsang, the learned Parsi translator of Pahlavi texts into Pâzand and Sanskrit some four centuries ago, was aware of the difference between the two forms, as he transcribes them correctly into Pâz. vas and asas.

6. And Zaratûst devoured *some* of it ; thereby the omniscient wisdom was intermingled with Zaratûst, and seven days and nights Zaratûst was in the wisdom of Aûharmazd. 7. And Zaratûst beheld the men and cattle in the seven regions of the earth, where the many fibres of hair of every one are, and whereunto the end of each fibre holds on the back. 8. And he beheld whatever trees and shrubs *there were*, and how many roots of plants were in the earth of Spendarmad, where *and* how they had grown, *and* where they were mingled.

9. And the seventh day and night he (Aûharmazd) took back the omniscient wisdom from Zaratûst, and Zaratûst reflected in this *way*, that I have seen *it* in a pleasant dream produced by Aûharmazd, *and* I am not surfeited with the dream. 10. And he took both hands, rubbed his body (kerp) again, *and spoke*¹ thus : ' I have slept a long time, *and* am not surfeited with this pleasant dream produced by Aûharmazd.'

11. Aûharmazd said to the righteous Zaratûst thus : 'What was seen in the pleasant dream produced by Aûharmazd ?'

12. Zaratûst spoke thus : 'O Aûharmazd, propitious spirit ! creator of the material world, righteous creator ! I have seen a celebrity (khunîd) with much wealth, whose soul, infamous in the body, was hungry (gurs)² and jaundiced and in hell, and he did not seem to me exalted ; and I saw a beggar with no wealth and helpless, and his soul was thriving (farpth) in paradise, and ³ he seemed to me exalted.

¹ This verb is omitted in K20 by mistake.

² Or else 'dirty.'

³ Reading afam instead of minam, both here and in § 14 ; the

13. [And I saw a wealthy *man* without children, and he did not seem to me exalted;]¹ and I saw a pauper with many children, and he seemed to me exalted. 14. And I saw a tree on which were seven branches, one golden, one of silver, one brazen, one of copper, [one of tin]², one of steel, and one was mixed up with iron.'

15. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! this is what I say beforehand, the one tree which thou sawest is the world which I, Aûharmazd, created; and those seven branches thou sawest are the seven periods which *will* come.

16. And that which was golden is the reign of King Vistâsp, when I and thou converse about religion, *and* Vistâsp shall accept that religion and shall demolish the figures of the demons, and the demons desist from demonstration into concealed proceedings; Aharman and the demons rush back to darkness, and care for water, fire, plants, and the earth of Spendarmad³ becomes apparent. 17. And that which was of silver⁴ is the reign of Ardâshîr⁵ the

copyist of K20 having confounded these two words, like those mentioned in the note on § 4.

¹ The passage in brackets is omitted in K20, but is supplied from the Pâz. MSS., being evidently necessary to complete the contrast. It occurs also in the Pers. version.

² Supplied from the Pâz. and Pers. versions, being omitted here in K20, though occurring in § 20.

³ The female archangel who has charge of the earth (see Bund. I, 26).

⁴ The Pâz. MSS. omit the description of the silver age.

⁵ Usually identified with Artaxerxes Longimanus, but his long reign of 112 years may include most of the Achæmenian sovereigns down to Artaxerxes Mnemon, several of whom are called Ahasuerus or Artaxerxes in the biblical books of Ezra and Esther. See Bund. XXXI, 30, XXXIV, 8.

Kayân (Kai), whom¹ they call Vohûman son of Spend-dâd², who is he who separates the demons from men, scatters *them* about, and makes the religion current *in* the whole world. 18. And that which was brazen³ is the reign of Ardakhshîr⁴, the arranger and restorer of the world, and that of King Shahpûr, when he arranges the world which I, Aûharmazd, created; he makes happiness (bûkhtakîh)⁵ prevalent in the boundaries of the world, and goodness shall become manifest; and Âtarô-pâd of triumphant destiny, the restorer of the true religion, with the prepared brass⁶, brings this religion, together with the transgressors, back to the truth. 19. And that which was of copper is the reign of the Askânian king⁷, who removes from the world

¹ Reading mûn, 'whom,' instead of amat, 'when' (see the note on Bund. I, 7).

² Contracted here into Spendâd, as it is also in Bund. XXXIV, 8 in the old MSS. This name of the king is corrupted into Bahman son of Isfendiyâr in the Shâhnâmah.

³ This brazen age is evidently out of its proper chronological order. The Pâzand and Persian versions correct this blunder by describing the copper age before the brazen one here, but they place the brazen branch before the copper one in § 14, so it is doubtful how the text stood originally.

⁴ Artakhshatar son of Pâpakî and Shahpûharî son of Artakhshatar are the Sasanian forms of the names of the first two monarchs (A.D. 226-271) of the Sasanian dynasty, whose reigns constitute this brazen age.

⁵ Literally, 'deliverance *from sin*' or 'salvation' by one's own good works, and, therefore, not in a Christian sense.

⁶ Referring to the ordeal of pouring molten brass on his chest, undergone by Âtarô-pâd son of Mâraspend, high-priest and prime minister of Shâpûr I, for the purpose of proving the truth of his religion to those who doubted it.

⁷ It is uncertain which of the Askânian sovereigns is meant, or whether several of the dynasty may not be referred to. The Greek

the heterodoxy (*gavtd-rastakth*) which existed, and the wicked Akandgar-i Kilisyâkth¹ is utterly destroyed by this religion, *and* goes unseen and unknown from the world. 20. And that which was of tin is the reign of King Vâhrâm Gôr², when he

successors of Alexander were subdued in Persia by Ask (Arsaces I), who defeated Seleucus Callinicus about B.C. 236. But the third book of the Dinkard (in a passage quoted by Haug in his Essay on the Pahlavi Language) mentions Valkhas (Vologeses) the Askânian as collecting the Avesta and Zand, and encouraging the Mazdayasnian religion. This Valkhas was probably Vologeses I, a contemporary of Nero, as shown by Darmesteter in the introduction to his translation of the Vendidad.

¹ I am indebted to Professor J. Darmesteter for pointing out that Nêryôsang, in his Sanskrit translation of Yas. IX, 75, explains Kalasiyâkâh as 'those whose faith is the Christian religion;' the original Pahlavi word in the oldest MSS. is Kilisâyâk, altogether a misunderstanding of the Avesta name Keresâni, which it translates, but sufficiently near the name in our text to warrant the assumption that Nêryôsang would have translated Kilisyâkth by 'Christianity;' literally it means 'ecclesiasticism, or the church religion' (from Pers. kilisyâ, Gr. ἐκκλησία). Akandgar is probably a miswriting of Alaksandar or Sikandar; though Darmesteter suggests that Skandgar (Av. skendô-kara, Pers. sikandgar), 'causer of destruction,' would be an appropriate punning title for Alexander from a Persian point of view. The anachronisms involved in making Alexander the Great a Christian, conquered by an Askânian king, are not more startling than the usual Pahlavi statement that he was a Roman. To a Persian in Sasanian times Alexander was the representative of an invading enemy which had come from the countries occupied, in those times, by the eastern empire of the Christian Romans, which enemy had been subdued in Persia by the Askânian dynasty; and such information would naturally lead to the anachronisms just mentioned. The name Kilisyâkth is again used, in Chap. III, 3, 5, 8, to denote some Christian enemy.

² This Sasanian monarch (A. D. 420-439), after considerable provocation, revived the persecution of the heretics and foreign creeds which had been tolerated by his predecessor, and this conduct naturally endeared him to the priesthood.

makes the sight¹ of the spirit of pleasure manifest, and Aharman with the wizards rushes back to darkness *and* gloom. 21. And that which was of steel is the reign of King Khûsrô son of Kêvâd², when he keeps away from this religion the accursed Mazdik³, son of Bâmdâd, who remains opposed to the religion along with the heterodox. 22. And that which was mixed with iron [is the reign of the demons with dishevelled hair⁴ of the race of Wrath, when it is the end of the tenth hundredth winter of thy millennium], O Zaratûst the Sptâmân !'

23. Zaratûst said thus : 'Creator of the material world ! O propitious spirit ! what token would you give of the tenth hundredth winter ?'

24. Aûharmazd spoke thus : 'Righteous Zaratûst ! I *will* make *it* clear : the token that it is the end of thy millennium, and the most evil period is coming, is *that* a hundred kinds, a thousand kinds, a myriad of kinds of demons with dishevelled hair, of the

¹ Reading *vênâp* (Pers. *bfnâb*), but it may be *va davâg*, in which case the phrase must be translated as follows : 'when he makes the spirit of pleasure and joy manifest.'

² See Chap. I, 5. The characteristic of the steel age, like that of the tin one, was the persecution of heretics who had been tolerated by the reigning monarch's predecessor.

³ Generally written *Mazdak*, a heretic whose teaching was very popular in the time of King Kêvâd (or *Kavâd*, A. D. 487-531). His doctrine appears to have been extreme socialism built upon a Mazdayasnian foundation. He was put to death by Khûsrô I, as hinted in the text. It is remarkable that none of the successors of Khûsrô Nôshirvân are mentioned in the *Bahman Yast*, so that a Parsi, who even did not believe in the verbal inspiration of the book, might possibly consider the remainder of it as strictly prophetic.

⁴ The passage in brackets is omitted in K20 by mistake, and is here supplied from Chap. I, 5, in accordance with the Pâz. and Pers. versions.

race of Wrath, rush into the country of Iran (Aîrân shatrô) from the direction of the east¹, which *has* an inferior race and race of Wrath. 25. They have uplifted banners, they slay those living in the world², they have *their* hair dishevelled on the back, and they are mostly a small and inferior (nîtûm) race, forward in destroying the strong doer; O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! the race of Wrath is miscreated (vi-shûd) and its origin is not manifest. 26. Through witchcraft they rush into these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created, since they burn and damage many things; and the house of the house-owner, the land of the land-digger, prosperity, nobility, sovereignty, religion³, truth, agreement, security, enjoyment, and every characteristic which I, Aûharmazd, created, this pure religion of the Mazdayasnians, and the fire of Vâhrâm, which is set in the appointed place, encounter annihilation, and the direst destruction and trouble will come into notice. 27. And that which is a great district will become a town; that which is a great town, a village; that

¹ Or 'of Khûrâsân.' It is difficult to identify these demons with the Arabs, who came from the west, though a dweller in Kirmân might imagine that they came from Khûrâsân. In fact, hardly any of the numerous details which follow, except their long-continued rule, apply exclusively to Muhammadans. It appears, moreover, from § 50 and Chap. III, 8, that these demons are intended for Tûrks, that is, invaders from Turkistân, who would naturally come from the east into Persia.

² Reading gêhân-zivö zektelûnd, but the beginning of the latter word is torn off in K20, and the other versions have no equivalent phrase. The Pâzand substitutes the phrase 'black banners and black garments.'

³ This word, being torn off in K20, is supplied from the Pâz. MSS.

which is a great village, a family; and that which is a [great]¹ family, a single threshold. 28. O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! they will lead these Iranian countries of Aûharmazd into a desire for evil, *into* tyranny *and* misgovernment, those demons with dishevelled hair who are deceivers, so that what they say they do not do, and they are of a vile religion, so that what they do not say they do. 29. And their assistance and promise have no sincerity, there is no law, they preserve no security, and on the support they provide no one relies; with deceit, rapacity, and misgovernment they will devastate these my Iranian countries, *who am* Aûharmazd.

30. 'And at that time, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! all men will become deceivers, great friends will become of different parties, and respect, affection, hope², and regard for the soul will depart from the world; the affection of the father will depart from the son; and *that of* the brother from *his* brother; the son-in-law will become a beggar (kîdyak or kasîk) from his father-in-law³, and the mother will be parted and estranged from the daughter.

31. 'When it is the end of thy tenth hundredth winter, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! the sun is more unseen and more spotted (vasangtar); the year, month, and day are shorter; and the earth of Spen-darmad is more barren, and fuller of highway-

¹ This word is omitted in K20, but supplied from the Pâzand. The whole section is omitted in the Pers. version.

² This word, being torn off in K20, is doubtfully supplied from the Pers. paraphrase. The Pâz. MSS. omit §§ 30-32.

³ Or, perhaps, 'parents-in-law;' the original is khûsrûînê, followed by some word (probably nafsmân) which is torn off in K20. The Pers. version gives no equivalent phrase.

men¹; and the crop will not yield the seed, *so* that of the crop of the corn-fields in ten *cases* seven will diminish and three² will increase, and that which increases does not become ripe³; and vegetation, trees, and shrubs will diminish; when one shall take a hundred, ninety will diminish and ten will increase, and that which increases gives no pleasure and flavour. 32. And men are born smaller, and their skill and strength are less; they become more deceitful and more given to vile practices; they have no gratitude and respect for bread and salt, and they have no affection for their country (dêsak).

33. 'And in that most evil time a boundary has most disrespect⁴ where it is the property of a suffering man of religion; gifts are few among their deeds, and duties and good works proceed but little from their hands; and sectarians of all kinds are seeking mischief for them⁵. 34. And all the world will be burying *and* clothing the dead, and burying the dead *and* washing the dead *will be* by law; the burning, bringing to water and fire, and eating of dead matter they practise by law and do not abstain from. 35. They recount largely about duties and good works, and pursue wickedness and the road to hell; and through the iniquity, cajolery, and craving of wrath and avarice they rush to hell.

36. 'And in that perplexing time, O Zaratûst the

¹ Or, 'tax-collectors;' Pahl. tangtar va râs-vânagtar.

² In Kzo 'va 3' is corrupted into the very similar va vâi, 'and a portion.'

³ Literally, 'white.'

⁴ Reading anâzarm instead of hanâ âzarm.

⁵ That is, for the Iranians in general, who are the 'they' in §§ 32-35.

Sptâmân!—the reign of Wrath with infuriate spear¹ and the demon with dishevelled hair, of the race of Wrath,—the meanest slaves walk forth with the authority of nobles of the land; and the religious, who wear *sacred thread*-girdles on the waist, are then not able *to perform* their ablution (pâdîyâvîh), for in those last times dead matter and bodily refuse become so abundant, that *one who* shall set step to step walks upon dead matter; or when he washes in the barashnûm *ceremony*, and puts down a foot from the stone *seat* (magh)², he walks on dead matter; or when he arranges the *sacred* twigs (bare-sôm) and consecrates the sacred cakes (drônô) in their corpse-chamber (nasât katak)³ it is allowable.

¹ The Av. Aêshmô khrvîdrus, 'Aêshma the impetuous assailant' (see Bund. XXVIII, 15-17); this demon's Pahlavi epithet is partly a transcription, and partly a paraphrase of the Avesta term.

² According to Dastûr Hoshangji (Zand-Pahlavi Glossary, p. 65) the term magh is now applied to the stones on which the person undergoing purification has to squat during ablution in the barashnûm ceremony. Originally, however, Av. magha appears to have meant a shallow hole dug in the earth, near or over which the person squatted upon a seat, either of stone or some other hard material (see Vend. IX). The term for the hole was probably extended to the whole arrangement, including the seat, which latter has thus acquired the name of magh, although magh and maghâk still mean 'a channel or pit' in Persian.

³ The Av. kata of Vend. V, 36-40; a special chamber for the temporary reception of the corpse, when it was impossible to remove it at once to the dakhma, owing to the inclemency of the weather. It should be large enough for standing upright, and for stretching out the feet and hands, without touching either walls or ceiling; that is, not less than six feet cube. The text means that those times will be so distressing, that it will be considered lawful to perform the sacred ceremonies even in a place of such concentrated impurity as a dead-house not actually occupied by a corpse.

37. Or, in those last times, it becomes allowable to perform a ceremonial (*yazisn*) with two men, so that this religion may not come to nothing and collapse¹; there *will* be only one in a hundred, in a thousand, in a myriad, who believes in this religion, and even he does nothing of it though *it be* a duty²; and the fire of Vâhrâm, which will come to nothing and collapse, *falls* off from a thousand to one care-taker, and even he does not supply it properly with fire-wood and incense; or when a man, *who* has performed worship and does not know the Nirangistân³ ('code of religious formulas'), shall kindle *it* with good intentions, it is allowable.

38. 'Honourable⁴ wealth will all proceed to those of perverted faith (*kêvîd-kêshân*); it comes to the transgressors, and virtuous doers of good works, from the families of noblemen even unto the priests (*môg-mardân*), remain running about uncovered; the lower orders take in marriage the daughters of nobles, grandees, *and* priests; and the nobles, grandees, and priests come to destitution *and* bondage. 39. The misfortunes of the ignoble will overtake greatness and authority, and the helpless and ignoble will come to the foremost place *and* advancement; the words of the upholders of religion, and the seal and decision of a just judge will become the

¹ The Pâz. MSS. add, 'and helplessness.'

² The Pâz. MSS. add, 'and the prayers and ceremonies that he orders of priests and disciples they do not fulfil.'

³ The name of a work which treats of various ceremonial details, and appears to be a portion of the Pahlavi translation of the seventeenth or Hûspâram Nask, containing many Avesta quotations which are not now to be found elsewhere.

⁴ The Pâz. MSS. have misread *azîr damîk*, 'underground,' instead of *âzarmîk*.

words of random speakers (andêzö-gôkân) *among* the just *and* even the righteous; and the words of the ignoble and slanderers, of the disreputable *and* mockers, and of those of divers opinions they consider true and credible, about which they take¹ an oath, although with falsehood, and thereby give false evidence, and speak falsely and irreverently about me, Aûharmazd. 40. They who bear the title of priest and disciples wish evil concerning² one another; he speaks vice and they look upon vice; and the antagonism of Aharman and the demons is much brought on by them; of the sin which men commit, out of five³ sins the priests and disciples commit three sins, and they become enemies of the good, so that they may thereby speak of bad faults relating to one another; the ceremonies they undertake they do not perform, and they have no fear of hell.

41. 'And in that tenth hundredth winter, *which* is the end of thy millennium, O righteous Zaratûst! all mankind will bind torn hair, disregarding revelation⁴, so that a willingly-disposed cloud and a

¹ Literally, 'devour an oath,' which Persian idiom was occasioned by the original form of oath consisting in drinking water prepared in a particular manner, after having invoked all the heavenly powers to bear witness to the truth of what had been asserted (see the Saûgand-nâmah).

² Reading râi instead of lâ, 'not.' The whole section is omitted by the Pâz. MSS., possibly from politic motives, as the language is plain enough.

³ The Persian paraphrase has 'eight.'

⁴ Referring probably to the injunctions regarding cutting the hair and paring the nails, with all the proper precautions for preventing any fragments of the hair or nails from lying about, as given in Vend. XVII. One of the penalties for neglecting such precautions is supposed to be a failure of the necessary rains. The

righteous wind are not able to produce rain in its proper time and season. 42. And a dark cloud makes the whole sky night, and the hot wind and the cold wind arrive, and bring along fruit and seed of corn, even the rain in its proper time; and it does not rain, *and* that which rains also rains more noxious creatures than water; and the water of rivers and springs will diminish, and there will be no increase. 43. And the beast of *burden* and ox *and* sheep bring forth more painfully¹ and awkwardly, and acquire less fruitfulness; and *their* hair is coarser *and* skin thinner; the milk does not increase and has less cream (*kārbist*); the strength of the labouring ox is less, and the agility of the swift horse is less, and it carries less in a race.

44. 'And on the men in that perplexing time, O Zaratūst the Spítāmân! who wear the *sacred thread-girdle* on the waist, the evil-seeking of misgovernment and much of its false judgment have come as a wind in which their living is not possible, and they seek death as a boon; and youths and children will be apprehensive, and gossiping chitchat and gladness of heart do not arise among them. 45. And they practise the appointed feasts (*gasnō*) of *their* ancestors, the propitiation (*aûsôfrīd*) of angels, *and* the prayers and ceremonies of the season festivals and guardian spirits, in various places, yet that which they practise they do not believe in unhesitatingly; they do not give rewards lawfully, and

words anâstak dînô can also be translated by 'despising the religion.'

¹ The word appears to be *dardaktar*, but is almost illegible in K20; it may possibly be *kûdaktar*, 'more scantily,' as the Pâz. MSS. have *kôdaktar bahôd*, 'become smaller.'

bestow no gifts and alms, and even those [they bestow]¹ they repent of again. 46. And even those men of the good religion, who have revered the good religion of the Mazdayasnians, proceed in conformity with (*bar-hamakö rûbîsn*) those ways and customs², and do not believe their own religion. 47. And the noble, great, and charitable³, who are the virtuous of their own country and locality, will depart from their own original place and family⁴ as idolatrous; through want they beg something from the ignoble and vile, and come to poverty and helplessness; through them⁵ nine in ten of these men will perish in the northern quarter.

48. 'Through their way of misrule everything comes to nothingness and destitution, levity and infirmity; and the earth of Spendarmad opens *its* mouth wide, *and* every jewel and metal becomes exposed, such as gold and silver, brass, tin, and lead. 49. And rule *and* sovereignty come to slaves, such as the Tûrk and non-Tûranian (*Atûr*) of the army⁶, and are turbulent as among the moun-

¹ This verb is omitted in K20.

² It is rather doubtful whether their own customs are meant, or those of their conquerors.

³ Or *dahâkân* may mean 'the skilful.'

⁴ Reading *dûdak* instead of *rûdak*. At first sight the miswriting of *r* for *d* seems to indicate copying from a text in the modern Persian character, in which those two letters are often much alike; but it happens that the compounds *dû* and *rû* also resemble one another in some Pahlavi handwriting.

⁵ Whether through poverty and helplessness, or through the conquerors, is not quite clear.

⁶ Very little reliance can be placed upon the details of this sentence, but it is difficult to make any other complete and consistent translation. Darmesteter suggests the reading *hênô*, 'army,' but another possible reading is *Khÿôn* (Av. *Hvyaona*), the old name

taineers¹; and the *K'inf*², the *Kâzûlt*, the *Sôftî*, the *Rûman* (*Arûmâyak*), and the white-clothed *Karmak*³ then attain sovereignty in my countries of Iran, *and* their will and pleasure will become current in the world. 50. The sovereignty will come from those leathern-belted ones⁴ and Arabs (*Tâzîgân*) and *Rûmans* to them, *and* they will be so misgoverning that when they kill a righteous man who is virtuous and a fly, it is all one⁵ in their eyes. 51. And the security, fame, and prosperity, the country and families, the wealth and handiwork, the streams, rivers, and springs of Iran, and of those of the good religion, come to those non-Iranians; and the army and standards of the frontiers come to them, and a rule with a craving for wrath advances in the world. 52. And their eyes of avarice are not sated with wealth, and they form hoards of the world's wealth, and conceal *them* underground; and through wickedness they commit sodomy, hold much intercourse with menstruous *women*, and practise many unnatural lusts.

of some country probably in Turkistân, as *Argâsp*, the opponent of *Vistâsp*, is called 'lord or king of *Khyôn*' in the *Yâdkâr-i Zarîrân* (see also *Gôs Yt.* 30, 31, *Ashi Yt.* 50, 51, *Zamyâd Yt.* 87).

¹ Or, 'as the mountain-holding *Khûdarak*.' Darmesteter suggests that *Khûdarak* may be an 'inhabitant of *Khazar*.'

² Probably the people of Samarkand, which place was formerly called *K'in* according to a passage in some MSS. of *Tabarî's Chronicle*, quoted in *Ouseley's Oriental Geography*, p. 298. See also *Bund.* XII, 22.

³ The *Kâbulî* and Byzantine *Rûman* are plain enough; not so the *Sôftî* and *Karmak* (*Kalmak* or *Krimak*).

⁴ That is, the *Tûrks*, as appears more clearly from Chap. III, 8, 9. The Arabs are mentioned here, incidently, for the first time, and again in Chap. III, 9, 51.

⁵ Literally, 'both are one.'

53. 'And in that perplexing time the night is brighter¹, and the year, month, and day will diminish one-third; the earth of Spendarmad² arises, and suffering, death, and destitution become more severe in the world.'

54. Aûharmazd said to Zaratûst the Sptâmân: 'This is what I foretell: that wicked evil spirit, when it shall be necessary *for him* to perish, becomes more oppressive and more tyrannical.'

55. So Aûharmazd spoke to Zaratûst the Sptâmân thus: 'Enquire fully and learn by heart² thoroughly! teach *it* by Zand, Pâzand, and explanation! tell *it* to the priests and disciples *who* speak forth in the world, *and* those who are not aware of the hundred winters, tell *it* then to them! so that, for the hope of a future existence, *and* for the preservation of their own souls, they may remove the trouble, evil, and oppression which those of other religions cause in the ceremonies of religion (dînô yêsnân). 56. And, moreover, I tell thee this, O Zaratûst the Sptâmân! that whoever, in that time, appeals for the body is not able to save the soul, for *he is* as it were fat, and *his* soul is hungry *and* lean in hell; whoever appeals for the soul, *his* body is hungry *and* lean through the misery of the world, and destitute, and his soul is fat in heaven.'

57. Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: 'O Aûharmazd, propitious spirit! creator of the material world who art righteous!'—He is Aûharmazd through righteous invocation, and the rest through

¹ The Pâz. version adds, 'the motion of the sun is quicker.'

² Literally, 'make easy.'

praise; some say 'righteous creator!¹'—'O creator! in that perplexing time are they righteous? and are there religious people who wear the *sacred thread-girdle* (kûstîk) on the waist, and celebrate religious rites (dînô)² with the *sacred twigs* (baresôm)? and does the religious practice of next-of-kin marriage (khvêtûk-das) continue in their families?'

58. Aûharmazd said to Zaratûst thus: 'Of the best men is he who, in that perplexing time, wears the *sacred thread-girdle* on the waist, and celebrates religious rites with the *sacred twigs*, *though* not as in the reign of King Vistâsp. 59. Whoever in that perplexing time recites Itâ-âd-yazam (Av. ithâ âd yazamaidê, Yas. V and XXXVII)³ and one Ashem-vohû⁴, and has learned *it* by heart, is as though, in the reign of King Vistâsp, *it were* a Dvâzdah-hômâst⁵ with holy-water (zôhar). 60. And by

¹ This interpolated commentary is a pretty clear indication that the writer is translating from an Avesta text.

² Both Pâz. and Pers. have drônô, 'sacred cakes.'

³ The third hâ or chapter of the Yasna of seven chapters. It worships Aûharmazd as the creator of all good things.

⁴ See Bund. XX, 2.

⁵ For the following explanation of the various kinds of hô mâst I am indebted to Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji Jâmâsp-Âsâ-nâ of Bombay:—

There are four kinds of hô mâst recited by priests for the atonement of any sin that may have been committed by a woman during menstruation, after her purification:—

1. Hô mâst consists of prayers recited for 144 days, in honour of the twelve following angels: Aûharmazd, Tistar, Khûrshêd, Mâh, Âbân, Âdar, Khurdâd, Amerdâd, Spendarmad, Bâd, Srôsh, and Ardâ-fravash. Each angel, in turn, is revered for twelve days successively, with one Yasna each day.

2. Khadûk-hô mâst, 'one hô mâst,' differs from the last merely in adding a Vendidad every twelfth day, to be recited in the Ush-

whomever prayer is offered up, *and* the Gâtha-hymns are chanted, *it is* as though the whole ritual had been recited, *and* the Gâtha-hymns consecrated by him *in* the reign of King Vistâsp. 61. The most perfectly righteous of the righteous is he who remains in the good religion of the Mazdayasnians, and continues the religious practice of next-of-kin marriage in his family.'

62. Aûharmazd said to the righteous Zaratûst: 'In these nine thousand years which I, Aûharmazd, created, mankind become most perplexed in that perplexing time; for in the evil reigns of Az-i Dahâk and Frâstiyâv of Tûr mankind, in those perplexing times, were living better and living more

ahin Gâh (12 P. M. to 6 A. M.) in honour of the angel whose propitiation ends that day.

3. Dah-hômâst, 'ten hô mâsts,' differs from the preceding merely in having a Vendidad, in addition to the Yasna, every day.

4. Dvâzdah-hômâst, 'twelve hô mâsts,' are prayers recited for 264 days in honour of twenty-two angels, namely, the twelve afore-said and the following ten: Bahman, Ardibahist, Shahrivar, Mihir, Bahrâm, Râm, Dîn, Rashnû, Gôsr, and Âstâd. Each angel, in turn, is revered as in the last.

The celebration of hô mâst costs 350 rūpîs, that of khadûk-hômâst 422 rūpîs, that of dah-hômâst 1000 rūpîs, and that of dvâzdah-hômâst 2000 rūpîs; but the first and third are now no longer used. The merit obtained by having such recitations performed is equivalent to 1000 tanâpûhars for each Yasna, 10,000 for each Visparad, and 70,000 for each Vendidad recited. A tanâpûhar is now considered as a weight of 1200 dirhams, with which serious sins and works of considerable merit are estimated; originally it must have meant a sin which was 'inexpiable' by ordinary good works, and, conversely, any extraordinary good work which was just sufficient to efface such a sin.

The amount of merit attaching to such recitations is variously stated in different books, and when recited with holy-water (that is, with all their ceremonial rites) they are said to be usually a hundred times as meritorious as when recited without it.

numerously, and their disturbance by Aharman and the demons was less. 63. For in their evil reigns, within the countries of Iran, there were not seven¹ towns which *were* desolate as they *will be* when it is the end of thy millennium, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! for all the towns of Iran *will be* ploughed up by their horses' hoofs, and their banners *will* reach unto Padashkhvârgar², and they *will* carry away the sovereignty of the seat of the religion I approve from there; and their destruction comes from that place, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! this is what I foretell.'

64. Whoever³ of those existing, thus, with reverence unto the good, performs much worship for Aûharmazd, Aûharmazd, aware of *it* through righteousness, gives *him* whatsoever Aûharmazd is aware of through righteousness, as remuneration *and* reward of duty *and* good works, and *such* members of

¹ So in the Pâzand, but 'seventeen' in Persian; in K20 the word is partly illegible, but can be no other number than sibâ, 'seven.'

² The mountainous region south of the Caspian (see Bund. XII, 2, 17).

³ This section is the Pahlavi version of an Avesta formula which is appended to nearly two-thirds of the hâs or chapters of the Yasna, and, therefore, indicates the close of the chapter at this point. The version here given contains a few verbal deviations from that given in the Yasna, but none of any importance. The Avesta text of this formula is as follows:—

Yênhê hâtâm âad, yêsnê paitî,
vanghō mazdau ahurō vaêthâ, ashâd haâ,
yaunghâmâtâ, tâskâ tauskâ yazamaidê.

And it may be translated in the following manner:—

'Of whatever male of the existences, therefore, Ahuramazda was better cognizant, through righteousness in worship, and of whatever females, both those males and those females we reverence.'

the congregation, males and females, I reverence ; and the archangels, who are also male and female, they are good.

CHAPTER III.

1. Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus : 'O Aûharmazd, propitious spirit! creator of the material world, righteous *one*! whence do they restore this good religion of the Mazdayasnians? and by what means will they destroy these demons with dishevelled hair¹, of the race of Wrath? 2. O creator! grant me death! and grant my favoured ones death! that they may not live in that perplexing time; grant *them* exemplary living! that they may not prepare wickedness and the way to hell.'

3. Aûharmazd spoke thus : 'O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! after the ill-omened² sovereignty of those of the race of Wrath³ there is a fiend, Shêdâspîh⁴ of the Kilisyâkîh, from the countries of Salmân⁵;' Mâh-

¹ The Pâz. MSS. insert, 'and black clothing' here.

² Literally, 'black-marked,' or possibly, 'black standard.'

³ The Pâz. MSS. add, 'the leathern-belted Tûrks,' that is, people of Turkistân.

⁴ This fiend appears to be a personification of Christianity or 'ecclesiasticism' (Kilisyâkîh, see Chap. II, 19), and the writer seems to place his appearance some time in the middle ages, probably before the end of the thirteenth century (see the note on § 44). Darmesteter suggests that Shêdâsp may have been intended as a modern counterpart of Bêvarâsp (Az-i Dahâk), the ancient tyrant; and that this Christian invasion may be a reminiscence of the crusades.

⁵ I have formerly read Mûsulmân instead of min Salmân, and hence concluded that the text must have been written long

vand-dâd said that *these people* are Rûman (Arû-mâyîk), and Rôshan¹ said that they have red weapons, red banners, *and* red hats (kûlâh). 4. 'It is when a symptom of them appears, as they advance, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! the sun and the dark show signs, and the moon becomes manifest of various colours; earthquakes (bûm-guzand), too, become numerous, and the wind comes more violently; in the world want, distress, and discomfort come more into view; and Mercury and Jupiter advance the sovereignty for the vile², *and* they are *in* hundreds and thousands and myriads. 5. They have the red banner of the fiend Shêdâsph of Kili-syâkth, and they hasten much their progress to these countries of Iran *which* I, Aûharmazd, created, up to the bank of the Arvand³, some have said⁴ the Frât⁵ river, 'unto the Greeks (Yûnân) dwelling in Asûristân;' they are Greeks by strict reckoning⁶,

after the Muhammadan conquest of Persia; but this reading is irreconcilable with the context. The position of Salmân (Av. Sairima) is defined by Bund. XX, 12, which places the sources of the Tigris in that country.

¹ The name of a commentator, or commentary, often quoted in the Pahlavi Vendidad, and other texts. Mâhvand-dâd is mentioned in the Pahlavi Yasna (see Sls. I, 4).

² The Pâz. MSS. state that 'Mercury and Jupiter beat down the strength of Venus.'

³ Here written Arang, Arand, or Arvad, but as it is Arvand in §§ 21, 38, that reading seems preferable, the difference between the two names in Pahlavi being merely a single stroke. The Arvand is the Tigris, and the Arang probably the Araxes (see SZS. VI, 20, Bund. XX, 8).

⁴ Literally, 'there are *and* were *some* who said;' this phrase occurs several times in the latter part of this text.

⁵ The Euphrates.

⁶ Or, 'of strict reckoning,' reading sâkht amâr, but both reading and meaning are very uncertain. As it stands in K20 it

and their Assyrian dwelling is this, that they slay the Assyrian people therein, and thus they will destroy their abode, some have said the *lurking-holes* (grêstak) of the demons.

6. 'They turn back those of the race of Wrath¹ in hundreds and thousands and myriads; *and* the banners, standards, and an innumerable army of those demons with dishevelled hair will come to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created. 7. And the army of the invader² is an extending enemy of the Tûrk³ and even the Karm⁴, be it with banners aloft when he shall set up a banner, be it through the excessive multitude which will remain—like *hairs in* the mane of a horse—in the countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created.

8. 'The leathern-belted Tûrk *and* the Rûman Shêdâspth of Kilisyâkth come forth with simultaneous movement⁵, and in three places, with similar strife, there was and *will* be three times a great contest (ârdîh), O Zaratûst the Sptâmân! 9. One in the reign of Kai-Kâûs⁶, when through

may be sâkht gumâl, 'extreme beauty,' or Sâkhtîmâr (the name of a place), or this may stand for sâkht tîmâr, 'severe misfortune;' and other readings are possible.

¹ It is not quite clear which party will turn the other back.

² Literally, 'extender,' that is, one engaged in extending his own dominions.

³ The remainder of this § (except the verb 'remain') is Pâzand written in Persian characters in K20.

⁴ Possibly the Karmak of Chap. II, 49. In § 20 the Kurđ and Karmân (or Karms) may refer to the Tûrk and Karm of this §, so it is doubtful whether Tûrk or Kurđ is meant.

⁵ Or, 'for the encounter,' pavan ham-rasîrñh.

⁶ See Bund. XXXI, 25, XXXIV, 7. The letters are here joined together, so as to become Kai-gâûs, and this form of the name is

the assistance of demons *it was* with the archangels; and the second when thou, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! receivedst the religion and *hadst* thy conference, *and* King Vistâsp and Argâsp¹, miscreated by wrath, *were*, through the war of the religion, in the combat of Spêd-razûr ("the hoary forest²"), some have said *it was* in Pârs; 'and the third when it is the end of thy millennium, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! when all the three, Tûrk, Arab, and Rûman, come to this³ place,' some have said the plain of Nîsânak⁴. 10. 'And all *those of* the countries of Iran, which I, Aûharmazd, created, come from their own place unto Padashkhvârgar⁵, owing to those of the race of Wrath, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! so that a report of something of the cave dwellings, mountain dwellings, and river dwellings of these people will remain at Padashkhvârgar and Pârs; some have *said* the fire Visnâsp⁶, on the deep Lake Kêkast which has medicinal water opposed to the demons, is there (in Padashkhvârgar?) as it were conspicuous,' some have said 'originating⁷, 'so that

often read Kâhûs or Kahôs in Pâzand (see Mkh.VIII, 27, XXVII, 54, LVII, 21). The Pâz. MSS. omit § 9.

¹ See Bund. XII, 32, 33.

² See Bund. XXIV, 16.

³ Perhaps 'one' is meant, as hanâ, 'this,' is sometimes substituted for aê, 'one,' both being read *e* in Pâzand.

⁴ The reading of this name is quite uncertain.

⁵ See Chap. II, 63. The whole of the final clause of this section, about the fire Visnâsp, is inserted parenthetically at this point in the Pahlavi text.

⁶ Elsewhere called Gûsnâsp, Gûsnâsp, or Gûrasp (see SZS. VI, 22).

⁷ The most obvious reading of this word is mâhîk, 'fish,' which can hardly be reconciled with the context. The view here taken is that the writer was translating from an Avesta text, and met

they may use *it* anew, *and* the fire may become shining in these countries of Iran which I, Aûhar-mazd, created. 11. For when one shall be able to save his own life, he has then no recollection of wife, child, and wealth, that they may not live, *in* that perplexing time, O Zaratûst! yet the day when the hundredth winter becomes the end of thy millennium, which is *that* of Zaratûst, is so that nothing wicked may go from this millennium into that millennium¹.

with the word *kithra*, which means both *pêdâk*, 'clear,' and *tôkhmak*, 'originating,' but to express the latter meaning he used the synonym *mâyakîk*, which can be written exactly like *mâhîk*. Owing to the involved character of this section it is not very clear in English, but it is still more obscure in the Pahlavi text, in which the whole of this clause about the fire is inserted parenthetically after the first mention of *Paðashkhvâgar*.

¹ This last clause may be read several ways, and it is by no means easy to ascertain clearly the chronological order of the events which are jumbled together in this last chapter. But it would appear that Zaratûst's millennium was to end at a time when the religion was undisturbed, and just before the incursion of the demons or idolators, the details of which have been given in Chap. II, 22-III, 11, and which is the first event of Hûshêdar's millennium (see § 13). Now according to Bund. XXXIV, 7-9, the interval from 'the coming of the religion,' in the reign of Kafr-Vistâsp, to the end of the Sasanian monarchy was $90 + 112 + 30 + 12 + 14 + 14 + 284 + 460 = 1016$ years. If by 'the coming of the religion' be meant the time when Zaratûst received it, as he was then thirty years old, he must have been born 1046 years before the end of the Sasanian monarchy (A. D. 651), and the end of his millennium must have been in A. D. 605, the sixteenth year of Khûsrô Parvîz, when the Sasanian power was near its maximum, and only a score of years before it began suddenly to collapse. This close coincidence indicates that the writer of the Bahman Yast must have adopted the same incorrect chronology as is found in the Bundahis. If, however, 'the coming of the religion' mean its acceptance by Vistâsp, which occurred in Zaratûst's fortieth or

12. Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: 'O Aûharmazd, propitious spirit! creator of the material world, righteous *one*! when they are so many in number, by what means will they be able to perish¹?'

13. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! when the demon with dishevelled hair of the race of Wrath comes into notice in the eastern quarter, first a black token becomes manifest, *and* Hûshêdar son of Zaratûst is born on Lake Frazdân².

14. It is when he comes to his conference *with me*³, Aûharmazd, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân!' *that in* the direction of Kînistân⁴, *it* is said—some have said among the Hindus—'is born a prince (kaî); it is his father, a prince of the Kayân race, approaches the

forty-second year, his birth must have been ten or twelve years earlier, and his millennium must have ended A. D. 593–595. But according to the imperfect chronology of Bund. XXXIV the tenth millennium of the world, that of Capricornus, commenced with 'the coming of the religion,' and ended, therefore, in A. D. 635, the fourth year of Yazdakard, the last Sasanian king, when the Muhammadans were just preparing for their first invasion; so the millennium of Aquarius is very nearly coincident with that of Hûshêdar, and may probably be intended to represent it. It appears, therefore, that the millennium of Hûshêdar is altogether past, having extended from A. D. 593–635 to A. D. 1593–1635.

¹ The Pâz. MSS. omit § 12. The writer having detailed the evils of the iron age, now returns to its commencement in order to describe the means adopted for partially counteracting those evils.

² See Bund. XXII, 5, XXXII, 8. The Pâz. MSS. add, 'they bring him up in Zâvulistân and Kâvulistân;' and the Pers. version says, 'on the frontier of Kâbulistân.' With regard to the time of Hûshêdar's birth, see § 44. His name is always written Khûrshêdar in K20.

³ The Pâz. and Pers. versions say, 'at thirty years of age,' as in § 44.

⁴ Possibly Samarkand (see Chap. II, 49, note 2).

women, and a religious prince is born to him; he calls *his* name Vâhrâm the Vargâvand¹, some have said Shahpûr. 15. 'That a sign may come to the earth, the night when that prince is born, a star falls from the sky; when that prince is born the star shows a signal.' 16. It is Dâd-Aûharmazd² *who* said that the month Âvân and day Vâd³ is his father's end; 'they rear *him* with the damsels of the king, *and* a woman becomes ruler.

17. 'That prince when he is thirty years old'—some have told the time—'*comes* with innumerable banners *and* divers armies, Hindu and Kînt⁴, having uplifted banners—for they set up *their* banners—having exalted banners, and having exalted weapons; they hasten up with speed⁵ as far as the Vêh river'—some have said the country of Bambô⁶—'as far as Bukhâr and the Bukhârâns within *its* bank,

¹ Bahrâm the illustrious or splendid (Av. varekanghand, compare Pers. varg), an epithet applied, in the Avesta, to the moon, Tistrya, the scriptures, the royal glory of the Kayânians, the Kayânians themselves, and the hero Thrîta. This personage may possibly be an incarnation of the angel Bahrâm, mingled with some reminiscences of the celebrated Persian general Bahrâm Kôpin; but see §§ 32, 49.

² A commentator who is quoted in the Pahlavi Yas. XI, 22; see also Chap. I, 7.

³ The 22nd day of the eighth month of the Parsi year, corresponding to October 7th when the year began at the vernal equinox, as the Bundahîr (XXV, 6, 7, 20, 21) describes.

⁴ That is, Bactrian and Samarkandian.

⁵ Or, 'light up with glitter,' according as we read tâgend or tâvend. The Pâz. MSS. omit §§ 17-44, except one or two isolated phrases.

⁶ Spiegel was inclined to identify this name with Bombay, but this is impossible, as the MS. K20 (in which the name occurs) was written some two centuries before the Portuguese invented the name of Bombay. Its original name, by which it is still called by

O Zaratûst the Sptâmân! 18. When the star Jupiter comes up to *its* culminating point (bâlist)¹ and casts Venus down, the sovereignty comes to the prince. 19. Quite innumerable are the champions, furnished with arms *and* with banners displayed,² some have said from Sagastân, Pârs, and Khûrâsân, some have said from the lake of Padashkhvârgar³, some have said from the Hirâtis⁴ and Kôhistân, some have said from Taparistân⁵; and from those directions 'every suppliant for a child⁶ comes into⁶ view. 20. It is concerning the displayed banners and very numerous army, which were the armed men, champions, and soldiers from the countries of Iran *at* Padashkhvârgar—whom *I* told thee⁷ that they call both Kurđ and Karmân—it is declared

its native inhabitants, being Mumbaî. The locality mentioned in the text is evidently to be sought on the banks of the Oxus near Bukhârâ; the Oxus having been sometimes considered the upper course of the Arag, and sometimes that of the Veh (see Bund. XX, 22, note 5). It is hardly probable that either Bâmî (Balkh) or Bâmiyân would be changed into Bambö, and the only exact representative of this name appears to be Bamm, a town about 120 miles S. E. of Kirmân; this is quite a different locality from that mentioned in the text, but it is hazardous to set bounds to the want of geographical knowledge displayed by some of the Pahlavi commentators.

¹ Compare SZS. IV, 8. Here the triumph of Jupiter over Venus appears to be symbolical of the displacement of the queen dowager by her son.

² That is, from the southern shore of the Caspian.

³ Reading Hiriyân, but this is doubtful, as it may be 'from the citadels (arigânö), or defiles (khalakânö), of Kôhistân.'

⁴ See Bund. XII, 17, XIII, 15.

⁵ That is, every man able to bear arms.

⁶ Reading pavan, 'into,' instead of barâ, 'besides' (see SZS. VIII, 2, note 5).

⁷ See § 10, but as nothing is said there about Kurđ or Karmân, it is possible that the writer meant to say, 'of whom I told thee,

that they will slay an excessive number, in companionship *and under* the same banner, for these countries of Iran.

21. 'Those of the race of Wrath and the extensive army¹ of Shêdâspîh, *whose* names are the two-legged wolf and the leathern-belted demon on the bank of the Arvand², wage three battles, one in Spêd-razûr³ and one in the plain of Nîsânak;' some have said that *it was* on the lake of the three races, some have said that *it was* in Marûv⁴ the brilliant, *and* some have said in Pârs. 22. 'For the support of the countries of Iran is the innumerable army of the east; its having exalted banners⁵ is that they have a banner of tiger skin (bôpar pôst), and their wind banner is white cotton⁶; innumerable are the mounted troops, and they ride up to the *lurking*-holes⁷ of the demons; they will slay so that a thousand women can afterwards see and kiss *but* one man.

and whom they call both Kurd and Karmân.' It is more probable, however, that he is referring to § 7.

¹ Compare § 7. The 'extensive army' and 'two-legged wolf' are terms borrowed apparently from Yas. IX, 62, 63.

² That is, 'the rapid' (Av. aurvand). The other names of this river, Tigris and Hiddekel, have the same meaning. See §§ 5, 38.

³ See § 9, of which this is a recapitulation, but the first of the three battles is here omitted by mistake.

⁴ Marv in the present Turkistân.

⁵ Referring to § 17.

⁶ Supposing that bandôk may be equivalent to Pers. bandak, but the usual Pahlavi term for 'cotton' is pumbak (Pers. punbah).

⁷ Reading grestak as in § 5, but the word can also be read dar dîzak, 'gate watch-tower.' It is possible that the drugô geredha, 'pit of the fiend,' of Vend. III, 24, may be here meant; the gate of hell, whence the demons congregate upon the Aresûr ridge (Bund. XII, 8).

23. 'When it is the end of the time¹, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! those enemies will be as much destroyed as the root of a shrub when *it is* in the night on which a cold winter arrives, and in this night it sheds *its* leaves; and they *will* reinstate these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created².

24. 'And with speed rushes the evil spirit, with the vilest races of demons and Wrath with infuriate spear³, *and* comes on to the support and assistance of those demon-worshippers and miscreations of wrath, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! 25. And I, the creator Aûharmazd, send Nêryôsang the angel and Srôsh the righteous⁴ unto Kangdez⁵, which the illustrious Siyâvakhsh⁶ formed, *and to* Kîtrô-mtyân⁷ son of Vistâsp, the glory of the Kayâns, the just restorer of the religion, *to speak* thus: "Walk forth, O illustrious Pêshyôtanû! to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created; consecrate the fire *and* waters for the Hâdôkht⁸ *and* Dvâzdah-hômâst!

¹ Compare, 'and at the time of the end' (Dan. xi. 40). The writer appears to be here finally passing from a description of the past into speculations as to the future, which he has hitherto only casually indulged in.

² The supernatural means supposed to be employed for the destruction of the wicked and the restoration of the good are detailed in the following paragraphs.

³ See Chap. II, 36.

⁴ The two angels who are the special messengers of Aûharmazd to mankind (see ¹Bund. XV, 1, XXX, 29). This message was expected to be sent to Pêshyôtanû near the end of Hûshêdar's millennium (see § 51).

⁵ See Bund. XXIX, 10.

⁶ See Bund. XXXI, 25.

⁷ A title of Pêshyôtanû, written Kîtrô-mafnô in Bund. XXIX, 5.

⁸ This was the twentieth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard; but the Dînvagarkard and the Rivâyats make it the twenty-first, and say very

that is, celebrate *them* with the fire *and* waters, and such *as* is appointed about the fire and waters!"

little about its contents (see Haug's Essays, pp. 133, 134). The Dinkard, in its eighth book, gives the following account of this Nask :—

'The Hādōkht as it exists *has* three divisions among its 133 sections. The first *has* thirteen (twelve?) sections, treatises upon the nature of the recital of the Ahunavar, which is the spiritual benefit from chanting it aloud, and whatever is on the same subject. Admonition about selecting *and* keeping a spiritual and worldly high-priest, performing every duty as to the high-priest, *and* maintaining even those of various high-priests. On the twenty-one chieftainships of the spirits in Aûharmazd, and of the worldly existences in Zarātûst, among which are the worship of God *and* the management of the devout. On the duty *requisite* in each of the five different periods of the day and night, and *the fate at the celestial* bridge of him who shall be zealous in the celebration of the season-festivals; he who does not provide the preparations for the feast of the season-festivals, and who is yet efficient in the other worship of God. On how to consider, *and* what to do with, a leader of the high-priest class *and* a man of the *inferior* classes; he who atones for unimportant sin, and he who does not atone even for *that which* is important, *and* whatever is on the same subject. On the apparatus with which ploughed land (?) is prepared. On the manifestation of virtuous manhood, and the merit and advantage from uttering good words *for blessing* the eating and drinking of food and drink, and rebuking the inward talk of the demons. On the recitations at the five periods of the day, and the ceremonial invocation by name of many angels, each separately, *and* great information on the same subject; the worthiness of a man restrained by authority, the giving of life and body to the angels, the good rulers, and their examination and satisfaction; the blessing and winning words which are most successful in carrying off the affliction which *proceeds* from a fiend. On all-pleasing creativeness and omniscience, and all precedence (?), leadership, foresight(?), worthy liberality, virtue (?), and every proper cause and effect of righteousness; the individuality of righteousness, the opposition to the demons of Aûharmazd's opinion, and also much other information in the same section.

'The middle *division has* 102 sections, treatises on spiritual and worldly diligence, the leadership of the diligent, and their mighty

26. 'And Nêryôsang proceeds, *with* Srôsh the righteous, from the good *Kakâd-i-Dâttik*¹ to Kangdez, which the illustrious Siyâvakhsh formed, and cries out from it thus: "Walk forth, O illustrious Pêshyôtanû! O *Kîtrô-mtyân* son of Vistâsp, glory of the Kayâns, just restorer of the religion! walk forth to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created! restore again the throne of sovereignty of the religion!"

27. 'Those spirits move on, and they propitiate them; with holy-water the illustrious Pêshyôtanû celebrates the *Dvâzdah-hômâst*, with a hundred and fifty righteous who are disciples of Pêshyôtanû, in black marten fur, and they have garments as it were of the good spirit. 28. They walk up with *the words*: "*Hûmat, hûkht, hûvarst*"², and consecrate

means, all former deeds of righteousness; righteousness kindling the resolution is the reward of merit, each for each, and is adapted by it for that *of* which it is said that *it is* the *Hâdôkht* which is the maintaining of righteousness, so that they may make righteousness more abiding in the body of a man.

'The last *division* has nineteen sections of trusty remedies, that is, remedies whose utterance aloud by the faithful is a chief resource among the creatures of God; also the nature of sayings full of humility, well-favoured, most select, *and* adapted for that *of* which it is said that I reverence that chief, the excellent and eminent *Hâdôkht*, of which they trust in the sustaining strength of every word of Zarâtûst. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness (*Av. ashem vohû vahistem astî*).'

According to tradition three chapters of this Nask are still extant, being the Yast fragments XXI, XXII of Westergaard's edition of the Avesta Texts; but they do not correspond to any part of the description in the *Dînkard*. For a description of *Dvâzdah-hômâst* see Chap. II, 59.

¹ See Bund. XII, 7.

² That is, 'good thoughts, good words, and good deeds,' a formula often uttered when commencing an important action.

the fire of the waters; *with* the illustrious Hâdôkht they bless me, Aûharmazd, with the archangels; and after that it demolishes one-third of the opposition. 29. And the illustrious Pêshyôtanû walks forth, with the hundred and fifty men who wear black marten fur, and they celebrate the rituals (yasnân) of the Gadman-hômand ("glorious") fire, which they call the Rôshanô-kerp ("luminous form")¹, which is established at the appointed place (dâtô-gâs), the triumphant ritual of the Frôbâ fire, Horvadađ, and Amerôdađ, and the ceremonial (yazisn) with his priestly co-operation; they arrange and pray over the *sacred* twigs; *and* the ritual of Horvadađ and Amerôdađ, in the chapter of the code of religious formulas (nîrangistân)² demolishes three-thirds of the opposition. 30. Pêshyôtanû son of Vistâsp walks forth, with the assistance of the Frôbâ *fire*, the fire Gûsnâsp, and the fire Bûrzîn-Mitrô³, to the great idol-temples, the abode of *the demons*⁴; and the wicked evil spirit, Wrath with infuriate spear⁵, and all demons and fiends, evil races and wizards, arrive at the deepest *abyss* of hell; *and* those idol-temples are extirpated by the exertions of the illustrious Pêshyôtanû.

31. 'And I, the creator Aûharmazd, come to Mount Hûkafrâyâđ⁶ with the archangels, and I issue

¹ See Bund. XVII, 5, 6. This appears to be an allusion to the removal of the sacred fire by Vistâsp, from the 'glorious' mountain in Khvârizem to the 'shining' mountain in Kâvulistân.

² See Chap. II, 37.

³ Regarding these three manifestations of the sacred fire, see Bund. XVII, 3-9, SZS. XI, 8-10.

⁴ Supplying the word jêdâân, 'the demons,' in accordance with §§ 36, 37; there being clearly some word omitted in K20.

⁵ See Chap. II, 36.

⁶ Hûgar the lofty in Bund. XII, 2, 5.

orders to the archangels that they should speak to the angels of the spiritual existences thus : "Proceed to the assistance of the illustrious Pêshyôtanû !" 32. Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures, Srôsh the vigorous, Rashn the just, Vâhrâm¹ the mighty, Âstâd the victorious, *and* the glory of the religion of the Mazda-yasnians, the stimulator of *religious* formulas (nî-rang), the arranger of the world, *proceed*² to the assistance of the illustrious Pêshyôtanû, through the order of which I, the creator, have just written³.

33. 'Out of the demons of gloomy race the evil spirit cries to Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures thus : "Stay above in truth⁴, thou Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures !"

34. 'And then Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures cries thus : "Of these nine thousand years' support, which during its beginning produced Dahâk of evil religion, Frâstyâv of Tûr, *and* Alexander⁵ the Rû-man, the period of one thousand years of those leathern-belted demons with dishevelled hair is a more than moderate reign to produce⁶."

35. 'The wicked evil spirit becomes confounded when he heard this ; Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures will smite Wrath of the infuriate spear with

¹ The fact that the angel Vâhrâm goes in his spiritual form to the assistance of Pêshyôtanû, rather militates against the idea that he also goes in the form of Vâhrâm the Vargâvand.

² This verb is omitted by mistake in K20.

³ Literally, 'arrive at the writing.'

⁴ Or, 'stand up with honesty !'

⁵ The latter two names are here written Frâsâv and Alasandar.

⁶ From this it appears that the writer expected the evil reign of the unbelievers to last a thousand years, that is, till the end of Hûshêdar's millennium, about A. D. 1593-1635, which corresponds very closely with the reign of the great Shâh 'Abbâs.

stupefaction; *and* the wicked evil spirit flees, with the miscreations and evil progeny he flees back to the darkest *recess* of hell.] 36. And Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures cries to the illustrious Pêshyôtanû thus: "Extirpate *and* utterly destroy the idol-temples, the abode of the demons! proceed to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created! restore again the throne of sovereignty of the religion over the wicked! when they see thee they will be terrified."

37. 'And the illustrious Pêshyôtanû advances, and the fire Frôbâ, the fire Gûsnasp, and the triumphant fire Bûrzîn-Mitrô will smite the fiend of excessive strength; he will extirpate the idol-temples that are the abode of demons; and they celebrate the ceremonial (*yazisn*), arrange the *sacred* twigs, solemnize the Dvâzdah-hômâst, and praise me, Aûharmazd, with the archangels; this is what I foretell¹. 38. The illustrious Pêshyôtanû walks forth to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created, to the Arvand and Vêh river²; when the wicked see him they will be terrified, those of the progeny of gloom and those not worthy.

39. 'And regarding that Vâhrâm the Vargâvand it is declared that he comes forth in full glory, fixes upon Vandîd-khîm³ ("a curbed temper"), and *having* intrusted *him* with the seat of mobadship of the

¹ Or, perhaps, 'what I said before,' being already narrated in § 29 as performed by Pêshyôtanû before advancing far into Iran.

² The Tigris and the Oxus—Indus (see §§ 5, 21).

³ Probably a title of Pêshyôtanû; a more obvious translation would be, 'restrains a curbed temper, and is intrusted,' &c., but it is hardly probable that the warrior prince Vâhrâm could become a priest. It is Vâhrâm's business to restore the empire, leaving Pêshyôtanû to restore the religion.

mobads¹, and the seat of true explanation of the religion, he restores again these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created; and he drives² away from the world covetousness, want, hatred, wrath, lust, envy, and wickedness. 40. And the wolf period goes away, and the sheep period comes on; they establish the fire Frôbâ, the fire Gûsnâsp, *and* the fire Bûrân-Mitrô again at their proper places, and they will properly supply the firewood and incense; and the wicked evil spirit becomes confounded and unconscious, with the demons and the progeny of gloom. 41. And so the illustrious Pêshyôtanû speaks thus: "Let the demon be destroyed, and the witch be destroyed! let the fiendishness and vileness of the demons be destroyed! and let the gloomy progeny of the demons be destroyed! The glory³ of the religion of the Mazdayasnians prospers, and let it prosper! let the family⁴ of the liberal and just, who are doers of good deeds, prosper! and let the throne of the religion and sovereignty have a good restorer!" 42. Forth comes the illustrious Pêshyôtanû, forth he comes with a hundred and fifty men of the disciples who wear black marten fur, and they take the throne of their own religion and sovereignty.'

43. Aûharmazd said to Zaratûst the Spîtâmân: 'This is what I foretell, when it is the end of thy millennium it is the beginning of *that* of Hûshêdar⁵.

¹ The supreme high-priesthood, or primacy.

² Merely a guess, as the verb *varafsêd* is difficult to understand.

³ K20 has *nismô*, 'soul,' but the very-similarly written *gadman*, 'glory,' is a more likely reading here (see § 32).

⁴ Reading *dûdak* instead of *rûdak*, as in Chap. II, 47.

⁵ The writer having detailed the supernatural means employed for restoring the religion, now returns to the birth of Hûshêdar

44. Regarding Hûshêdar it is declared that he will be born in 1600¹, and at thirty years of age he comes to a conference with me, Aûharmazd, and receives the religion. 45. When he comes away from the conference he cries to the sun with the swift horse², thus: "Stand still!"

46. 'The sun with the swift horse stands still ten

(§ 13) for the purpose of mentioning some of his actions, and making the chronology of his millennium rather more clear. Nothing is said here about his miraculous birth, the details of which are given in the seventh book of the *Dînkard* very much as they are found in the Persian *Rivâyats*. The *Dînkard* states that thirty years before the end of Zaratûst's millennium a young maiden bathing in certain water, and drinking it, becomes pregnant through the long-preserved seed of Zaratûst (see *Bund. XXXII*, 8, 9), and subsequently gives birth to Hûshêdar.

¹ There seems to be no other rational way of understanding this number than by supposing that it represents the date of Hûshêdar's birth, counting from the beginning of Zaratûst's millennium. According to this view Hûshêdar was to be born in the six hundredth year of his own millennium, and not at its beginning, as § 13 seems to imply, nor nearly thirty years earlier, as the *Dînkard* asserts. As the beginning of his millennium may be fixed about A.D. 593-635 (see note on § 11), the writer must have expected him to be born about A.D. 1193-1235; a time which was probably far in the future when he was writing. And as Vâhrâm the Vargâvand was to be born when Hûshêdar was thirty years of age (compare §§ 14, 44), and was to march into Iran at the age of thirty (§ 17), the great conflict of the nations (§§ 8, 19-22) was expected to begin about A.D. 1253-1295, and to continue till near the end of the millennium, about A.D. 1593-1635, when Pêshyôtanû was expected to appear (§ 51) and to restore the 'good' religion (§§ 26, 37, 42). An enthusiastic Parsi interpreter of prophecy might urge that though this period did not witness any revival of his religion, it did witness a restoration of the Persian empire under Shâh 'Abbâs, and also the first beginning of British power in India, which has been so great a benefit to the scanty remnant of his fellow-countrymen.

² The usual epithet of the sun in the Avesta.

days and nights; and when this happens all the people of the world abide by the good religion of the Mazdayasnians. 47. Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures cries to Hûshêdar, *son* of Zaratûst, thus: "O Hûshêdar, restorer of the true religion! cry to the sun with the swift horse thus: 'Move on!' for it is dark in the regions of Arzâh and Savâh, Fradadafsh and Vidadafsh, Vôrûbarst and Vôrûgarst, and the illustrious Khvanîras¹."

48. 'Hûshêdar *son* of Zaratûst cries, to the sun he cries, thus: "Move on!" 49. The sun with the swift horse moves on, *and* Vargâvand² and all mankind fully believe in the good religion of the Mazdayasnians.'

50. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! this is what I foretell, that this one brings the creatures back to their proper state. 51. When it is near the end of the millennium Pêshyôtanû³ son of Vistâsp comes into notice, who is a Kayân that advances triumphantly; and those enemies who relied upon fiendishness, such as the Tûrk, Arab, and Rûman, and the vile ones who control⁴ the Iranian sovereign with insolence and oppression and enmity to the sovereignty, destroy the fire and make the religion weak; and they convey *their* power and success to him and every one who accepts the law and religion willingly; if he

¹ The seven regions of the earth (see Bund. XI, 2, 3).

² It is just possible to read, 'the sun with the swift horse, the splendid, moves on, and all mankind fully believe,' &c. But if the reading in the text be correct it effectually disposes of the idea of Vâhrâm being an incarnation of the angel, as an angel would require no miracle to make him believe in the religion.

³ See §§ 25-30.

⁴ This verb is doubtful, as most of the word is torn off in K20.

accept it unwillingly the law and religion ever destroy *him*¹ till it is the end of the whole millennium.

52. 'And, afterwards, when the millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh comes, through Hûshêdar-mâh² the creatures become more progressive, and he utterly destroys the fiend of serpent origin³; and Pêshyôtanû son of Vistâsp becomes, in like manner, high-priest and primate (*rad'*) of the world⁴. 53. In that millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh mankind become so versed in medicine, and keep and bring physic and remedies so *much* in use, *that* when they are confessedly at the point of death they do not thereupon die, nor when they smite and slay *them* with the sword and knife⁵.

54. 'Afterwards, *one* begs a gift of *any* description out of the allowance of heretics, *and* owing to depravity *and* heresy they do not give *it*. 55. And Aharman rises through that spite⁶ on to the moun-

¹ This appears to be the meaning, but the latter part of the sentence is not very clear.

² See Bund. XXXII, 8. The name is written Khûrshêd-mâh in K₂₀. The Dînkard gives the same account of the miraculous birth of Hûshêdar-mâh as of the first Hûshêdar (see note on § 43); it also repeats the legend of the sun standing still, but for the longer period of twenty days; all which details are also found in the Persian Rivâyats.

³ Av. *azîkithra*; such creatures are mentioned in Ardavahist Yt. 8, 10, 11, 15; but *Az-i Dahâk*, 'the destructive serpent,' is probably meant here (see §§ 56-61).

⁴ As in the previous millennium. According to the chronology deduced from § 44 the millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh, which corresponds to the twelfth and last millennium of Bund. XXXIV, is now near the middle of its third century.

⁵ The sentence is either defective or obscure, but this appears to be its meaning.

⁶ The evil spirit is encouraged, by an act of religious toleration, apparently, to recommence his manœuvres for injuring mankind.

tain of Dimâvand¹, which is the direction of Bêvarâsp, *and* shouts thus: "Now it is nine thousand years, *and* Frêdûn is not living; why do you not rise up, although these thy fetters are not removed, when² this world is full of people, and they have brought them from the enclosure which Yim formed³?"

56. 'After that apostate shouts like this, *and* because of it, Az-i Dahâk⁴ stands up before *him*, *but*, through fear of the likeness of Frêdûn in the body of Frêdûn, he does not first remove those fetters and stake from *his* trunk until Aharman removes *them*. 57. And the vigour of Az-i Dahâk increases, the fetters being removed from *his* trunk, *and* *his* impetuosity remains; he swallows down the apostate on the spot⁵, and rushing into the world to perpetrate sin, he commits innumerable grievous sins; he swallows down one-third of mankind, cattle, sheep, and other creatures of Aûharmazd; he smites the water, fire, and vegetation, and commits grievous sin.

58. 'And, afterwards, the water, fire, and vegetation stand before Aûharmazd the lord in lamentation, and make this complaint: "Make Frêdûn alive again! so that he may destroy Az-i Dahâk; for if thou, O Aûharmazd! dost not do this, we cannot

¹ Here written Dimbhâvand (see Bund. XII, 31).

² Reading *amat*, 'when,' instead of *mûn*, 'which' (see the note on Bund. I, 7).

³ The *var-i Yim kard* (see Bund. XXIX, 14). The men and creatures who are supposed to be preserved in this enclosure are expected to replenish the world whenever it has been desolated by wars and oppression.

⁴ Whose surname is Bêvarâsp (see Bund. XXIX, 9).

⁵ The Pâz. MSS. end here.

exist in the world; the fire says thus: I *will* not heat; and the water says thus: I *will* not flow."

59. 'And then I, Aûharmazd the creator, say to Srôsh and Nêryôsang the angel: "Shake the body of Keresâsp the Sâmân, till he rises up!"

60. 'Then Srôsh and Nêryôsang the angel go to Keresâsp¹; three times they utter a cry, and the fourth time Sâm rises up with triumph, and goes to meet Az-i Dahâk. 61. And² Sâm does not listen to his words, and the triumphant club strikes him on the head, and smites and kills *him*; afterwards, desolation *and* adversity depart from this world, while I make a beginning of the millennium³. 62. Then Sôshyans⁴ makes the creatures again pure, and the resurrection and future existence occur.'

63. May the end be in peace, pleasure, and joy, by the will of God (yazdânö)! so may it be! even more so may it be!

¹ Also called Sâm in this same section; he was lying in a trance in the plain of Pêryânsaî (see Bund. XXIX, 7-9).

² Reading *afar* instead of *minas* (see Chap. II, 4, note 2).

³ The thirteenth millennium, or first of the future existence, when Sôshyans appears. The Dînkard and the Persian Rivâyats recount the same legends regarding the miraculous birth of Sôshyans, and of the sun standing still (for thirty days), as they do with regard to Hûshêdar (see note on § 43).

⁴ See Bund. XXXII, 8.

SHÂYAST LÂ-SHÂYAST

OR

THE PROPER AND IMPROPER.

AN OLD

PAHLAVI RIVÂYAT

OR

MISCELLANY OF TRADITIONAL MEMORANDA.

OBSERVATIONS.

1-5. (The same as on p. 2.)

6. Abbreviations used are :—Âf. for Âfrîngân. Av. for Avesta. AV. for the Book of Arđâ-Vîrâf, ed. Hoshangji and Haug. Bund. for Bundahis, as translated in this volume. B. Yt. for Bahman Yast, as translated in this volume. Chald. for Chaldee. Farh. Okh. for Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk, ed. Hoshangji and Haug. Haug's Essays, for Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis, by Martin Haug, 2nd edition. Huz. for Huzvâris. Lev. for Leviticus. Mkh. for Mainyô-i-khard, ed. West. Nîr. for Nîrangistân. Pahl. for Pahlavi. Pâz. for Pâzand. Pers. for Persian. Sls. for Shâyast lâ-shâyast, as here translated. SZS. for Selections of Zâd-spam, as translated in this volume. W. for Westergaard. Vend. for Vendîdâd, ed. Spiegel. Visp. for Visparad, ed. Spiegel. Yas. for Yasna, ed. Spiegel. Yt. for Yast, ed. Westergaard.

7. The manuscripts mentioned in the notes are :—

B29 (written A.D. 1679), a Rivâyât MS., No. 29 of the University Library at Bombay.

K20 (about 500 years old), No. 20 in the University Library at Copenhagen.

L7, L15, L22, &c. are MSS. No. 7, 15, 22, &c. in the India Office Library at London.

M5 (written A.D. 1723), No. 5 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich.

M6 (written A.D. 1397), No. 6 of the same Collection.

M9 (modern), No. 9 of the same Collection.

TD (written about A.D. 1530), a MS. of the Bundahis belonging to Mobad Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria at Bombay.

SHÂYAST LÂ-SHÂYAST.

PART I.—*The Original Treatise.*

CHAPTER I.

o. In the name of God (yazdân) and the good creation may there be the good health, long life, and abundant wealth of all the good and the right-doers specially for him whose writing I am ¹.

1. As revealed by the Avesta, it is said in the Vendidad ² that these seven degrees (pâyak) of sin

¹ See the note on B. Yt. I, o.

² Referring to Vend. IV, 54-114, where seven classes of assault and their respective punishments are detailed. In our text eight classes of sin are named, although only seven degrees are mentioned; the second and third classes being apparently arranged together, as one degree of sin in § 2. Or the inconsistency may have arisen from the addition of the Farmân, a class of sin or crime not mentioned in the Vendidad, unless, indeed, it be the farmân spôkhtanô, 'neglect of commandment' (referring probably to priest's commands), of Pahl. Vend. VI, 15. The other seven classes are thus described in Pahl. Vend. IV, 54-57, 79, 85, 93, 99, 106 :—

'By the man whose weapon (or blow) is upraised for striking a man, that which is his Âgerept is thus implanted in *him*. When it *has* moved forward—that is, he makes *it* advance—*it* is thus his Avôirîst, that is, Avôirîst is implanted in him *and* the Âgerept merges into it, some say that it does not exist. When he comes on to him *with* thoughts of malice—that is, he places a hand upon him—*it* is thus his Aredûs, that is, Aredûs is implanted in him and the Avôirîst merges into it, some say that it does not exist. *At* the fifth Aredûs the man even becomes a Tanâpûhar; *things* at

are mentioned in revelation, *which* are Farmân, Âgerept, Avôirîst¹, Aredûs, Khôr, Bâzâi, Yât, and Tanâpûhar². 2. A Farmân is the weight of four

sunrise (*avar-khûrshêdîh*) and in the forenoon (*kâtîfîh* = *kâstîh*) are no more apart. . . . Whoever inflicts the Aredûs blow on a man *it is* one-fifth of a wound (*rêsh*). . . . Whoever inflicts that which is a cruel Khôr ('hurt') on a man *it is* one-fourth of a wound. . . . Whoever inflicts that which is a bleeding Khôr on a man *it is* one-third of a wound. . . . Whoever shall give a man a bone-breaking Khôr *it is* half a wound. . . . Whoever strikes a man the blow *which puts him* out of consciousness shall give a whole wound.'

This description does not mention Bâzâi and Yât, unless they be the two severer kinds of Khôr; but Bâzâi occurs in Pahl.Vend. IV, 115, V, 107, XIII, 38, though Yât seems not to be mentioned in the Vendidad. Aredûs occurs again in Pahl. Vend. III, 151, and Khôr in Pahl. Vend. III, 48, XIII, 38, and Yas. LVI, iv, 2.

¹ Also written avôirîst, avîrist, aivîrist, avôkîrist, and avakôrist in other places.

² Five of these names are merely slight alterations of the Av. âgerepta, avaoirista, areduš, hvara, and tanuperetha (*pere-tôtanu* or *peshôtanu*). The last seven degrees are also noticed in a very obscure passage in Farh. Okh. pp. 36, 37 (correcting the text from the old MSS. M6 and K20) as follows:—

'Âgerept, "seized," is that when they shall take up a weapon for smiting an innocent *person*; Avôirîst, "turning," is that when *one* turns the weapon upon an innocent *person*; when through sinfulness *one* lays the weapon on a sinner the name is Aredûs; for whatever reaches the source of life the name is Khôr; *one* explains Bâzâi as "smiting," and Yât as "going to," and the soul of man ought to be withstanding, as a counterstroke is the penalty for a Yât when it *has* been so much *away* from the abode of life. *In* like manner Âgerept, Avôirîst, Aredûs, Khôr, Bâzâi, and Yât are also called good works, *which* are performed in like proportions, and are called by the names of weights and measures *in* the same manner. Of *peshôtanu tanûm pairyêitê* the meaning is a Tanâpûhar; as they call a good work of three hundred a Tanâpûhar, on account of the three hundred like proportions of the same kind, the meaning of its name, Tanâpûhar, thereupon enters into sin. . . . A Khôr is just that description of wound from which

stîrs, and each stîr is four dirhams (*gûgan*)¹; of Âgerept and Avôirîst that which is least is a scourging (*tâzânô*), and the amount of them which was specially *that* which is most is said *to be* one dirham²; an Aredûs is thirty stîrs³; a Khôr is sixty stîrs; a Bâzâi is ninety stîrs; a Yât is a hundred and eighty stîrs; and a Tanâpûhar is three hundred stîrs⁴.

the blood comes, irrespective of where, how, how much, *and* where-with it is inflicted; *it is* that which is a wound from the beginning, *and* that which will result therefrom.'

The application of this scale of offences is, however, not confined to these particular forms of assault, but has been extended (since the Avesta was compiled) to all classes of sins, and also to the good works which are supposed to counterbalance them.

¹ The dirham has been variously estimated, at different times, as a weight of forty-five to sixty-seven grains, but perhaps fifty grains may be taken as the meaning of the text, and the stîr may, therefore, be estimated at 200 grains. The Greeks used both these weights, which they called *δραχμή* and *στατήρ*.

² The amounts of these first three degrees of sin are differently stated in other places (see Chaps. XI, 2, XVI, 1-3, 5). It is difficult to understand why the amounts of Âgerept and Avôirîst should here be stated as less than that of Farmân, and some Parsis, therefore, read *vîhast* (as an irregular form of *vîst*, 'twenty') instead of *vêr-ast*, 'is most,' so that they may translate the amount as 'twenty dirhams;' but to obtain this result they would have to make further alterations in the Pahlavi text. In a passage quoted by Spiegel (in his *Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen*, p. 88) from the Rivâyât MS. P12, in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, it is stated that Farmân is seven stîrs, Âgerept twelve stîrs, and Avôirîst fifteen stîrs. Another Rivâyât makes the Farmân eight stîrs.

³ All MSS. have Aredûs sî 30, 'an Aredûs is thirty (30),' leaving it doubtful whether dirhams or stîrs are meant; and the same mode of writing is adopted in Chap. XI, 2.

⁴ All authorities agree about the amounts of the last five degrees of sin. These amounts are the supposed weights of the several sins in the golden scales of the angel Rashnû (see AV. V, 5), when the soul is called to account, for its actions during life, after the

3. In the administration of the primitive faith¹ there are *some* who have been of different opinions

third night after death (see Mkh. II, 114-122). Its sins are supposed to be then weighed against its good works, which are estimated by the same scale of degrees (see the passage already quoted from Farh. Okh. in p. 240, note 2), and it is sent direct to heaven, or hell, or an intermediate place, according as the good works or sins preponderate, or are both equal. In the Avesta of the Vendidad, however, whence these degrees are derived, we find them forming merely a graduated scale of assaults, extending from first lifting the hand to smite even unto manslaughter; and for each of these seven degrees of assault a scale of temporal punishments is prescribed, according to the number of times the offence has been committed. These punishments consist of a uniform series of lashes with a horse-whip or scourge, extending from a minimum of five lashes to a maximum of two hundred (see Vend. IV, 58-114); each degree of assault commencing at a different point on the scale of punishments for the first offence, and gradually rising through the scale with each repetition of the offence, so that the more aggravated assaults attain the maximum punishment by means of a smaller number of repetitions. Thus, the punishments prescribed for Âgerepta, from the first to the eighth offence, are 5, 10, 15, 30, 50, 70, 90, and 200 lashes respectively; those for Ava-oirista, from the first to the seventh offence, extend on the same scale from 10 to 200 lashes; those for Aredus, from the first to the sixth offence, are from 15 to 200 lashes; those for a bruised hurt (*hvara*), from the first to the fifth offence, are from 30 to 200 lashes; those for a bleeding hurt, from the first to the fourth offence, are from 50 to 200 lashes; those for a bone-breaking hurt, from the first to the third offence, are from 70 to 200 lashes; and those for a hurt depriving of consciousness or life, for the first and second offences, are 90 and 200 lashes. The maximum punishment of 200 lashes is prescribed only when the previous offences have not been atoned for, and it is to be inflicted in all such cases, however few or trifling the previous assaults have been.

¹ In M6 pôryôdkêshîh, but pôryôdkêshân, 'of those of the primitive faith,' in K20; from the Av. paoiryôdkaêsha of Yas. I, 47, III, 65, IV, 53, XXII, 33, Fravardin Yt. 0, 90, 156, Âf. Rapiithwin, 2. It is a term applied to what is considered as the

about it, for Gôgôsp¹ spoke otherwise than the teaching² (*kâstak*) of Âtarô-Aûharmazd³, and Sôshyans⁴ *otherwise* than the teaching of Âtarô-frôbâg Nôsfâ⁵, and Mêdôk-mâh⁶ *otherwise* than the teaching of Gôgôsp⁷, and Afarg⁸ *otherwise* than the teaching

true Mazdayasnian religion in all ages, both before and after the time of Zaratûst.

¹ One of the old commentators whose opinions are frequently quoted in Pahlavi books, as in Chap. II, 74, 82, 119, Pahl. Vend. III, 48, 138, 151, IV, 35, V, 14, 121, VI, 9, 64, VII, 6, 136, VIII, 64, 236, XV, 35, 48, 56, 67, XVI, 5, XVIII, 98, 124, and thirteen times in the Nîrangistân. His name is sometimes written Gôsp (as it is here both in M6 and K20) and sometimes Gôgôsp.

² Probably a written exposition or commentary is meant.

³ This commentator is mentioned once in the Nîrangistân as Âtarô Aûharmazdân.

⁴ This commentator is mentioned in Chaps. II, 56, 74, 80, 118, 119, III, 13, VI, 4, 5; also in Pahl. Vend. III, 64, 69, 151, IV, 6, V, 48, 80, 107, 121, 146, 153, VI, 15, 64, 73, VII, 4, 136, 168, VIII, 28, 59, 303, IX, 184, XIII, 20, XVI, 7, 10, 17, 20-22, 27, XVIII, 98, and forty-six times in the Nîrangistân. He was a namesake of the last of the future apostles and sons of Zaratûst (see Bund. XXXII, 8), and his name is often written Sôshâns and read Saoshyôs or Sôsyôš by Pâzand writers.

⁵ This commentator is mentioned once in the Nîrangistân, and may probably be the Âtarô-frôbâg of B. Yt. I, 7; compare also Nôsfâ Bûrz-Mitrô, the name of another commentator, in Chap. VIII, 18.

⁶ This commentator is mentioned in Chaps. II, 1, 11, 12, 89, V, 5, 6; also in Pahl. Vend. III, 151, V, 6, 58, 107, VIII, 48, 110, IX, 132, XIII, 99, XIV, 37, and four times in the Nîrangistân. His name is sometimes written Mêdyôk-mâh or Mâdôk-mâh, and he was a namesake of Zaratûst's cousin and first disciple (see Bund. XXXII, 2, 3). The Vagarkard-i Dînik professes to have been compiled by Mêdyôk-mâh, but there appear to have been several priests of this name (see Bund. XXXIII, 1).

⁷ Gôsp in M6.

⁸ This commentator is mentioned in Chaps. II, 2, 64, 73, 88, 115, V, 5, 6; also in Pahl. Vend. III, 48, 115, V, 6, 14, 22, 58,

of Sôshyans. 4. And all those of the primitive faith rely upon these six¹ teachings, and there are *some* who rely more weakly and some more strongly *upon some* of them.

146, VI, 9, VII, 6, 61, 93, 136, VIII, 48, 64, 110, 250, IX, 132, XIII, 99, XIV, 14, 37, XIX, 84, Pahl. Yas. LXIV, 37, once in Farh. Okh., and thirty-eight times in the Nîrangistân.

¹ Both MSS. have 'three,' although four teachings and six commentators are mentioned in the previous section, and a fifth 'teaching' is mentioned in Chap. II, 2. The original reading was more probably 'six' than 'four,' as a Pahlavi 'six' requires merely the omission of a cipher to become 'three,' whereas a Pahlavi 'four' must be altered to produce the same blunder.

Several other commentators are mentioned in Pahlavi books, such as Âtarô-pâd, son of Dâd-farukh, twice in the Nîrangistân; Âzâd-mard nine times in Nîr.; Barôshand Aûharmazd once in Nîr.; Dâd Aûharmazd in B. Yt. I, 7, III, 16, Pahl. Yas. X, 57, XI, 22; Dâd-farukh in Pahl. Vend. V, 112, VI, 64, and twice in Nîr.; Dâd-i-vêh seventeen times in Nîr.; Farukhō thrice in Nîr.; Kîrâtânō-bûgêd in Pahl. Vend. V, 80, VI, 15, IX, 184, XIII, 20, he is called the Kîr-mânîk in Pahl. Vend. IV, 35, and Dastûr Hoshangji thinks his name is merely a variant of the next; Kûshtânō-bûgêd in Sls. II, 57, 81, 118, VI, 6, VIII, 17, Pahl. Vend. III, 64, 69, IV, 6, V, 48, VI, 53, 64, 73, VIII, 28, XVI, 17, 21, 22, 27, and twenty-two times in Nîr.; Mâh-Aûharmazd in Pahl. Vend. VII, 82; Mâh-gôspô, Mâh-gôspô, Mâh-gôspô, or Mâh-vasp in Pahl. Yas. IX, 33, Pahl. Vend. III, 138, and ten times in Nîr.; Mâhvand-dâd or Mâh-vindâd in B. Yt. III, 3, Pahl. Yas. IX, 33, X, 57, XI, 22, XIX, 27; Mard-bûd in Sls. II, 86, and twice in Nîr., where he is called the son of Dâd-gun; Nêryôsang in Sls. VIII, 13, Pahl. Vend. V, 22; Nikhshâ-pûhar, or Nîshapûhar in Pahl. Vend. III, 151, V, 112, VI, 71, VIII, 64, XVI, 10, 17, AV. I, 35, and twenty-four times in Nîr.; Nôsâi Bûrz-Mitrô in Sls. VIII, 18; Parîk or Pîrîk in Pahl. Vend. III, 138, V, 14, 134, VII, 82, 93, VIII, 64, and once in Nîr.; Rôshan or Rôshanô (which, as the Sikand-gûmânî states, was the name of a commentary written by Rôshan son of Âtarô-frôbâg) in Sls. II, 39, 86, 107, B. Yt. III, 3, Pahl. Yas. IX, 5, 14, Pahl. Vend. III, 48, V, 112, 134, 176, VII, 93, XVII, 11, and eleven times in Nîr.; disciples of Vakht-âfrîdō (possibly the Bakht-âfrîd of Sls. XX, 11, B. Yt. I, 7) are mentioned once in Nîr.; Vand-Aûharmazd in Sls. II, 2, 6, 44, XIV, 5, Pahl. Vend. VI, 73; and Vêh-dôst once in

CHAPTER II.

1. For in the third fargard ('chapter') of the Vendidad of Mêdôk-mâh¹ *it* is declared that when life is resigned without effort², at the time when the life departs, when a dog is tied to his foot, even then the Nasûs³ rushes upon it, and afterwards, when seen by it, the Nasûs is destroyed by it. 2. This is where *it is stated* which is the dog which destroys the Nasûs⁴, the shepherd's dog, the village-dog, the blood-hound, the slender hound⁵, and the rûkûnk⁶;

the Nîrangistân. It must, however, be observed that the reading of some of these names is very uncertain.

¹ Alluding probably to Mêdôk-mâh's complete commentary on the Vendidad (now no longer extant), as the commentary on Pahl. Vend. III, 48, which treats of Sag-dîd or dog-gaze, does not mention Mêdôk-mâh or any of the details described here in the text; these details, however, are to be found in Pahl. Vend. VII, 4.

² Reading amat barâ zôr gân dâd. This phrase occurs only in M6 (as a marginal note) and in the text of its descendants. Assuming that barâ may be a miswriting of pavan (see p. 176, note 5), we might read amat pavan zôr shûyâd, 'when he shall wash with holy-water.'

³ The 'corruption' which is supposed to enter a corpse shortly after death, whence it issues in the form of a fiend and seizes upon any one who touches the corpse, unless it has been destroyed, or driven away, by the gaze of a dog, as mentioned in the text (compare Vend. VIII, 38-48). The carcass of a dog is considered equally contagious with the corpse of a human being, and when the fiend of corruption (Nasûs or Nas of Bund. XXVIII, 29) has seized upon any one, it can be driven out only by a long and troublesome form of purification described in Vend. VIII, 111-228, IX, 4-117.

⁴ This statement is now to be found in Pahl. Vend. VII, 4.

⁵ See Bund. XIV, 19. The Persian Rivâyats of Kâmah Bahrah and Kâûs Kâmân (quoted in B29) describe these dogs as 'the shepherd's dog, the house-dog, the strange or tame (gharîb) dog, and the puppy.'

⁶ Probably the Av. sukuruna of Vend. V, 100, XIII, 48, which

and as to the rûkûnîk there have been divers opinions, *as* Vand-Aûharmazd¹ asserted, from the teaching of Afarg, that it does not destroy *it*. 3. The dog destroys the Nasûs at the time when it sees the flesh, and when it sees the hair or nails it does not destroy *it*². 4. A blind dog also destroys *it* at the time when it places a paw³ on the corpse; and when it places *it* upon the hair or nails it does not destroy *it*⁴. 5. The birds which destroy the Nasûs are three: the mountain kite, the black crow, and the vulture⁵; the bird, moreover, destroys *it* at the time when *its* shadow falls upon it; when it sees it in the water, a mirror, or a looking-glass, it does not destroy *it*⁶.

is translated by hûkar or hûkûr in the Pahlavi version. This fifth kind of dog is called 'the blind (kûr) dog' in the Persian Rivâyats; but Pahl. Vend. VII, 4 asserts that 'Sôshâns said the rûkûnîk also destroys it,' and then speaks of the blind dog as in § 4.

¹ See the note on Chap. I, 4.

² This is also stated in Pahl. Vend. III, 138.

³ See Pahl. Vend. VII, 4.

⁴ The Persian Rivâyats say this is because the Nasûs is concealed beneath the hair and nails (compare Vend. VII, 70).

⁵ These are the birds 'created for devouring dead matter' (see Bund. XIX, 25). Pahl. Vend. VII, 4 substitutes an eagle (dâlman) for the vulture.

⁶ This sentence is probably defective, as the last clause evidently refers to the dog's gaze (see Pahl. Vend. III, 138), and not to the bird's shadow; the rule, however, is applicable to both. Thus the Persian Rivâyats state that if the bird's shadow falls upon the hair or the nails of the corpse, or if the bird's shadow, or the dog's gaze falls upon a corpse in the water, or upon its reflection in a mirror, the Nasûs is not destroyed. Dastûr Jâmâspji is of opinion that the utility of the bird's shadow is intended to apply only to cases of death in uninhabited places, where a dog is not procurable. As all three birds are such as feed upon corpses, it seems probable that the rule as to their utility was intended to pre-

6. Vand-Aûharmazd said, where a pregnant woman is to be carried by two men¹, both are to be cleansed by the Bareshnûm ceremony², and the head of the corpse, when they carry it away, is to be set towards the Dakhma³. 7. And on account of contamination

vent any neglect of corpses found in wild places, where some of these birds would be sure to approach and let their shadows fall upon the dead, after which the finder of the corpse would suppose that the Nasûs was destroyed or driven away, and the corpse safer to approach.

¹ This is an exceptional case, when not more than two men are available; the usual custom (see Chap. X, 10) is to employ four men and two dogs (double the usual number) in disposing of the corpse of a pregnant woman, on account of the double risk of contamination, owing to the Nasûs, or fiend of corruption, having seized upon two corpses at once. In consequence of the exceptional nature of the case, the mode of purification is also exceptional.

² A long purification ceremony lasting nine nights, and described in Vend. IX, 1-145. Its name, according to Dastûr Hoshangji, is derived from the first word of the instructions for sprinkling the unclean person, which commence (Vend. IX, 48) as follows: Bare-shnûm hê vaghdhanêṃ paourum paiti-hinâðis, 'sprinkle in front on the top of his head.' As it is usual to quote chapters by their initial words, the initial word of these instructions for the ceremony became a name for the ceremony itself.

³ The building in which the dead are finally deposited; here called by its Huzvâris name, khazân. The Dakhmas used by the Parsis in India are like low circular towers in external appearance, and consist of a high wall enclosing a larger or smaller circular space which is open to the sky. The only opening in the wall is a small doorway, closed with an iron door. In the centre of the circular area is a circular well a few feet in depth, and the space around it is paved so as to slope gently downwards from the enclosing wall to the brink of the well. This paved annular area is divided (by shallow gutters grooved into its surface) into spaces, each large enough for one corpse to be laid upon it, with the head towards the wall and the feet towards the well. These spaces are arranged in two or more concentric rings around the well, and the gutters (which isolate each space on all four sides) drain into the

(padvîshak)¹ two are not to be carried at one time, and two by one person are not proper; one dog and one person are proper². 8. Every one who understands the care of a corpse is proper; two boys of eight years old, who understand the care, are proper; a woman free from menstruation, or free from dead

well. After a sufficient time has elapsed the dry bones are said to be thrown into the well, and when the well is full the Dakhma ought to be finally closed, and another one brought into use. These Dakhmas are erected upon some dry and barren spot, remote from habitations and water; upon the summit of a hill, if possible, as prescribed in Vend. VI, 93, and usually more than a mile from the town. In Bombay the town has gradually approached the Dakhmas, and to some extent surrounded them, but has been kept away from their immediate vicinity by the judicious measures of influential Parsis, who have acquired all the neighbouring land, and refrain from building on it. The reason for thus exposing their dead to the sun and carnivorous birds is that the Parsis consider fire, water, and earth too sacred to be defiled by corpses; and they have less consideration for the air. Next to burning, the Parsi mode of disposing of the dead is the most rapid and effectual, as it avoids most of the concentrated evils which must accumulate in crowded cemeteries in the course of time, and which require ages to dissipate. As it is, most of the offensive effluvium in the immediate vicinity of a Dakhma arises not from direct contamination of the air, but indirectly through the ground, which becomes polluted, in the course of time, by impure filtrations.

¹ Dastûr Jâmâspji prefers reading patôshak, and thinks it means 'necessity,' as in cases where two deaths occur nearly simultaneously in the same house, when both corpses cannot be removed the same day. Such a meaning might suit this passage, but the word occurs again, in § 33 and Chap. IX, 7, where it can refer only to 'contamination,' and the etymology of padvîshak (Av. paiti + vish) is plain enough.

² That is, when two persons cannot be found to carry a corpse, one can do it alone, provided he holds a dog by a string. This course is adopted, Dastûr Jâmâspji says, when a person happens to die in a place where only one Parsi is available.

matter¹, or a man, with a woman or a child of eight years old, is proper.

9. It is not to be carried all covered up², for *that* is burying the corpse; to carry *it* in the rain is worthy of death³. 10. When clouds have been around⁴, it is allowable to carry *it* away from the house; and when rain sets in upon the road it is not allowable to carry *it* back to the house; *but* when it is before a veranda (dâhlîz) *one* should put *it* down there; that is allowable when he who owns the veranda is apprehensive, *and* when he does not allow *it* inside; and, afterwards, it is to be carried away to its place, and when the water stands the height of a javelin (nîzak) inside⁵, *one* puts *it* down *and* brings *it* away yet again. 11. Mêdôk-mâh⁶ says that there should be a shelter (var)⁷ *one* should

¹ In the terms *avî-dashtânô* and *avî-nasâî* the compound *av* is written in an obsolete manner, both in M6 and K20. The meaning of the text is that either or both of the corpse-carriers may be any Parsi man, woman, or child who understands the proper precautions. Compare Pahl. Vend. VIII, 28.

² K20 has 'when curved it is not to be carried.'

³ That is, it is a mortal sin to allow rain to fall upon a corpse before it is deposited in the Dakhma.

⁴ Or 'withheld,' or 'continuous,' according as we compare *hâmûn* with Pers. *âmûn* (*âman*), *amân*, or *hâmân*.

⁵ Inside the Dakhma apparently. The meaning seems to be, that when the Dakhma is flooded the corpse is to be laid down in some dry place in its vicinity until the flood has abated. But according to Pahl. Vend. VIII, 17, it is allowable to throw the corpse in when the Dakhma is full of water.

⁶ See Chaps. I, 3, II, 1. Here, again, the quotation must be from his complete commentary, as it is not extant in the present Pahlavi Vendidad.

⁷ From Av. var, 'to cover, to shelter;' compare Pers. *gullah*, 'a bower or shed.' Nowadays the Parsis have a permanent shelter near the Dakhma. Pahl. Vend. VIII, 17 says, 'to carry

fasten above that place, *and* it would make *it* dry below¹; *one* should place the corpse under that shelter, and they may take the shelter *and* bring *it* away.

12. From the fifth fargard of the Vendidad of Mêdôk-mâh² they state thus, that at the place where one's life goes forth, when he shall die upon a cloth, and a hair or a limb remains upon the bed-place and the ground³, the ground conveys the pollution, even not originating with *itself* (ahambûnikê), in like manner down unto the water⁴. 13. And when *he is* on a bedstead, and *its* legs are not connected with the ground, when a hair or a limb remains behind on the bedstead, it does not convey *the pollution* down. 14. When he shall die on a plastered floor the plaster is polluted, and when they dig up that plaster and spread *it* again afterwards, it is clean. 15. When he shall die on a stone, and the stone is connected with the ground, the stone will become clean, *along* with the ground, in the length of a year; and when they dig up the place, the stone *being* polluted is to be washed at the time. 16. When a stone is connected with the ground, or is separated, and *one* shall die upon it, so much space of the stone as the corpse occupied is polluted⁵;

an umbrella (avargash) from behind, *or* to hold up a shelter, is of no use.'

¹ Or, 'it would make *it* very dry,' if we read avîr, 'very,' instead of agîr, 'below;' these two words being written alike in Pahlavi.

² Quoting again from his lost commentary.

³ Or, perhaps, 'floor.'

⁴ This translation is somewhat doubtful, but the text seems to imply that the ground is polluted as deep as it contains no water.

⁵ K20 has had, 'the stone is all polluted, *and* will become clean at the time when they dig *it* up, the stone is all polluted, in so

when they shall leave it, in the length of a year it will become clean *along* with the ground; and when they dig *it* up, the stone is all polluted, *and* is to be washed at the time; when the stone is not made *even* with the ground, above the ground the stone is all polluted, *and* is to be washed at the time.

17. Dung-fuel *and* ashes, when the limbs of a menstruous woman come upon them, are both polluted; and the salt and lime for washing *her* shift (kartak-shûf) are *to be treated* just like stone¹.

18. If *one* shall die on a terrace roof (bân)², when one of his limbs, or a hair, remains behind at the edge of the roof, the roof is polluted *for* the size of the body as far as the water; and they should carry down all the *sacred* twigs (baresôm)³ in the house, from the place where the pollution is, until there are thirty steps of three feet⁴ to the *sacred* twigs, so that the *sacred* twigs may not be polluted; and when his hair or limb has not come to the eaves (parakân) the roof is polluted to the bottom (tôhîk).

19. And when *one* shall die on a rîâ⁵ *it* is polluted

much space as the corpse occupied *it is* polluted;' but the additional matter seems to be struck out. Something analogous to the details in this paragraph will be found in Pahl. Vend. VI, 9.

¹ This section would be more appropriate in Chap. III.

² Or 'an upper floor;' Pahl. Vend. VI, 9 has, 'when he shall die on an upper floor, when nothing of him remains behind at the partitions (pardakân), the floor is polluted as far as the balcony (âskûp) *and* the balcony alone is clean; when anything of him remains behind at the partitions, the floor is polluted as far as the balcony, the ground is polluted as far as the water, *about* the balcony alone it is not clear.'

³ See note on Chap. III, 32.

⁴ The gâm, 'step,' being 2 feet $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches (see note on Bund. XXVI, 3) these thirty steps are about 79 English feet.

⁵ Meaning uncertain; the word looks like Huzvâris, but it is possible to read rîd-aê instead of rîâ-1.

for the size of the body as far as the water ; *in* the length of a year it will become clean *along* with the ground. 20. A built bridge is *liable* just like a terrace roof. 21. When *one* shall die on the terrace roof of a trellised *apartment* (varam), that is also *liable* just like a terrace roof. 22. When he shall die in a trellised *apartment*, when one of his limbs, or a hair, does not remain on the borders (parakân), it does not convey the pollution down, but when *any* of him remains behind it conveys *it* down ; it is allowable when they dig *it* up¹, and *one* also spreads *it* again afterwards, and *it* is clean.

23. When *one* shall die by strangulation and a rope in a crowd, when *there* is no fear of his falling down they should not carry *him* down ; and when *there* is a fear of his falling down, when that fear is as regards one side of him, they should carry *him* down on that side ; and when *he* has fallen down they should carry *him* down *in* such *place* as *he* has fallen. 24. When *one* is seated upright and shall die, when *there* is fear of his falling on one side they should carry *him* down *on* that one side, and when there is fear on all four sides, *then* on all four sides ; and when *he* has fallen down they should carry *him* down *in* such *place* as *he* has fallen².

25. And when *one* shall die on a tree, when its

¹ That is, the floor of the apartment ; which would probably be formed of earth beaten down, which, in India, is nearly always overspread with diluted cow-dung to hinder cracks in the smooth surface. A better class of floor is spread with lime plaster on a stony surface.

² The object of these rules is evidently to avoid disturbing the corpse more than is absolutely necessary, provided there be no fear of its polluting more of the ground by falling upon it.

bark is green and *there* is no fear of falling off, they should not carry *him* down ; and when *there* is fear of it, they should carry down the whole of the body (tanû masât). 26. And when the bark of the tree is withered, when *there* is fear of it and when *there* is no fear of it, they should carry *it* down. 27. When he shall die on a branch of a tree which is green, when *there* is no fear of his falling off they should not carry *him* down. 28. And when *there* is fear of it, or *it* is a branch of a withered tree, when also, a hair originating with him, or a limb, remains behind on the particular tree, they should carry down the whole of the body¹. 29. And when it does not remain behind him on the particular tree, but when *there* is fear of its falling off, they should not carry it below (vad frôd')².

30. When a corpse (nasât-î)³, from outside of it, remains behind on a jar (khûmbö) in which *there* may be wine, the jar is polluted, *and* the wine is clean. 31. And when *one* shall die inside, in the wine in the jar, if not even a hair or a curl originating with him remains behind on the jar, the wine is polluted and the jar not polluted⁴. 32. When *it* is

¹ K20 has a portion of § 30 inserted here by mistake.

² The object of these rules is likewise to prevent the risk of the corpse defiling more of the ground than is absolutely necessary by falling upon it, as it might do by the breaking of a dead branch.

³ Nasât (Av. nasu) means not only a corpse or carcase of a human being, dog, or other animal of the good creation, but also any portion of such corpse or carcase ; that is, *solid* 'dead matter' in general, as distinguished from dirt or refuse from the living body, or any *liquid* exudation from a corpse or carcase, which is called hîkhar (Av. hikhra).

⁴ Pahl. Vend. VI, 9 states, that 'when *one* shall die on a jar of wine, the jar is useless, and the wine becomes just as though *its*

a jar in which *there* is oil ¹, and dead matter (na sâl), from outside of it, remains behind on it, this is even *as* though it remains inside it, because the oil comes outside and goes back to the inside, *and* both are polluted, the jar and the oil; and even on making the jar dry² it is not fit to put anything in.

33. When a serpent (garzak) is in a jar in which *there* is wine, both are useless and polluted, for it makes *them* contaminated (padvîshak). 34. And when corn shall be in *it*, the jar is polluted and the corn clean; and when nothing originating with *the serpent* inside the jar remains behind on the jar, so much of the corn as includes the serpent, and upon *which* the touch (mâlîsn) of the serpent has gone—because the touch of the serpent's seed might be the death of one—is to be taken out *and* to be thrown away. 35. And when hair or dead matter, even not originating with *the serpent*, remains behind on the jar, the jar is polluted, but is serviceable (shâyad) on making *it* dry³.

36. Brick, earth, and mortar are separated by

course (ravisn) had been within three steps *of the corpse*. And when he shall die in the wine, when nothing of him remains behind on the jar, the jar is proper on making *it* dry' (or, perhaps, 'the jar is fit for bran-flour').

¹ Or 'clarified butter;' in this case the 'jar' is probably a globular vessel, or carboy, made of hide, through which the oil, or liquid butter, penetrates so far as to keep the outer surface greasy, which accounts for the remark about the oil passing in and out. Such vessels, called *dabar*, are commonly used for oil and liquid butter in India.

² Assuming that *khûskar* stands for *khûsk-kar*, as it does in Pahl. Vend. VI, 71; otherwise we should have to read thus: 'and the jar is not even fit to put any bran-flour in.'

³ Again assuming as in § 32; otherwise we must read thus: 'but is fit for bran-flour (*khûskar*).'

their own substance (pavan mindavam-i nafs-man), and are connected with the ground; being separated by their own substance is this, that so much space as dead matter¹ comes upon is polluted; being connected with the ground is this, that they would convey the pollution down unto the water. 37. Dung-fuel, ashes, flour, and other powdered things are connected with their own substance, and are separated from the ground; being connected with their own substance is this, that when dead matter comes upon them the whole of them is polluted; and being separated from the ground is this, that when dead matter comes upon them it does not make the ground polluted².

38. *At* a house *in* which the *sacred* ceremony (yazisn) is prepared, and a dog or a person passes³ away in it, the first business to be done is this, that the fire is to be preserved from harm; moreover, if it be only possible to carry the fire so that they would carry *it* away within three steps of the corpse⁴, even then it is to be carried away, *and* the

¹ Or 'a corpse;' K20 has 'stands upon.' The meaning is that these substances do not communicate the contamination throughout their own substance, but only downwards to the ground, which conveys it farther down, so far as it contains no water.

² That is, these substances communicate the contamination throughout their own substance, but not down to the ground.

³ The verb *vidardanō* (Huz. *vabrûntanō*), 'to cross over, to pass away' (Av. *vi + tar*, Pers. *gudhastan*), can only be used when referring to the death of *good* people or animals; but the verb *mûrdanō* (Huz. *yemîtûntanō*), 'to die, to expire' (Av. *mar*, Pers. *murdan*), can be used generally, though usually applied to the wicked and to evil creatures. Pahl. Vend. V, 134 contains nearly the same text as §§ 38, 39.

⁴ Under ordinary circumstances fire must not be brought within thirty steps, or about 79 English feet, of a corpse (see Vend. VIII,

wall is not to be cut. 39. Rôshan¹ said that an earthen *one* is to be cut into, *but* a mortar *one* is not to be cut; below and above no account *is taken* of damaging (bôdôzêdîh)² the wall³. 40. To bring the fire within⁴ the three steps from the corpse is a Tanâpûhar sin; and when exudation happens to the corpse, it is worthy of death⁵. 41. The prepared food in that house is all useless, and that which is not prepared is usable in the length of nine nights

17). But the spirit of the Mazdayasnian law is reasonable, and, although strict, it allows for practical difficulties and chooses the least of two evils in a more judicious manner than might be expected (a fact which it would be well for Parsis and others to observe in doubtful cases). Here, breaking through the wall of a house is considered a greater evil than the possible pollution of the fire by passing at a distance of three steps, or eight English feet, from a corpse.

¹ The name of a commentator, or commentary, often quoted in Pahlavi translations (see the note on Chap. I, 4).

² Literally, 'destroying the consciousness,' or 'injuring the existence.' Bôdôzêd or bôdyôzad is a particular kind of sin which appears to consist chiefly of the ill-treatment of animals and injury of useful property. It is mentioned in Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 1b, Pahl. Vend. V, 107, XIII, 38, Farh. Okh. pp. 32, 33; and in some editions of the Khurda Avesta it is defined as selling stolen men or animals into misery, or one's own domestic cattle to the butcher, also spoiling and tearing up good clothing, or wasting and spoiling good food.

³ The meaning is, that if it became necessary to break through the wall in order to remove the fire unpolluted, the sin committed through damaging the wall will not be punished either in this world or the next.

⁴ That is, nearer than three steps, which is considered to be the minimum distance at which any degree of purity can be maintained.

⁵ A marg-argân sin, on committing which the sinner is required to place his life at the disposal of the high-priest (see Chap. VIII, 2, 5, 6, 21). It is usually considered equivalent to fifteen Tanâpûhars (see Chap. I, 1, 2).

or a month¹. 42. Clothing also *in* like manner, except that which *one* wears on the body; that, even in that time, is not clean, since it remains in use. 43. And the holy-water (zôhar)², too, which is taken and remains *in* that place, is to be carried away immediately to the water; also the sacred milk (gîv)³ and butter (gum)⁴ *in* like manner. 44. Of the prayer⁵ clothing Vand-Aûharmazd⁶ said that it is usable in the length of nine nights *or* a month; the writer⁷ (dapîr) said that it is when they perform the washing of hands, and wash *it* thoroughly, it will become clean at the time.

45. If in a house there are three rooms (gungî-nak), and *one* shall die in the entrance place (dargâs), if *it be* so that they may set the door open, and the corpse comes to this side, only this

¹ According to the season of the year, the period of uncleanness being nine nights in the five winter months, and a month in the seven summer months (see Vend. V, 129).

² Av. zaôthra; this holy-water is consecrated by the priest reciting certain prayers while holding the empty metal cups in his hands, while filling them with water, and after filling them (see Haug's Essays, p. 397).

³ The Av. gâus gîvya, '*product of the living cow*,' which is kept in a metal saucer during the ceremonies, and used for sprinkling the sacred twigs (baresôm), and for mixing with the holy-water and Hô-m-juice in the mortar (see Haug's Essays, pp. 403, 405, 406).

⁴ Compare Pers. kûm, 'fat'; it is the Av. gâus hudhau, '*product of the well-yielding cow*,' a small piece of which is placed upon one of the sacred pancakes, or wafers (drôn), during the ceremonies (see Haug's Essays, pp. 396, 407).

⁵ Reading yast; but it may be gast, 'changed.'

⁶ See the note on Chap. I, 4.

⁷ There appear to be, as yet, no means of ascertaining the name of the writer of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast, who gives his own opinion here.

side is polluted; and if the corpse comes to that side, only that side is polluted; when it comes to both sides at once (aêvâê), only the entrance place is polluted alone, both the dwelling-rooms (khânak) are clean.

46. And the vault of the sacred fires¹ alone does not become polluted.

47. If *one* shall die in a wild spot (vaskar), prepared food which is within three steps is all useless, and beyond four steps it is not polluted. 48. Prepared food is this, such as bread, boiled and roast meat, and prepared broth².

49. And the ashes (var) of the sacred fire³ become in a measure polluted.

50. Should they carry in the fire into that house in which the length of nine nights *or* a month is requisite for becoming clean, *there* is a sin of one Tanâpûhar⁴ through carrying *it* in, and one Tanâpûhar through kindling *it*; and every trifling *creature* (khûr or khûl) which shall die and shall remain *causes* a sin of one Tanâpûhar. 51. Also through carrying water in, *there* is a sin of one Farmân; and to pour water on the place where *any* one's life departs is a sin of one Tanâpûhar, and to pour *it* on a different place is a sin of one Yât. 52. And to

¹ Literally, 'the vault of the fires of Vâhrâm.' Pahl. Vend. V, 134 says 'the vault of the fires is *liable* just like an empty house.' Both this section and § 49 seem out of place.

² See Pahl. Vend. V, 134.

³ Literally, 'the produce of the fire of Vâhrâm,' a term for 'ashes,' which is used in Pahl. Vend. V, 150 along with the equivalent phrase, 'clothing of the fire' (see Chap. III, 27).

⁴ See Chap. I, 1, 2 for the degrees of sin mentioned in §§ 50, 51, 53.

undergo ablution¹ inside *the unclean house* is all non-ablution. 53. And whoever goes into it needlessly, *his body and* clothes are to be every time thoroughly washed, and his sin is one Tanâpûhar; and when he goes in needfully *it* is neither good work nor sin².

54. And this pollution is all in the sharp account (tîkhak amâr) when the life departs³; the only *thing* which amounts to polluting is contact with the flesh, and even with the hair and nails. 55. Of the contact which is stated in the Avesta⁴, the account is *that it is* from one side, and it ever cleaves to *one*; the curse (gazisn)⁵ which is stated in the Avesta advances from all four sides. 56. Sôshyans⁶ said it is, until its exhibition to a dog, just as it becomes at the time when its life departs⁷; a priest, a

¹ That is, the ceremonial ablution (pâdîyâvîh), or 'washing, with water, the hands and arms up to the elbows, the face as far as behind the ears, and the feet up to the ankles,' whilst a certain form of prayer is recited (see AV. p. 148, note).

² Here again, as in § 38, the strict letter of the law is relaxed in case of necessity.

³ Meaning, apparently, that any pollution is taken into account, as a sin, in the investigation the soul has to undergo upon entering the other world. Much of this paragraph will be found in Pahl. Vend. V, 107.

⁴ Referring to Vend. V, 82-107, which gives an account of the number of persons through whom the pollution of a corpse or carcase will pass, which is in proportion to the importance of the dead individual. The statement here made is that the infection, passing from one to the other, enters each person only on one side, but the demon of corruption attacks them on all sides.

⁵ Meaning, probably, the Nasûr, or demon of corruption (see § 1), who is said to rush upon all those polluted as detailed in Vend. V, 82-107.

⁶ See Chap. I, 3.

⁷ That is, until seen by the dog the corpse remains pervaded by the demon of corruption and hazardous to approach (see §§ 1-4).

warrior, and a husbandman are no use, for merely a dog is stated. 57. Kûshtanô-bûgêd¹ said the account is at the time when its life departs; and that which Kûshtanô-bûgêd specially said is, 'when anything is inside it (the place) the pollution is as far as to the place where that thing stands.' 58. When a dog, or a goat, or a pig is requisite (dârvâi)² it is proper, for *the pollution* does not attack further there; and the pollution of a child in the womb is *along* with the mother.

59. The direct pollution of a hedgehog³ cleaves to *one*, and not the indirect pollution. 60. Direct pollution (hamrêd)⁴ is that when the body is in contact with a corpse, and indirect pollution (paît-

¹ See Chap. I, 4, note. This name is nearly always written Kushtanô-bûgêd in Sls. in K20 and M6; it is not mentioned in Pahl. Vend. V, 107, although the details here quoted are there given in part.

² The meaning is not quite clear, but this sentence is probably to be read in connection with the preceding one, as implying that where such domestic animals are kept they can be used for stopping the infection, as effectually as any inanimate object. The pig is here mentioned as a common domestic animal, but Parsis have long since adopted the prejudices of Hindus and Muhammadans as regards the uncleanness of the pig.

³ As Vend. V, 108-112 says the same of the dog urupi, it would seem that the writer of our text considered the urupi to be a hedgehog (zûzak); the Pahlavi translation of the Vendidad renders it by rapuk or rîpûk, which appears to be merely an approximate transcript of the Avesta word; traditionally, this is read raspûk and compared with Pers. râsû, 'ichneumon;' its identification with the hedgehog is certainly doubtful, although it appears to be admitted in Pahl. Vend. V, 112, where the same words are used as in this section.

⁴ The technical terms hamrêd and paîtrêd, for contagion and infection, are merely corruptions of Av. hām-raêthwayêiti and paiti-raêthwayêiti. The definition of the latter one is omitted in K20 by mistake.

rêd) is that when¹ *one* is in contact with him who touched the corpse; and from contact with him who is the eleventh² indirect pollution cleaves to *one* in the same manner. 61. The indirect pollution of an ape³ and a menstruous woman, not acting the same way, remains. 62. The shepherd's dog, and likewise the village-dog, and others also of the like kind carry contamination to eight⁴; and when they shall carry *the carcase* down on the ground *the place*⁵ is clean immediately; and that, too, which dies on a balcony (âskûp), until they shall carry *it* down to the bottom, is polluted *for* the length of a year.

63. Whoever brings dead matter (nasât) on any person is worthy of death; he is thrice worthy of

¹ Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mîn, 'which' (see note to Bund. I, 7).

² Vend. V, 86, 87 limits the pollution to the eleventh person infected, in the extreme case of the corpse having been a priest; but Pahl. Vend. V, 107 quotes the opinion of Sôshâns that until a dog has gazed at the corpse the pollution extends to the twelfth, but only the first ten require the ceremonial purification of the barešnûm, the others being cleansed by ordinary washing with bull's urine and water.

³ Pahl. Vend. V, 107 states, however, that 'everything of the ape (kapîk) is just like mankind.' The meaning of § 61 is very uncertain, as the text can be both read and translated several ways, and none of them are very satisfactory.

⁴ That is, in the case of the shepherd's dog (see Vend. V, 92, 93); the carcases of other dogs occasion the indirect pollution of fewer persons, in proportion to their inferior importance; but Pahl. Vend. V, 107 states, with regard to this importance, that when 'in doubt, every man is to be considered as a priest, and every dog as a shepherd's dog,' so as to be on the safe side, by exacting the maximum amount of purification in all doubtful cases.

⁵ The Pahlavi text leaves it doubtful whether the place, the people, or the carcase becomes clean, but the first is the most probable.

death¹ at the time when a dog *has* not seen the corpse (nasât); and *if* through negligence of appliances and means (*kâr va tûbânö*) he disturbs *it*, and disturbs *it* by touching it, he knows that *it is* a sin worthy of death; and *for* a corpse that a dog *has* seen, and *one that* a dog *has* not seen, the accountability is to be understood *to be* as much², and *for* the death and sickness³ of a feeble man *and* a powerful *one*. 64. Afarg has said there is no account of appliances and means⁴, for *it* is not allowable to commit a sin worthy of death in *cases of* death and sickness.

65. When they move a corpse which a dog *has* not seen with a thousand men, even then the bodies of the whole *number* are polluted⁵, and are to be washed for them with ceremony (pîsak)⁶. 66. And *for* that which a dog *has* seen, except that one only when a man shall move *it* all⁷ by touching *it*, his washing is then not *to be* with ceremony. 67. And when he is in contact *and* does not move *it*, he is to be washed with bull's urine *and* water. 68. And

¹ That is, he has committed a sin equivalent to three mortal sins (marg-argân).

² Reading *ves* as equivalent to *vêš*.

³ Reading *râkhtakîh* (compare Pers. *rakhtah*, 'sick, wounded').

⁴ This opinion of Afarg (see Chap. I, 3) is also quoted in Pahl. Vend. III, 48.

⁵ This statement is repeated in Chap. X, 33.

⁶ That is, with the Bareshnûm ceremony.

⁷ This exception (which is repeated in §§ 68, 71) seems to imply that §§ 66, 68, 71 refer to the collection of any fragments of a corpse found in the wilderness, or in water; and the exemption from the troublesome purification ceremony in such cases, is probably intended to encourage people to undertake the disagreeable duty of attending to such fragments.

when he shall move with a stake (dâr)¹ a corpse which a dog *has* not seen, except that one only when he shall move *it* all, the washing for him is not *to be* with ceremony.

69. And when a man shall move a corpse, which a dog *has* not seen, by the hand of another man, *he* who moves it by the hand of a man, *and* he also whose own hand's strength *does it* are polluted in the bodies of both; and it is the root of a Tanâpûhar² *sin* for him himself and of a Tanâpûhar for the other one, for this *reason*, because his own body and that also of the *other* are both made polluted through sinfulness. 70. And when there is not in him, nor even originating with *him* (ahambûnikê), the strength of him whose own hand *it is*, it is just as though he would move it (the corpse) with a stake³; and he who held *it* in the way of contact with his hand is to be washed with ceremony; and it is the root of a Tanâpûhar sin for him whose own hand *it is*, and of a Khôr⁴ for himself. 71. When he shall move a corpse by the hand of a man, and the corpse is of those which a dog *has* seen—except that one only when he shall move it all⁵—the washing for him is not *to be* with ceremony.

¹ The interposition of the stake, or piece of wood, prevents the direct attack of the Nasûr, or demon of corruption, which has not been driven away by a dog. That inanimate objects are supposed to stop the progress of the pollution appears from § 57.

² See Chap. I, 1, 2. A sin is figuratively said to take root in the body, when it has to be eradicated, or figuratively dug up.

³ See § 68. If he employs another man to move the corpse merely because he is physically unable to do it himself, he escapes with less pollution than when he is able to do the work himself; but the man employed suffers the same in both cases.

⁴ See Chap. I, 1, 2.

⁵ See § 66.

'72. When *one* is going *by* a place at night, and comes back there *on* the morrow, and a corpse lies there, and he does not know whether the evil (dûs) was there when he came by¹, or not, it is to be considered by him that it was not there.

73. Of a flock in which is a sheep by whom dead matter is eaten, of a forest in which is a tree with which dead matter is mingled, and of a firewood-stand (aesamdân) in which is a stick of firewood with which grease is mingled, Afarg said that it is not proper to make the flock and the forest fruitful, and the firewood is useless².

74. *About* a door on which a corpse impinges; as to the door of a town and city they have been of the same opinion, that *it* is to be discarded by *his* comrades (hamkâr)³; as to a door which is mostly closed (badtûm)⁴ they have been of different opinions,

¹ Literally, 'when I came by;' the usual Persian idiom in such phrases.

² This statement of Afarg's, so far as it relates to greasy firewood, will be found in Pahl. Vend. V, 14.

³ Or, 'by the community.' The same rule is mentioned in Pahl. Vend. V, 14.

⁴ There is some uncertainty about this word. It is not the Pers. badtum, 'worst, vilest,' because that is written vadtûm or vatûm in Pahlavi; besides, the rule must apply to other than the vilest doors, otherwise it would not harmonize with § 75. It is not a miswriting of nîdûm, 'lowest, most debased,' for the same reason, and because it occurs elsewhere. It is not a miswriting of bêdman, a possible variant of bêdâ, 'a house' (although 'a house-door' would suit the context very well), because it occurs also in Pahl. Vend. V, 14, XI, 10, in which latter place it is clearly an adjective partially translating Av. bēdvô. And it would be hazardous to connect it with Pers. bîdûn, 'outside,' which seems merely a corruption or misreading of bîrûn. The view taken here is that badtûm stands for bandtûm, 'most shut up,' the nasal being often dropped in Pahlavi, as in sag for sang, 'stone,' &c.

Gôgôasp¹ said that discarding *it* by *his* comrades is likewise proper, and Sôshyans said that it is not proper; and as to other doors they have been of the same opinion, that it is not proper. 75. The door of one's own chief apartment (shah-gâs) is fit for that of the place for menstruation (dastân-istân), and that of the place for menstruation is fit for that of the depository *for the dead* (khazânö)², and that of the depository of the dead is not fit for any purpose whatever³; that of the more pleasant is fit for that of the more grievous.

76. Any one who, through sinfulness, throws a corpse into the water, is worthy of death on the spot⁴; when he throws only one *it is* one *sin* worthy of death, *and* when he throws ten at one time *it is* then one *sin* worthy of death; when he throws *them* separately *it is* a *sin* worthy of death for each one.

77. Of the water, into which *one* throws dead matter, the extent of pollution is three steps of three feet *in* the water advancing, nine steps of three feet *in* the water *passed* over, and six steps of three feet *in* the water alongside⁵; six steps of three feet in the depth of the water, and three steps of three feet in the water pouring over the dead matter are polluted as regards the depth⁶. 78. When it is thrown *into* the midst of a great standing water, in like manner, the proportion it comes is ever as much as it goes, *and*

¹ See Chap. I, 3.

² The Huz. equivalent of Pâz. dakhmak (see § 6).

³ See Pahl. Vend. V, 14.

⁴ Compare Pahl. Vend. VII, 66.

⁵ See Vend. VI, 80.

⁶ That is, the pollution extends about eight English feet up-stream and upwards, sixteen feet sideways and downwards, and twenty-four feet down-stream. Some of the latter part of the sentence is omitted in K20 by mistake.

is the proportion of it they should always carry away with *the dead matter* ¹.

79. And when a man comes forth, and a corpse lies in the water, when he is able to bring it out, and it is not an injury to him, it is not allowable to abandon *it* except when he brings *it* out ². 80. Sôshyans ³ said that, when it is an injury, it is allowable when ⁴ he does not bring *it* out; and when it is not an injury, and he does not bring *it*, his sin is a Tanâpûhar ⁵. 81. Kûshtanô-bûgêd ⁶ said that even in *case of* injury it is not allowable to abandon *it*, except when he brings *it* out; when he does not bring *it* *he* is worthy of death. 82. And Gôgôsp ⁷ said that it is even in *case of* injury not allowable, except when he brings *it* out; and when, in *case of* injury, he does not bring *it* out his sin is a Tanâpûhar; and when it is no injury to him, and he does not bring *it*, *he* is worthy of death.

83. And when he shall wish to bring *it* his clothing is to be laid aside ⁸, for it makes the clothing

¹ The sentence is obscure, but this seems to be the meaning; that is, when a corpse or any dead matter is thrown into a pond or tank, the pollution extends sixteen feet from it in all directions; and that quantity of water ought to be drawn off, in order to purify the tank (see Vend. VI, 65-71). As the corpse, in nearly all cases, must be either at the bottom or on the surface, the quantity of polluted water to be drawn off must be a hemispherical mass sixteen feet in radius, or about forty-eight tons of water.

² See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64, where it states that bringing it out is a good work of one Tanâpûhar, and leaving it is a sin of the same amount.

³ See Chap. I, 3.

⁴ Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

⁵ See Chap. I, 1, 2.

⁶ See Chap. I, 4, note.

⁷ See Chap. I, 3.

⁸ See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64.

polluted, and whatever *he* is first able *and* best able *to bring* is to be brought out by him. 84. When, too, he is able to bring *it* out through the breadth of the water, then also it is to be brought out so¹; and when he is not able, it is to be brought out through the length of the water; and showing *it to* a dog *and* the two men are not to be waited for².

85. And it is to be carried by him so much away from the neighbourhood of the water that, when he puts *it* down, the water which comes out dropping from the corpse does not reach back to the water; for when the water which comes out from the corpse reaches continuously back to the water *he* is worthy of death; and after that (*min zak frâg*) it is to be shown *to* a dog, and it is to be carried away by two men. 86. And when he wishes to throw *it* out from the water, *Mard-bûd*³ said it is allowable to throw *it* out thus, so that the water of the dripping corpse does not reach continuously back to the water; *Rôshan* said it would be allowable to throw *it* out far.

87. To drag *it* over the water is allowable, to grasp and relinquish *it* is not allowable⁴; and when it is possible to act so that he may convey *it* from a great water to a small water, when the water is

¹ So that less water may be polluted by the corpse taking the shortest route through it; but if that be impossible it must come out quickly, at any rate.

² That is, the otherwise indispensable dog's gaze and two bearers must be dispensed with, if not at hand, in order to save time, until the corpse is out of the water (see § 85).

³ It might be, 'there was a man *who* said,' but *Mard-bûd* occurs in the *Nîrangistân* as the name of a commentator (see Chap. I, 4, note).

⁴ See *Pahl. Vend.* VI, 64 for this prohibition.

connected *it* is allowable, and when separated *it* is not allowable. 88. Afarg¹ said it is allowable to drag *it* below through the water, but to drag *it* over is not allowable, for this has come *on* the water *as* a danger², and that has not come *on it as* a danger. 89. Mêdôk-mâh¹ said it is allowable to drag *it* above, *but* to drag *it* below is not allowable, for the danger has gone out across the water, and the danger is not now to be brought upon it; and on that which is below, *on* which the danger has not come, the danger will at last arrive.

90. When he goes into the water he is to go into it with this idea, that 'should there be many below, then I will even bring all;' for whoever goes in not with this idea, and shall disturb any other one which lies there, will become polluted³. 91. And if the corpse be heavy *and* it is not possible to bring *it* out by one person, *and* he goes out with this idea, that 'I *will* go and prepare means, and bring this corpse out of the water;' and when through sinfulness⁴ he does not go back his body is polluted *and* worthy of

¹ See Chap. I, 3.

² Or 'fear.' The difference of opinion between the two commentators on this question in casuistry, appears to have arisen from Afarg regarding the water merely as the representative of a spirit, who might be endangered or frightened by the source of impurity becoming more visible when above the water, while Mêdôk-mâh considered the water in its material aspect, and wished to save it from the further pollution consequent upon drawing the corpse through more of it.

³ See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64.

⁴ These rules generally distinguish clearly between offences committed 'through sinfulness,' that is, wilfully, and those arising from accidental inability; more stress being laid upon the intention than upon the action.

death, and when he is unable to go back he is not polluted.

92. When the corpse is so decomposed (*pûḍak*), when *it* is thus necessary to bring it out, that he must cut off various fragments, even after he cuts *them* off *they* are to be brought out; and for every fragment his hands and knife are to be washed with bull's urine (*gômêz*), and with dust and moisture (*nambō*) *they* are clean¹. 93. And *they* are to be torn off² by him, and for every single fragment which he brings out his good work is one Tanâpûhar.

94. And when rain is falling the corpse lies in the water; to take *it* from the water to deposit *it* in the rain is not³ allowable.

95. Clothing which is useless⁴, this is that in which they should carry a corpse, and that even when very much *or* altogether useless; of that on which they shall decompose⁵ (*barâ vishûpênd*), and of that on which the excretions (*hîkhar*) of the dead come, so much space is to be cut away⁶, and the rest is to be

¹ See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64 for §§ 92, 93.

² Or 'twisted off;' the Huz. *neskhûntanō* must be traced to Chald. ܢܚܢܐ 'to pluck out, to tear away,' and seems to have a similar meaning in Pahlavi; its Pâz. equivalent *vîkhtanō* (Av. *vig*) ought to be compared rather with Pers. *kîkhtan*, 'to bruise or break,' than with *bêkhtan* or *pêkhtan*, 'to twist.'

³ This negative is omitted in M6 by mistake.

⁴ Compare Pahl. Vend. VII, 32.

⁵ Or 'go to pieces;' that this is the meaning of *vishûpênd* appears clearly from Pahl. Vend. VII, 123, but a Persian gloss in the modern MS. M9 explains it as 'deposit fragments from the beak of a bird,' meaning, of course, fragments of dead matter dropped by a carrion bird.

⁶ As useless, being incapable of purification; such cuttings are to be buried, according to the Avesta of Vend. VII, 32, though the Pahlavi commentary explains that they are to be thrown away.

thoroughly washed for the six-months' *period*¹. 96. That which a menstruous woman has in wear (*mah-mânth*)² is to be discarded in like fashion.

97. The clothing which is to be washed for the six-months' *period* is such as is declared in the Avesta³. 98. If the clothing be leathern it is to be thoroughly washed three times with bull's urine (*gômêz*), every time to be made quite dry with dust, and to be thoroughly washed three times with water, and to be laid out three months in a place to be viewed by the sun⁴; and then it is proper for an unclean person (*armêst*)⁵ who has not performed

¹ *Khshvâs-mâûgôk* is merely a corruption of the Av. *khshvas maunghô*, 'six months,' of Vend. VII, 36, where this form of cleansing is thus described: 'If (the clothing) be woven, they should wash *it* out six times with bull's urine, they should scour *it* six times with earth, they should wash *it* out six times with water, they should fumigate *it* six months at the window of the house.'

² See Pahl. Vend. VII, 32.

³ That is, woven clothing, as declared in Vend. VII, 36 (quoted above in note 1).

⁴ See Vend. VII, 35.

⁵ A Persian gloss defines *armêst* as 'a woman who has brought forth a dead child,' and this is the general opinion; but that seems to be only a particular example of an unclean person who would be included under the general term *armêst*, for according to Pahl. Vend. IX, 133, 137, 141 a man when only partially purified must remain apart in the place for the *armêst* (Av. *airima*, compare Sans. *il* or *rf*) for a certain time. Nêryôsang, in his Sanskrit translation of Mkh. (XXXVII, 36, XXXIX, 40, LI, 7), explains *armêst* as 'lame, crippled, immobility;' it also means 'stagnant,' when applied to water; and its primitive signification was, probably, 'most stationary,' an appropriate term for such unclean persons as are required to remain in a particular place apart from all others, as well as for helpless cripples, and insane persons under restraint (see Chap. VI, 1). The meaning 'most polluted' would hardly apply to tank water.

worship, or it is proper for a menstruous woman. 99. Other clothing, when hair is on it¹, is *liable* just like woven *cloth* (*tadak*); all the washing of wool, floss silk, silk, hair, and camel's hair is just like *that of* woven *cloth*; and woven clothing is to be washed six times².

100. Wool which is connected together, when one *part* is twisted over another, and a corpse rests³ upon it, is all polluted on account of the connection; and when fleece (*mêsh*) rests upon fleece, then so much space as the corpse rests upon is polluted. 101. When *one* shall die upon a rich carpet (*bûp*) when the carpet is on a coarse rug (*namad*) *and* is made connected, the rug and carpet are both polluted, and when separated the rug is clean. 102. When several cushions are heaped (*nikîd*) one upon the other, and are not made connected, and dead matter comes upon them, they have been unanimous that only that one is polluted on which the dead matter came. 103. A cushion *together* with wool⁴ is *liable* just like a carpet with a rug⁵. 104. Of several cushions which are tied down together, when dead matter comes to the tie, both are polluted, the cord *and* the cushions; and when the dead matter comes to a cushion, and does not come to the tie, the cushions are all polluted on account of the connection, and the tie is clean⁶.

¹ Pahl. Vend. VII, 35 says 'when a single hair is on it.'

² As mentioned in a note on § 95.

³ Literally, 'impinges.' Here, as in many other places, 'dead matter' may be read instead of 'corpse,' as *nasâi* means both or either of them.

⁴ That is, laid upon wool.

⁵ See § 101.

⁶ See Pahl. Vend. VII, 27.

105. A pregnant woman who devours dead matter through sinfulness is polluted *and* worthy of death, and there is no washing for her¹; and *as for* the child, when it *has* become acquainted with duties (pīśak-shinās), ashes² and bull's urine are for its eating and for its washing. 106. *As for* a child who is born of solitary carriers *of the dead*³, although its father and mother may both have devoured dead matter through sinfulness, that which is born is clean on the spot, for it does not become polluted *by* birth.

107. Rôshan⁴ said that every one, who, through sinfulness, has become polluted by means of dead matter, is worthy of death, and his polluted body never becomes clean; for this *one* is more wretched than the fox which *one* throws into the water living, and in the water it will die. 108. *One* worthy of death never becomes clean; *and* a solitary carrier *of the dead* is to be kept at thirty steps from *ceremonial* ablution (pâdīyâvīth).

109. Whichsoever of the animal species has eaten their dead matter⁵, its milk, dung, hair, *and* wool are polluted the length of a year; and *if* pregnant when it has eaten *it*, the young one has also eaten *it*, and the young one is clean after the length of a year from being born of the mother. 110. When a male which has eaten *it* mounts a female, the female is not polluted. 111. When dead matter is eaten by it,

¹ That is, she cannot be purified.

² Reading var (see note on § 49).

³ Carrying a corpse by a single person being prohibited (see §§ 7, 8); but why he is supposed to devour it is not clear.

⁴ See Chap. I, 4, note.

⁵ Compare Pahl. Vend. VII, 192.

and even while it is not digested it shall die, it is *liable* just like a leathern bag (anbân) in which is dead matter.

112. Gold, when dead matter comes upon it, is to be once thoroughly washed with bull's urine (gô-mêz), to be once made quite dry with dust, and to be once thoroughly washed with water, and *it is* clean¹. 113. Silver is to be twice thoroughly washed with bull's urine, and to be made quite dry with dust, and is to be twice thoroughly washed with water, and *it is* clean². 114. And iron, *in like manner*, three times, steel four times, and stone six times³. 115. Afarg said: 'Should it be quicksilver (âvğînak)⁴ it is *liable* just like gold, and amber (kahrupâi) just like stone, and all jewels just like iron.' 116. The pearl (mûrvârîd)⁵, amber, the

¹ The purification here detailed is prescribed for golden vessels in Vend. VII, 186.

² This is the purification prescribed for silver vessels in Vend. VII, 74 W.; it is found in the Vendidad Sâdah, but is omitted (evidently by mistake) in the Vendidad with Pahlavi translation, and has, therefore, been omitted in Spiegel's edition of the texts. By this accidental omission in the MSS. silver is connected with the purification for stone (see § 114).

³ See Vend. VII, 75 W., much of which is omitted in the Vendidad with Pahlavi translation, and in Spiegel's edition (see the preceding note), the sixfold washing of stone being erroneously applied to silver (see Vend. VII, 187 Sp.), owing to this omission of the intervening text. It appears from this section that the Av. haosafna, which has usually been translated as 'copper,' was understood to be pûlâvd, 'steel,' by the Pahlavi translators.

⁴ Or 'a mirror' (Pers. âbgînah), but the word is evidently used for a metal in SZS. X, 2, and very likely here also.

⁵ Most of the substances mentioned in §§ 115, 116 are detailed in Pahl. Vend. VII, 188, where it is stated that 'as to the pearl *there* have been different opinions, some say that it is *liable* just like gold, some say that it is just like the other jewels, *and* some say that there is no washing *for it*.'

ruby (yâkand) gem, the turquoise¹, the agate (shapak), coral-stone (vasadîn sag), bone, and other substances (gôhar) which are not particularly mentioned, are to be washed just like wood²; and when they are taken into use there is no washing³, and when they are not taken their washing is once. 117. Of earthen *and* horny *articles* there is no washing; and of other substances which are not taken for use the washing is once, and *they are* declared out of use.

118. Firewood, when green, is to be cut off the length of a span (vitast), one by one, as many *sticks* as there are—and when dry one span and two finger-breadths⁴—and is to be deposited *in* some place the length of a year, and water is not to be dropped upon *it*; and *it is* drawn out *after* the length of a year; Sôshyans⁵ said that it is proper as firewood for *ordinary* fires, and Kûshtanô-bûgêd⁶ said that *it is* just as declared in the Avesta: 'The

¹ This is doubtful; the word can be read pirînak, and has the Pers. gloss pîrûzah, 'turquoise,' in some MSS. If read pilînak it might perhaps be taken for 'ivory.' But in Pahl. Vend. VII, 188 it is vafarînô, 'snowy,' and the reading there seems to be 'jet-black *and* snow-white stone-coral;' so here the original meaning may have been 'snow-white and jet-black coral-stone.'

² Vend. VII, 188 says that 'earthen or wooden or porcelain vessels are impure for everlasting.'

³ Meaning, apparently, that they cannot be purified for immediate use.

⁴ That is, one-sixth longer than when green, the vitast being twelve finger-breadths, or nine inches (see Bund. XXVI, 3, note). The purification of firewood, here prescribed, is simply drying it for a year in short lengths; but Vend. VII, 72-82 requires it also to be sprinkled once with water, and to be cut into longer pieces.

⁵ See Chap. I, 3.

⁶ See Chap. I, 4, note.

washed *one*, even then, is proper in dried clothing¹.
 119. About corn² they have been unanimous that so much space is polluted as the dead matter comes upon; and of that which is lowered into pits³, or is wanted *to be so*, and of that which is scattered (*afsta*) at such a place *there are* different opinions; Sôshyans said: 'Should it be of such a place *it* is polluted as much as the dead matter *has* come upon it;' and Gôgôsp⁴ said: 'Should it be *so it* is all polluted, *and* the straw is all polluted.'

120. A walnut⁵, through *its* mode of connection, is all polluted, and the washing of both its shell and kernel (*pôst va mazg*) is just like *that of* wood.

121. A pomegranate also is of such nature as a walnut. 122. *As to* the date, when its stalk⁶ is not connected the date is polluted and the stalk *and* stone (*âstak*) are clean; the washing of the date is just like *that of* corn; and when it is touched upon the stalk, when the stalk, stone, and date are connected, the whole is polluted; *as to* the date when not connected with the stalk, *and* touched at the

¹ Something similar is said in Pahl. Vend. VI, 71.

² According to Vend. VII, 83-93 polluted corn and fodder are to be treated like polluted firewood, but to be cut into pieces of about double the length.

³ Reading *dên gôpân farôstak*; the practice of storing corn in dry pits underground is common in the East and in some parts of Europe. In Pahl. Vend. VII, 93 it is *dên gôpân âvist*, 'concealed in pits.'

⁴ See Chap. I, 3.

⁵ Pahl. Vend. VII, 93 classes the almond with the walnut as a connected fruit, and the date with the pomegranate as a separated one.

⁶ The word is *kûrâpak* or *kûrâzak*, but its meaning is doubtful.

stalk, the date is clean, and the washing of the stone is just like *that of* wood. 123. The pomegranate, citron, quince, apple, pear, and other fruit, when in bearing and the rind (pazâvisnō) is perceptible on it, when dead matter comes upon it *there* is no pollution of it; and when the rind (pazâmisnō) is not perceptible on it, its washing is just like *that of* corn; and rind is ever with the citron¹. 124. *For* meat, butter, milk, cheese, and preserves (rikâr) there is no washing².

CHAPTER III.

1. The clothing of a menstruous woman which they shall take new for her use is polluted, and that which is in use is not polluted³. 2. When a bed-chamber (shâd-aûrvân) is overspread, and a carpet (bûp) is laid upon it and a cushion *on* the two⁴, *and*

¹ Pahl. Vend. VII, 93 says, 'fruit whose rind (pazâv) exists is also just like that in a pod (kûvak), and *for* that which does not remain in a rind, when *pollution* shall come upon it, *there* is no *cleansing* whatever. Afarg said that *there* is ever a rind (pazâvisnō) with the citron.'

² Pahl. Vend. VII, 93 says, '*for* everything separated *there* is a washing, except meat *and* milk.' Articles for which there is no washing cannot be purified.

³ Pahl. Vend. XVI, 5 says, 'when in the place she remains in for the purpose, she does not make the clothing she wears on *her* body polluted, it remains for use within the place.' The meaning is, probably, that clothing already set apart for the purpose does not become further polluted, so as to be unfit for her use. It appears also (Pahl. Vend. XVI, 5) that on the spot where menstruation first appears, not even the twigs uplifted in the sacred ceremony are polluted, unless the circumstances are abnormal.

⁴ This phrase, about the carpet and cushion, is omitted in K20 by mistake.

a woman sits upon *it* and menstruation occurs, when she puts a foot from the cushion on to the carpet, and from the carpet out into the bed-chamber, the carpet and bed-chamber are both polluted, for *they are* taken newly for her use, *but* of the cushion *there* is no pollution for this reason, because *it is* in use.

3. And when she sits on the cushion so that she shall have both the carpet and cushion in use, the bed-chamber is polluted by itself; and when all three shall be in use *there* is no pollution whatever ¹.

4. Just as she knows that *it is* menstruation, in the place *she is* in for the purpose ², first the necklace, then the ear-rings, then the head-fillet (*kambar*), and then the *outer* garments (*gâmak*) are to be put off by her. 5. When in the place she remains in for the purpose, even though she may remain a very long time for that purpose, yet then the *outer* garments are clean, *and there* is no need of leather covering and leather shoes ³.

6. When she knows for certain (*aêvar*) that *it is* menstruation, until the complete changing (*gûharî-danö*) of all *her* garments, and she shall *have* sat down in the place for menstruation ⁴, a prayer is to

¹ §§ 2, 3 are merely corollaries from § 1.

² Or, possibly, 'on the spot *she is* in on the occasion;,' although it would appear from § 5 that the place referred to is the *dashtânistân*, or place of retirement for the unclean.

³ Reading *mask va salmîhâ*, but both reading and meaning are doubtful. The first word may be *muskö*, 'musk,' and the other can be read *sharmgâh*, but, if so, the construction of the sentence is defective, as it stands in the MSS.

⁴ The *dashtânistân*, a comfortless room or cell provided in every Parsi house for unclean persons to retire to, where they can see neither sun, moon, stars, fire, water, sacred vessels, nor righteous men; it ought to be fifteen steps (39½ feet) from fire,

be retained *inwardly*¹. 7. When worship is celebrated a prayer is to be retained² *inwardly*, and should menstruation occur the prayer is to be spoken out by her. 8. When in speaking *out* the prayer should menstruation occur, both afterwards, when the time was certain (*avtġûmân*), and now *she* is certain³. 9. When she retains a prayer *inwardly*, and a call of nature arises, there is no need for her to speak *out* the prayer, for the formula for the call is to be spoken by her⁴.

10. Hands sprinkled in *ceremonial* ablution (*pâdīyâv*), when a menstruous woman sees *them*, become quite unclean (*apâdīyâv*) by *her* look⁵, and even when she looks hastily, and does not see the *sacred* twigs (*baresôm*), it is the same. 11. And *on* the subject of a house (*khânak-ī babâ*), when a menstruous *woman* is above *in* it, and the *sacred* twigs

water, and the sacred twigs, and three steps (8 feet) from righteous men (see § 33 and Vend. XVI, 1-10).

¹ This kind of prayer (*Av. vâk*, 'a word or phrase,' Pahl. *vâg*, Pers. *bâz*) is a short formula, the beginning of which is to be muttered in a kind of whisper, or (according to the Pahlavi idiom) it 'is to be taken' and 'retained' inwardly (as a protection while eating, praying, or performing other necessary acts) by strictly abstaining from all conversation, until the completion of the act, when the prayer or *vâg* 'is to be spoken out,' that is, the conclusion of the formula is to be uttered aloud, and the person is then free to speak as he likes. Different formulas are used on different occasions.

² K20 has, 'she retains a prayer.' See Pahl. Vend. XVI, 5.

³ The meaning is, however, uncertain.

⁴ The Pahlavi text is as follows: *Amat vâg yakhsenunêd, pê-sînkâr* (Pers. *pêsyâr*) *barâ yâtûnêd, as vâg gûstanô kâr lôit mamas nask-i pavan kâmisn yemalelunisnô*. Compare Pahl. Vend. XVI, 5.

⁵ See Pahl. Vend. XVI, 10.

stand right below, if even fully fifteen steps below, even then the *sacred* twigs are unclean (apâdīyâv)¹; but when not right *below* fifteen steps are plenty.

12. Prepared food which is within three steps of a menstruous woman is polluted by her, and food which she delivers up (barâ pardazêd) from her morning meal (kâsht) is not fit for the evening meal (sâm), nor that which she delivers up from her evening meal for the morning meal; it is not fit even for the same woman²; and water which is within three steps of her, when they shall put *it* into a pail (dûbal) or ablution-vessel (pâdīyâvdân), and shall do *it* without handling (ayadman), is *fit* for the hands in *ceremonial* ablution. 13. When she touches the bedding³ and garments of any one, Sôshyans⁴ said that so much space is to be washed with bull's urine (gômêz) and water; her bedding which touches the bedding of any one does not make *it* polluted.

14. A menstruous woman who becomes clean in three nights is not to be washed till the fifth day; from the fifth day onwards to the ninth day, when-

¹ Pahl. Vend. XVI, 10 says, 'everything, when at the right distance, is proper, except only that one *case*, when uncleanness is above and cleanness also right below; although it be even much below, yet it is not proper.' In such a case the prescribed distance of fifteen steps is not sufficient; therefore, the dashtânistân should be on the ground floor, not over an underground water-tank, nor within fifteen steps of the water in such a tank.

² Or, possibly, ham nêrman may mean 'a companion woman,' when two or more are secluded at the same time. Pahl. Vend. XVI, 17 says, 'food delivered up by a menstruous woman is of no use whatever, it is not proper; in *parts* free from pollution (gavid-varnô), in those likewise it is not proper;' the reading gavid-varnô (proposed by Dastûr Hoshangji) is, however, doubtful.

³ Or 'clothing,' vistarg.

⁴ See Chap. I, 3.

ever she becomes clean, *she* is to sit down in cleanliness one day for the sake of her depletion (tîhîk), and then *she* is *fit* for washing; and after nine nights the depletion is no matter¹.

15. A woman who *has* brought forth or miscarried (nasât), during forty days sees whenever *she* is polluted; but when she knows for certain that *she* is *free* from menstruation *she* is, thereupon, to be associated with meanwhile (vadas), from the forty days² onward; but when she knows for certain that *there is something* of it, she is to be considered meanwhile as menstruous.

16. A menstruous woman when she *has* sat one month as menstruous, and becomes clean on the thirtieth day, when at the very same time she became quite clean she also becomes again menstruous, her depletion (tîhîk) is from *its* beginning, and till the fifth day washing is not allowable. 17. And when she is washed from the menstruation, *and has* sat three days in cleanliness, and again becomes menstruous as from the beginning, four days are to be watched through by her, and the fifth day is for washing³. 18. When she *has* become *free*

¹ See Pahl. Vend. XVI, 22. The Hebrew law (Lev. xv. 19) prescribes a fixed period of seven days, except in abnormal cases.

² The same period of seclusion as appointed by the Hebrew law, after the birth of a man child (see Lev. xii. 2-4). The Avesta law (Vend. V, 135-159) prescribes only twelve nights' seclusion, divided into two periods of three and nine nights respectively, as the Hebrew woman's seclusion is divided into periods of seven and thirty-three days.

³ The substance of §§ 16, 17 is given in Pahl. Vend. XVI, 22, but in language even more obscure than here. The washing mentioned here is merely for the first menstruation; that for the second one being prescribed in § 18.

from the second menstruation she is not in cleanliness *for* nine days *and* nights,—these days *and* nights are for watching,—*and* then *she* is to be washed; when the nine days *and* nights are completed, on the same day washing is good¹.

19. Of leucorrhœa (*kitharak*)², when it *has* quite changed colour, that which comes on before *and* also that which is after menstruation, the pollution is just like *that of* menstruation.

20. When she *has* become so completely clean from menstruation that her washing may be as usual (*dastôbarag hâe*), she does not make the *sacred* twigs (*baresôm*), *nor* even other things, polluted *when* beyond three steps.

21. On account of severe cold it is allowable *for her* to sit out towards³ the fire; and while she washes a prayer (*vâg*) is to be taken *inwardly* by her⁴, and the washing of her hands, except with bull's urine (*gômêz*), is not proper till *then*; and when *they are* washed by her, two hundred noxious creatures are to be destroyed by her as atonement for sin.

22. A woman who goes beyond the period of menstruation⁵, and, afterwards, sees *she* is polluted, when her pregnancy is certain—except when her

¹ In such abnormal cases the Hebrew law (Lev. xv. 25-28) prescribes seven days' seclusion after recovery.

² Av. *kithra*, see explanation of *kitharak-hômand* (Av. *kithra-vand*) in Pahl. Vend. XVI, 1, 34.

³ *Dastûr Jâmâspji* reads *val bavan-i âtâsh*, 'to the part of the fire.' From what follows it would seem doubtful whether this distant approach to the fire is allowable until she is ready for washing.

⁴ See § 6, note.

⁵ Or, 'goes up from the place of menstruation.'

miscarriage (*nasât yehevûntanö*) is evident—is then to be washed with bull's urine and water; when her pregnancy is not certain *she* is to be considered as menstruous. 23. Some say¹, moreover, that when miscarriage is certainly manifest *she* is, meanwhile, to be considered as menstruous. 24. Some say that when *she* is doubtful about the miscarriage she is to be washed with ceremony².

25. And for any one³ who comes in contact with a menstruous woman, or with the person whom it is necessary to wash with water and bull's urine, *it* is the root of a sin of sixty stîrs⁴. 26. And for whom-ever knowingly has sexual intercourse with a menstruous woman *it* is the root of a sin of fifteen Tanâpûhars and sixty stîrs⁵.

27. Of a menstruous *woman* who sees a fire the sin is one Farmân⁶, and when she goes within three steps *it* is one Tanâpûhar, and when she puts a hand on the fire itself⁷ *it* is a sin of fifteen Tanâpûhars; and *in* like manner *as to* the ashes⁸ and *water* goblet⁹. 28. When she looks at water *it* is a

¹ Literally, 'there is *one* who says thus.'

² See Chap. II, 65.

³ Reading *aîs* instead of *adînas*, 'then for him.'

⁴ That is, the sin is a Khôr (see Chap. I, 2).

⁵ According to the Avesta (Vend. XV, 23, 24) he becomes a *peshôtanu* (Pahl. *tanâpûhar*). The Hebrew law (Lev. xv. 24) makes him unclean for seven days.

⁶ See Chap. I, 2. That it was sinful for her to look at fire, even in Avesta times, appears from Vend. XVI, 8.

⁷ Literally, 'on the body of the fire.'

⁸ That *libûsyâ* means 'ashes' appears from Pahl. Vend. V, 150; literally it is *Huzvâris* for 'clothing or covering,' and is so used in Pahl. Vend. VI, 106, VII, 122. Metaphorically, ashes are the clothing of the fire.

⁹ Reading *dûbalak*; but the word is doubtful. Possibly it

sin of one Farmân; when she sits in water *it* is a sin of fifteen Tanâpûhars; and when through disobedience she walks out in the rain every single drop is a sin of fifteen Tanâpûhars for her. 29. And the sun and other luminaries are not to be looked at by her, and animals and plants are not to be looked at by her, and conversation with a righteous man is not to be held by her; for a fiend so violent is that fiend of menstruation¹, *that*, where another fiend does not smite anything with a look (akhsh), it smites with a look.

30. *As to* a house² in which is a menstruous woman, the fire of that house is not to be kindled; food which is delivered up from before a menstruous woman is not proper for the same woman³.

31. A tray-cloth (khvânǎ gâmak) which stands before *her*, when it is not in contact with her, is not polluted; a table-napkin (pataskhûr) when apart from *her* thigh, *and* contact does not occur, is proper⁴.

32. When *one*⁵ wishes to consecrate the sacred cakes (drôn)⁶, when *one* holds up the *sacred* twigs

should be read gôbarak for gâv-bar, 'bull's produce,' referring to the bull's urine which, with ashes, is prescribed (Vend. V, 148) as the first food for a woman after miscarriage.

¹ The demoness Gêh (see Bund. III, 3-9).

² By khânak, 'house, abode,' must here be understood merely the woman's place of seclusion. K20 inserts âtâs dên after mûn, which renders it possible (by assuming another preposition) to translate as follows: '*As to* a house in which is a fire, the fire in that house is not to be kindled by a menstruous woman.'

³ See § 12.

⁴ Fit to use again.

⁵ Perhaps we should read '*she*' throughout this section, as a woman can perform these rites among women (see Chap. X, 35).

⁶ The drôn (Av. draona, corrupted into drûn or darûn by

(baresôm)¹ from the twig-stand (baresôm-dân), and menstruation occurs, and just as it came to *one's* knowledge *one* puts down the *sacred* twigs and goes out, the *sacred* twigs are not polluted.

Pâz. writers) is a small round pancake or wafer of unleavened bread, about the size of the palm of the hand. It is made of wheaten flour and water, with a little clarified butter, and is flexible. A drôn is converted into a frasast by marking it on one side, before frying, with nine superficial cuts (in three rows of three each) made with a finger-nail while thrice repeating the words humat hûkht huvarst, 'well-thought, well-said, well-done,' one word to each of the nine cuts. Any drôn or frasast that is torn must not be used in any ceremony. In the drôn ceremony two drôns are placed separately by the priest upon a very low table before him, on its left side, the nearer one having a small piece of butter (gâus hudhau) upon it; two frasasts are similarly placed upon its right-hand side, the farther one having a pomegranate twig (urvarâm) upon it; and between this and the farther drôn an egg is placed. The sacred twigs (baresôm) must also be present on their stand to the left of the priest, and a fire or lamp must stand opposite him, on the other side of the table. The priest recites a certain formula of consecration (chiefly Yas. III, 1-VIII, 9), during which he uplifts the sacred twigs, and mentions the name of the angel, or of the guardian spirit of a deceased person, in whose honour the ceremony is performed. After consecration, pieces are broken off the drôns by the officiating priest, and are eaten by himself and those present, beginning with the priests (see Haug's Essays, pp. 396, 407, 408, AV. p. 147).

¹ The baresôm (Av. baresma) consists of a number of slender rods or tâf (Pahl. tâf), formerly twigs of some particular trees, but now thin metal wires are generally used. The number of these twigs varies according to the nature of the ceremony, but is usually from five to thirty-three. These twigs are laid upon the crescent-shaped tops of two adjacent metal stands, each called a mâh-rû, 'moon-face,' and both together forming the baresôm-dân or 'twig-stand.' The baresôm is prepared for the sacred rites by the recital of certain prayers by the officiating priest, during which he washes the twigs with water, and ties them together with a kûstîk or girdle formed of six thread-like ribbons split out of a leaflet of the date-palm and twisted together; this girdle, being

33. And during her menstruation *she* is to be so seated that, from her body, *there* are fifteen steps of three feet to water, fifteen steps to fire, fifteen steps to the *sacred* twigs, and three steps to a righteous man¹. 34. And her food is to be carried forth in iron or leaden *vessels*; and the person (*valman*) who shall carry forth the food stands at three steps away from her². 35. When worship is celebrated, every time at the dedication (*shnûmanê*)³ of the consecration of sacred cakes (*drôn yast*) *it* is to be uttered aloud *by her*; some say the *Ithâ and Ashem-vohû*⁴.

CHAPTER IV.

1. A *sacred thread-girdle* (*kûstîk*), should it be made of silk (*parvand*), is not proper; the hair (*pashm*) of a hairy goat and a hairy camel is

passed twice round the twigs, is secured with a right-handed and left-handed knot on one side, and is then passed round a third time and secured with a similar double knot on the other side, exactly as the *kûstîk* or sacred thread-girdle is secured round the waist of a Parsi man or woman (see Haug's Essays, pp. 396-399).

¹ See Vend. XVI, 9, 10. All the ceremonial apparatus must be kept as far removed as the sacred twigs.

² See Vend. XVI, 11-14, which states that the food is to be carried forth on iron, lead, or the basest metal.

³ This is the time when the name of the angel or spirit is mentioned, in whose honour the cakes are consecrated (see § 32, note on *drôn*, and Chap. VII, 8).

⁴ The *Ithâ* is Yas. V (so called from its first word), which forms a part of the *drôn yast* or formula of consecration (see § 32, note on *drôn*). The *Ashem-vohû* is probably that in Yas. VIII, 9, which concludes the consecration. The same details are given in Pahl. Vend. XVI, 17. These prayers also form a portion of all ceremonial worship, including the Yazisn.

proper, and from *other* hairy creatures (mûyīnō) it is proper among the lowly (nakhêzīk). 2. The least fulness¹ necessary for *it* is exactly three finger-breadths; when *it* is exactly three finger-breadths altogether² from one side, *and* when the rest is cut off, it is proper. 3. When *one* retains the prayer *inwardly*³ and has tied his girdle, and ties *it* anew once again, he will untie that which he has tied, *and* it is not proper⁴.

4. Cloth of thick silk brocade (dīpākō) and figured silk (parnīkânō) is not good for girdling⁵; and *cloth* of hide when the hair is stripped from it, of wool, of hair, of cotton, of dyed silk, and of wood⁶ is proper for shirting (sapīkīh). 5. Four finger-breadths of shirt⁷ is the measure of *its* width *away*

¹ Literally, 'width;' that is, *extra* width, or slackness round the waist, as the girdle sits very loosely over a loose shirt; or, as the text implies, the slackness ought to admit three fingers together, projecting edgeways from the waist. After tying it so loosely, any unnecessary length of string may be cut off, when the girdle is put on for the first time. The necessary looseness is again mentioned in Chap. X, 1.

² Literally, 'extreme to extreme;' rôēsman-â-rôēsman being Huzvâris for sarâsar.

³ That is, has begun the prayer formula (requisite while tying on the girdle) with a bâz or muttered prayer (see Chap. III, 6, note).

⁴ The meaning appears to be that he must not tie the girdle a second time without recommencing the prayer formula.

⁵ This word, ayībyâēg, hânīh, is chiefly a transcript from the Avesta name of the kûstīk or girdle, aiwyzunghana. Probably garments in general are meant.

⁶ Perhaps dârīn may mean cloth of bark, hemp, or flax here.

⁷ The sacred shirt, worn by Parsis of both sexes (young children excepted) in India, is a very loose tunic of white muslin, with very short loose sleeves covering part of the upper arm. It is called sadaro (Pers. sudarah) in Gugarâti, and shapīk (Pers. shabī) in Pahlavi.

from each side, from the neck to the skirt (parîk); and *as to* the length before and behind, as much as is proper to cover up is good. 6. So much length and breadth, when it is double or thickened ¹, are not proper; when on the separation (dûr mânak) of the two folds *one* remains clothed on one side, both when he wears the girdle (kûstîk), *and* when he does not wear the girdle, even then it is not undress (vishâdakth) ².

7. When a shirt of one fold is put on, *and* the skirt has concealed both sides, the girdle is tied over it, *and* it is proper. 8. When two shirts are put on, and they shall tie the girdle over that which is above, then *it* is for him a root of the sin owing to ³ running about uncovered ⁴.

9. By a man and woman, until fifteen years of age, *there* is no committal of *the sin of* running about uncovered ⁵; *and* the sin of unseasonable

¹ Assuming that aîtabarîd stands for astabarîd; the Huz. aît being substituted for the Pâz. ast. The text appears to refer to lined or stuffed shirts, such as would be very suitable for the cold winters of Persia, like the clothing padded with cotton wool used by natives of the cooler parts of India in the cold season.

² That is, the degree of nakedness which is sinful (see §§ 8-10).

³ Kzo has lâ, 'not,' instead of râî, 'owing to;' this would reverse the meaning of the sentence, but it is not the usual place for the negative particle.

⁴ This sin is called vishâd-dûbârisnîh; it is mentioned in Pahl. Vend. V, 167, VII, 48, but not described there. The usual definition of the sin is 'walking about without the sacred thread-girdle;' and it is generally classed with the two other Parsi sins of 'walking with one boot' and 'making water on foot' (see AV. XXV, 5, 6); sometimes a fourth Parsi sin, 'unseasonable chatter,' is associated with them, as in the text, but this is supposed to be punished in a different manner in hell (see AV. XXIII).

⁵ Indicating that it is not absolutely necessary to wear the sacred thread-girdle till one is fifteen years old (see Chap. X, 13).

chatter¹ arises after fifteen years of age². 10. The sin of running about uncovered, as far as three steps, is a Farmân each step; at the fourth step *it* is a Tanâpûhar³ *sin*.

11. A girdle to which *there* is no fringe is proper; and when they shall tie a woman's ringlet (gurs)⁴ *it* is not proper.

12. Walking with one boot⁵ as far as four steps is

¹ This sin is called drâyân-gûyisnîh, literally, 'eagerness for chattering,' and consists in talking while eating, praying, or at any other time when a prayer (vâg) has been taken inwardly and is not yet spoken out; many details regarding it are given in the next chapter. The sin consists in breaking the spell, or destroying the effect, of the vâg.

² This is modified by Chap. V, 1, 2.

³ See Chap. I, 1, 2. These particulars are deduced by the Pahlavi commentator from Vend. XVIII, 115, which refers, however, to a special case of going without girdle and shirt. He says (Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 116), 'so that as far as the fourth step it is not more than (ai) a Srôshô-karanâm, and at the fourth step it amounts to the root of a Tanâpûhar within him; some say that *he* is within what is allowed him in going three steps. When he walks on very many steps it is also not more than a Tanâpûhar, *and* when he stops again *it* is counted from the starting-point' (compare § 12).

⁴ Probably referring to the possibility of tying the girdle over a woman's hair, when hanging loose down to her waist. The present custom among Parsi women in India is to cover up the whole of their hair with a white handkerchief tied closely over the head; but whether this is an ancient custom is uncertain.

⁵ This sin, which is mentioned in Bund. XXVIII, 13, is called aê-mûk-dûbârisnîh or khadû-mûk-dûbârisnîh, literally, 'running in one boot,' and is usually so understood, but how there can be any risk of the committal of so inconvenient an offence is not explained. Dastûr Hoshangji thinks that aê-mûk, 'one boot,' was formerly written avî-mûk, 'without boots;' and no doubt avî is sometimes written exactly like khadû, 'one,' (indicating, possibly, a phonetic change of avî into agvi). Perhaps, however, the word alludes to the Persian practice of wearing an outer boot

a Tanâpûhar *sin*, when with one¹ movement; and after the fourth step as much as *one* shall walk is a Tanâpûhar; and when he sits down and walks on the sin is the same that *it would be* from his starting-point (bûnth); and *there were some* who said *it* is a Tanâpûhar for each league (parasang).

13. At night, when they lie down, the shirt *and* girdle are to be worn, for *they are* more protecting for the body, and good for the soul. 14. When they lie down with the shirt and girdle, before sleep *one* shall utter one Ashem-vohû², and with every coming and going of the breath (vayô) is a good work of three Srôshô-karanâms³; and if in that

(mûk) over an inner one of thinner leather, when walking out of doors; so that the sin of 'running in one pair of boots' would be something equivalent to walking out in one's stockings; and this seems all the more probable from the separate account of walking 'without boots or stockings,' avîmûgak, given in Chap. X, 12. But whatever may have been the original meaning of the word, Parsis nowadays understand that it forbids their walking without shoes; this should be recollected by any European official in India who fancies that Parsis ought to take off their shoes in his presence, as by insisting on such a practice he is compelling them to commit what they believe to be a serious sin.

¹ Assuming that hanâ, 'this,' stands for aê, 'one' (see p. 218, note 3). The amount of sinfulness in walking improperly shod appears to be deduced from that incurred by walking improperly dressed (see § 10).

² See Bund. XX, 2. The same details are given in Chap. X, 24.

³ The Av. sraoshô-karana appears to have been a scourge with which offenders were lashed by the assistant priests (see Vend. III, 125, 129, IV, 38, &c.), and a Srôshô-karanâm was, therefore, originally one lash with a scourge. As the gravity of an offence was measured by the number of lashes administered, when this term was transferred from the temporal to the spiritual gravity of sin, it was considered as the unit of weight by which sins were estimated; and, by a further process of reasoning, the good works

sleep decrease occurs, his renunciation of sin is accomplished¹.

CHAPTER V.

1. Of unseasonable chatter² that of children of five years of age has no root; and from five years till seven years, when *one* is under the tuition of his

necessary for counterbalancing sins were estimated by the same unit of weight. Regarding the amount of a Srôshô-*karanâm* there is much uncertainty; according to Chap. XVI, 5 and Pahl.Vend. VI, 15 it is the same as a Farmân, and this appears to be the case also from a comparison of § 10 with Pahl.Vend. XVIII, 116 (see note on § 10); but according to Chap. XI, 2 it is half a Farmân, and the Farmân is also probably the degree meant by the frequent mention of three Srôshô-*karanâms* as the least weight of sin or good works that will turn the scale in which the soul's actions are weighed after death (see Chap. VI, 3). This uncertainty may perhaps have arisen from aê, 'one,' and the cipher 3 being often written alike in Pahlavi. But, besides this uncertainty, there is some discordance between the various accounts of the actual weight of a Srôshô-*karanâm*, as may be seen in Chaps. X, 24, XI, 2, XVI, 5. As a weight the Srôshô-*karanâm* is not often mentioned in the Pahlavi Vendidad, for wherever it translates the Av. sraoshô-*karana* it means 'lashes with a scourge;' but the weight of one Srôshô-*karanâm* is mentioned in Pahl.Vend. VI, 15, three Srôshô-*karanâms* in IV, 142, VII, 136, XVII, 11, XVIII, 55, 116, and five Srôshô-*karanâms* in XVI, 8.

¹ Patîtikîh, 'the dropping' or renunciation of sin, is effected by confessing serious offences to a high-priest, and also by the recitation of a particular formula called the Patit, in which every imaginable sin is mentioned with a declaration of repentance of any such sins as the reciter may have committed. The priest ordains such atonement as he thinks necessary, but the remission of the sins depends upon the after performance of the atonement and the effectual determination to avoid such sins in future (see Chap. VIII, 1, 2, 8).

² See Chap. IV, 9.

father *and* innocent¹, it has no root *in* him, and when sinful it has root *in* the father². 2. And from eight years till *they are* man and woman of fifteen years, if even *one* is innocent during the performance of the ritual (yastô), but is able to say its Ithâ and Ashem-vohû³, and does not say *them*, *it* is the root of unseasonable chatter for him⁴; and when *he* is able to perform *his* ritual by heart (narm), and says *only* the Ithâ *and* Ashem-vohû, some *have* said that such is as when his ritual is not performed *and there* is no offering (yastôfrîd), and some *have* said that it is not unseasonable chatter.

3. Unseasonable chatter *may* occur at every ceremonial (yazisnô); *for* him who has performed the ritual *it* is a Tanâpûhar *sin*⁵; *for* him who has not performed the ritual *it* is less, some *have* said three Srôshô-karanâms⁶. 4. The measure of unseasonable chatter is a Tanâpûhar *sin*; this is where every ceremony, or every morsel, or every *drop of* urine is not completed⁷. 5. Of the unseasonable chatter of

¹ That is, intending no harm, as contrasted with sinful or wilful chatter in defiance of instruction.

² Because the father is supposed to be responsible, in the next world, for the sins of the child, even as he will profit by its good works (see Chaps. X, 22, XII, 15).

³ See Chap. III, 35.

⁴ Inattention to prayers evinced by improper silence is thus put upon the same footing as inattention evinced by improper talking. This portion of the sentence is omitted in K20.

⁵ See Chap. I, 1, 2. It is a greater sin in the officiating priests than in the other persons present at the ceremony.

⁶ Probably a Farmân sin (see Chap. IV, 14, note).

⁷ Referring to the three principal occasions when a prayer (vâg) is taken inwardly and retained until the completion of the action; during which time it is unlawful to say anything but the prescribed prayers (see Chap. III, 6, note).

him who has not performed the ritual Afarg¹ said this degree is slighter; Mêdôk-mâh¹ said both are alike, and he spoke further of this, since for him who has not performed the ritual, and does not attend to² saying its Ithâ and Ashem-vohû, it is more severe than for him who has performed the ritual, and does not attend to consecrating its sacred cake (drôn). 6. Mêdôk-mâh said that it (the ceremonial)³ does not become Gêtd-kharîd⁴; Afarg said that it amounts to an offering (yastôfrîd)⁵ for every one, except for that person who *knows* the ritual by heart, and through sinfulness will not perform *it*; and it becomes *his* at the time when, during his life *and* by his command, it is recited with this intention, namely: 'I wish to do *it*, my faith (astôbânîh) is in the religion⁶.'

7. The deaf and dumb when it is not possible for him to say an Ashem does not commit unseasonable chatter⁷; and when it is possible for him to say an Ashem he shall three times say of it, 'Ashem, ashem, ashem;' and if it be possible for him to say

¹ See Chap. I, 3.

² Literally, 'believe or trust to.'

³ During which unseasonable chatter occurs.

⁴ Generally written Gêtd-kharîd (see Bund. XXX, 28); but, perhaps, we should here read yastôfrîd, 'offering,' though gêtôk-kharîd occurs in Chap. XII, 30.

⁵ The MSS. have merely stôfrîd, which differs from the foregoing gêtô-kharîd only in one Pahlavi letter, so we should probably read the same word in both cases, but which of them it ought to be is uncertain.

⁶ Meaning, apparently, that he can obtain the benefit of any past ceremony, forfeited by wilful negligence, by repentance and a repetition of the ceremony during his lifetime.

⁷ By omitting to say it (see § 2). This clause of the sentence is omitted in K20.

'ithâ' and 'ashem-vohû' it is well, and when it is only possible for him to say 'ithâ' it matters not¹.

CHAPTER VI.

1. The deaf and dumb and helpless (*armêst*)², though of unblemished conduct and proper disposition, is incapable of doing good works, and from the *time* when he is born till the *time* when he shall die, all the duty and good works which they may perform in the world become his property (*nafs-man*) as much as his even by whom *they* are performed; some say that it is thus: as much as they belong to Zaratûst³. 2. Though he does not do the good works not really originating with (*ahambûnik*) him, and does not commit the sin not really originating with *him*, *it* is better than though *he were* able to do the good works not really originating with him, *and* should not do *them*; but should commit the sin not really originating with *him*; when, afterwards, he passes away, and then also comes to *his* account as to sin and good works, when the good works not really originating with him are more *he is* in heaven (*vahist*), when the sin

¹ That is, any one barely able to speak must repeat so much of the indispensable prayers as he is able to pronounce, otherwise he will commit sin.

² That is, any one compelled to remain stationary or secluded, owing to bodily or mental infirmity (see Chap. II, 98); an idiot, or insane person, is probably meant here.

³ This comment seems to imply that its writer was translating from an Avesta text, and here met with a word which some persons thought contained a reference to Zaratûst, but which he first translated so as to suit the context; perhaps Av. zarazdâiti may be suggested.

not really originating with *him* is more *he is* in hell, and when both are equal *he is* among the ever-stationary (hamîstakân)¹. 3. When the good works are three Srôshô-karanâms² more than the sins *he is* in heaven (vahist), when the good works are one Tanâpûhar more he attains to the best existence (pâhlûm ahvân)³, when his ceremony (yast) is per-

¹ That is, he is treated, with regard to the actions merely imputed to him, precisely as all others are with regard to their own actions. With reference to the hamîstakân, Ardâ-Vîrâf states (AV. VI, 2, 5-12) that on his journey to the other world he 'saw the souls of several people who remain in the same position,' and he was informed that 'they call this the place of the Hamîstakân ("those ever-stationary"), and these souls remain *in* this place till the future existence; and *they are* the souls of those people whose good works and sin were equal. Speak out to the worldlings thus: "Consider not the easier good works with avarice and vexation! for every one whose good works are three Srôshô-karanâms more than *his* sin is for heaven, *they* whose sin is more are for hell, they *in* whom both are equal remain among these Hamîstakân till the future existence." And their punishment is cold or heat from the changing of the atmosphere; and they have no other adversity.'

² Probably equivalent to a Farmân sin (see Chaps, I, 1, 2, IV, 14, note).

³ This appears to be another name for Garôdmân, 'the abode of song,' which is the highest heaven, or dwelling of Aûharmazd. The lower heaven is here called Vahist, which is a general term for heaven in general. AV. VII-X, XVII, 27, and Mkh. VII, 9-12, 20, 21 describe four grades in heaven and four in hell, besides the intermediate neutral position of the Hamîstakân (AV. VI, Mkh. VII, 18, 19). The four grades of heaven, proceeding upwards, are Hûmat for good thoughts in the station of the stars, Hûkht for good words in the station of the moon, Hûvarst for good deeds in the station of the sun, and Garôdmân where Aûharmazd dwells (Vend. XIX, 121). And the four grades of hell, proceeding downwards, are Dûs-hûmat for evil thoughts, Dûs-hûkht for evil words, Dûs-hûvarst for evil deeds, and the darkest hell (Vend. XIX, 147) where the evil spirit dwells. The pâhlûm ahvân of

formed¹. 4. Sôshyans² said that to come into that best existence it is not necessary to perform the ceremony, for when his good works are one³ Tanâpûhar more than the sin he attains to the best existence, and no account is *taken* of performing his ceremony; because in the heavenly existence (garôdmânîkîh) it is not necessary to perform a ceremony, for an excess of good works must attain Garôdmân⁴. 5. As Sôshyans said, in heaven (vahist) he who is below is elevated to him who is above; *and* it says thus: 'Happy indeed art thou, O man! who art in any way near unto that imperishable existence⁵.'

6. Kûshtanô-bûgêd⁶ said that an infidel (ak-dînô)⁷, when *his* good works are one Tanâpûhar more than *his* sin, is saved from hell.

the text is merely the Pahlavi form of Av. vahistem ahûm (Vend. VII, 133, XVIII, 69, XIX, 120, Yas. IX, 64), whence the term vahist (Pers. bahist) is also derived.

¹ That is, when his surviving relatives have performed the proper religious ceremonies after his death.

² See Chap. I, 3.

³ Reading aê, 'one,' and supposing that this Pâz. form has been substituted for an original Huz. khadûk, 'one.' This supposition being necessary to account for the aê preceding its noun, instead of following it; and without it we ought to read 'three' instead of 'one,' which seems, however, hardly reconcileable with the context (but compare Pahl. Vend. VII, 136). This is an instance of the ambiguity occasioned by aê, 'one,' and the cipher 3 being often written alike in Pahlavi, as already noticed in p. 289, note 3. The word might also be taken as the conditional verbal form aê, 'shall be,' but in that case it is likewise misplaced.

⁴ See note on pâhlûm ahvân in § 3.

⁵ A somewhat similar exclamation to that in Vend. VII, 136.

⁶ See Chap. I, 4, note.

⁷ That is, one of another religion; not an apostate, nor an atheist.

7. Of a pure law (*dâd*) are we of the good religion, and we are of the primitive faith; of a mixed law are *those* of the Sînik congregation¹; of a vile

¹ It is not easy to identify this Sînik *vaskardîh*, but Professor J. Darmesteter suggests that the term may have been applied to the Manicheans settled in eastern Turkistân and western China, whence they may have been called Sînik (the country of the Sênî, Av. Sâini, being identified with Kînstân or China in Bund. XV, 29, because *T*Sîn is the Arabic name of the latter). This is confirmed, to some extent, by a passage in the *Dînkard* (see Dastûr Pêshôtan's edition of the Pahlavi text, p. 27), where three foreign religions are mentioned, that of the Jews from Arûm, that of the Messiah from the west, and that of Mânih from Turkistân. Darmesteter further points out the following passages in Barbier de Meynard's French translation of *Mas'aûdî*, which show that the Manicheans had considerable influence in eastern Turkistân as late as A.D. 944:—

(Meynard, I, 268): '... the Turks, the Khuzlug, and the Taghazghaz, who occupy the town of Kûrân, situated between Khurâsân and China, and who are now (A.D. 944) the most valiant, most powerful, and best governed of all the Turkish races and tribes. Their kings bear the title of *îrkhân* ("sub-khân"), and they alone, among all these nations, profess the religion of Mânî.'

Again, after stating that the Chinese were at first Samanians (Buddhists), it is added (Meynard, II, 258): 'Their kingdom is contiguous to that of the Taghazghaz, who, as we have said above, are Manicheans, and proclaim the simultaneous existence of the two principles of light and darkness. These people were living in simplicity, and in a faith like that of the Turkish races, when there turned up among them a demon of the dualist sect, who showed them, in tempting language, two opposing principles in everything that exists in the world, such as life and death, health and sickness, riches and poverty, light and darkness, union and separation, connection and severance, rising and setting, existence and non-existence, night and day, &c. Then, he spoke to them of the various ailments which afflict rational beings, animals, children, idiots, and madmen; and he added that God could not be responsible for this evil, which was in distressing contradiction to the excellence which distinguishes his works, and that he was

law are the Zandîk¹, the Christian (Tarsâk), the Jew (Yahûd), and others of this sort (sanô)².

CHAPTER VII.

1. The morning sun it is necessary to reverence (yastanô) till midday, and that of midday it is necessary to reverence till the afternoon time, and that of the afternoon time it is necessary to reverence till night³; whenever *one* is quite prepared

above any such imputation. By these quibbles, and others like them, he carried away their minds, and made them adopt his errors.'

The tenets of the Manicheans ought, no doubt, to have been considered by the Zoroastrians as a mixture of truth and error, just as those of the Sînfk congregation are represented to be in our text; but such tenets being an heretical offshoot of Zoroastrianism, it argues unusual liberality in the priests if they preferred Manicheans to Christians, that is, heretics to infidels.

K20 has altered sînfk vaskardâh into nisînfk (or vîdînfk) sikaftîh, which appears to be an attempt to bring the words within the limits of the writer's knowledge, without paying much attention to their collective meaning.

¹ A sect which (according to its name) probably adhered to a certain heretical interpretation (zand) in preference to the orthodox Avesta and Zand. Nêryôsang, in his Sanskrit version of Mkh. XXXVI, 16, explains a Zandîk as one who 'thinks well of Aharmân and the demons.'

² Unless this paragraph be a continuation of the quotation from Kûshtanô-bûgêd's commentary, which seems unlikely, its contents have an important bearing upon the age of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast. As it does not mention Muhammadanism by name it could hardly have been written after the fall of the Sasanian dynasty, when that new faith had become much more important, in Persia, than those of the Christians and Jews.

³ Referring to the recitation of the Khûrshêd Nyâyis, or 'salutation of the sun,' which should be performed thrice a day, in the Hâvan, Rapîtvîn, and Âûzêrîn Gâhs, or periods of the day (see

for activity (khvēskārth), and shall then do reverence, it is proper. 2. And when anything of that happens which *indicates* when it is not proper to wash the hands, and about this he considers that when he does not reverence the sun it will stop¹, *at* the time previous *to that* in which it occurs the sun is to be fully revered by him, and, afterwards, when *his* hands are washed, it is to be revered again; and when he does not reverence *it*, except when innocent through not reverencing *it*², then it becomes irreverence (lā yast) of the sun *for* him³.

3. *As to* the sun it is better when *one* reverences *it* every time at the proper period (pavan gâs-i nafsman); when he does not reverence *it for* once *it* is a sin of thirty stlrs⁴. 4. Reverencing the sun is every time a good work of one Tanâpûhar⁵; and *so* of the moon and fire *in* like manner⁶. 5. When on account of cloudiness the sun is not visible (pêdâk), and *one* shall reverence *it*, it is proper.

Bund. XXV, 9); a few sentences in the Nyâyis, or formula of salutation, are altered to suit the particular Gâh in which it is recited.

¹ K20 has, 'it will protect *it*;' having read netrûnêd instead of ketrûnêd in its original. To pray with unwashed hands would be sinful (see Pahl. Vend. XIX, 84).

² That is, except when the omission is to avoid a worse evil, as in the instance just mentioned.

³ Or, perhaps, 'it does not become a Khûrshêd Yast ("a formula of praise in honour of the sun") *for* him.' This Yast forms a part of the Nyâyis.

⁴ That is, an Aredûs sin (see Chap. I, 2). M6 has, 'when he does not reverence *it* again.'

⁵ That is, a good work sufficient to counterbalance a Tanâpûhar sin, which puts the performance of a Nyâyis on the same footing as the consecration of a sacred cake or drôn (see Chap. XVI, 6).

⁶ The moon and fire have each a separate Nyâyis.

6. And while *one* does not reverence the sun, the good works which they do that day are not their own; some say that of the good works which they do within the law (*dâd*) of the good religion he has no share. 7. While they do not wash dirty hands any good work which they do is not their own, for while *one* does not utterly destroy corruption (*na-sûs*)¹ *there* is no coming of the angels to his body, and when *there* is no coming of the angels to his body he has no steadfastness in the religion, and when he has no steadfastness in the religion no good work whatever reaches unto him.

8. When *one* wishes to perform the propitiation (*shnûman*)² of fire, it is allowable to perform one '*âthrô*' by itself, and, when two *and* the '*mad vîspaêibyô âterebyô*,' these three are thus the propitiation everywhere³; some say that it would be proper to perform *it* while allowable, except that of the heterodox.

¹ That is, the demon of corruption, who is supposed to enter and reside in all filth of the nature of dead matter, until expelled or destroyed by cleansing.

² A *shnûman* or *khshnûmanô* (Av. *khshnûman*) is a short formula of praise, reciting all the usual titles of the spirit intended to be propitiated by it, and is used for dedicating the prayers or ceremony specially to his service (see Chaps. III, 35, X, 2, XIV, 3). The propitiatory formulas for the thirty angels and arch-angels who preside over the days of the month constitute the *Sîrôzah*, or form of prayer 'relating to the thirty days.'

³ The propitiation of fire (as given in *Sîrôz*. I, 9, *Âtar Nyâyis* 5, 6) consists of five sentences, each beginning with the word *âthrô*, 'of the fire,' and the last sentence also contains the words *mad vîspaêibyô âterebyô*, 'with all fires.' The meaning of the text appears to be that it is allowable to use only one of these sentences (probably the last), but if two are used besides the last they are amply sufficient for practical purposes.

9. Whoever shall extinguish¹ a fire, by him ten fires are to be gathered together, by him ten punishments are to be endured, by him ten ants are to be destroyed², and by him holy-water (zôhar) is to be presented to the sacred fire (â tâs-i Vâhrâm).

CHAPTER VIII.

1. Sin which *affects* accusers³ is to be atoned for (vigârisn) among the accusers, and that *relating* to

¹ Literally, 'kill.'

² The ant being a creature of the evil spirit, on account of its carrying away corn.

³ Vinâs-i hamêmâlân, 'sin *relating* to adversaries.' Sins appear to be divided into two great classes, hamêmâl and rûbânîk. A hamêmâl sin seems to be any secular offence which injures some person or animal who, thereupon, becomes a hamêmâl, 'accuser' (Av. hameretha, 'opponent,' Yas. LVI, x, 10), and who must first be satisfied by atonement, before confession to the high-priest, or renunciation of sin, can be of any avail for removing the sin (compare Matthew v. 23-26). The Rivâyats assert that if a person dies without atoning for a hamêmâl sin, his soul will be stopped at the *Kinvad* bridge (see Bund. XII, 7) on its way to the other world, and kept in a state of torment until the arrival of the 'accuser,' and after he is satisfied the sinner's soul will be disposed of, in the usual manner, according to the balance of its good and bad actions. It is also probable that only a man of 'the good religion,' or an animal of the good creation, can be an 'accuser.' A rûbânîk sin, on the other hand, seems to be one which affects only the sinner's own soul, and for which the high-priest can prescribe a sufficient atonement. It is doubtful, however, whether the Parsis nowadays have any very clear notions of the exact distinction between these two classes of sins, although aware of their names, which are mentioned in their Patit, or renunciation of sin. The explanations given in some editions of their Khurdah Avesta, or prayer-book, are confined to mentioning certain special instances of each class of sin ; thus,

the soul is to be atoned for among the high-priests (*radân*), and when they do whatever the high-priests of the religion command the sin will depart, and the good works which they may thenceforth do will attain completion (*avaspôrtk*). 2. The sin of him who is worthy of death (*marg-argân*) is to be confessed (*garzisd*) unto the high-priests, *and he* is to deliver up *his* body¹; except *to* the high-priests he is not to deliver up *his* body.

3. On account of the dexterity (*farhâng*) of horsemen it is not *their* business to hunt (*nakhêr kardân*); and it is not allowable for any one else to hunt for game, except *for him* whose wealth is less *than* three hundred stîrs².

murder, seduction, unnecessary slaughter of cattle, embezzlement, slander, seizing land by force, and a few other evil deeds are stated to be *hamêmâl* sins; while unnatural offences and intercourse with women of another race and religion are said to be *rûbânîk* sins. In the Pahlavi Vendidad these classes of sins are rarely mentioned, but *hamêmâlân* occurs in Pahl. Vend. III, 151, IV, 23, XIII, 38; *hamêmâlîh* in III, 119; and *rûbânîk* in XIII, 38; although, perhaps, not always in the sense of sin.

¹ By committing a *marg-argân* or mortal sin, that is, a sin worthy of death, he has forfeited his life, and ought to place it at the disposal of the *rad*, or high-priest.

² This section, intended to preserve game for the poor, is evidently out of place here, as it has no connection with the context. - With reference to the property qualification for hunting, it appears, from a passage in the Persian MS. M5 about the proper dowry for a privileged wife, that 2000 dirhams of silver were worth 2300 *rûpîs*, and that 2 dirhams were $2\frac{1}{2}$ *tolas*; this was written in A.D. 1723, when neither the *rûpî* nor the *tola* were of uniform amount, though now the *rûpî* is exactly a *tola* weight of silver. As the *stîr* was four dirhams (see Chap. I, 2), three hundred *stîrs* would have been 1380 *rûpîs* or 1350 *tolas* of silver, according to the standards mentioned in M5; so that hunting was intended to be confined to those whose property was less than 1350-1380 *rûpîs*; but how

4. The ceremonial worship (*yazisn*) of those worthy of death, which they do not perform by way of renunciation *of sin*¹, is the ceremonial *which* is demon worship; and when the *officiating* priest (*aêrpat*) does not know *it* the merit (*kirfak*) of the ceremonial goes to the store (*gang*) of the angels, and they give the enjoyment which *arises* from that merit in the spiritual *existence* to the soul of that person who *has* at once (*aêvâk*) become righteous in mind.

5. When the mortal sinner (*marg-argânö*) *has* delivered his body and wealth at once to the high-priests, and engages mentally in renunciation as to the sin which *has* occurred, and the high-priests give him *their* decision (*dastôbarîh*) as to duty and good works, the duty and good works which *were* before performed by him come back *to him*; and when they inflict punishment for three nights², he does not enter hell. 6. And if the high-priest orders the cutting off of *his* head *he* is righteous on the spot³, and the three *nights*' (*satûîh*) *ceremony* is to be celebrated for *him*, and the account of the

this limitation is to be reconciled with the fact that hunting was a favourite pursuit of kings and nobles does not appear, unless it be considered as a sacerdotal protest against that practice.

¹ That is, in those cases when they do not have the *yazisn* performed as an atonement for sin, by order of the high-priest after confession.

² This appears to refer to temporal punishment, inflicted by order of the high-priest, for the purpose of saving him from the 'punishment of the three nights' in the other world, mentioned in Bund. XXX, 16.

³ Reading *pavan gînâk*; but M6 marks the phrase as *pavan dînâk* (for *dînâ*), 'through the decree,' which is probably an error.

three *nights* (satûih) does not affect him ¹. 7. And if *he does* not *engage* in renunciation *he is* in hell till the future existence; and in *his* future body they will bring *him* from hell, and for every mortal *sin* they will cut off *his* head once, and the last time they *will* make *him* alive again, and will inflict (numâyend) three *nights'* severe punishment ².

8. However a man engages in renunciation of sin the duty of his state of renunciation (patitih) is to be engaged therein openly and mentally in renunciation; the duty of openness is this, that the sin which he knows *has* assailed him ³, is to be specially confessed (barâ gôbisnô) by him; *and* the mental duty is this, that he engages in renunciation with this thought, that 'henceforth I *will* not commit sin.' 9. And that which occurs before the renunciation, except pious alms, it is well for him not to be overlooked ⁴ by him, *and* not to be kept ⁵ secret by him; for when he shall overlook ⁶, or shall keep secret, about sin committed, it becomes for him as

¹ That is, the usual ceremonies after death are not to be withheld in this world, and his soul is able to pass through the usual investigation, as to his sins and good works, on its way to the other world, without delay. This period of three nights (satûih, 'the triplet'), which Pâzand writers miscall sedôš or sadis, is the time during which the soul is supposed to hover about the body, before finally departing for the other world (see Mkh. II, 114, 158-160, AV. IV, 9-14, XVII, 2-9).

² The same statement is made in nearly the same words in Pahl. Vend. VII, 136. This is the future three nights' punishment for impenitent sinners, mentioned in Bund. XXX, 16.

³ Literally, 'which he knows thus: "It assailed me."'

⁴ Reading avênisnô, but the word can also be read khunînisnô, 'to be made celebrated, to be boasted of.'

⁵ Literally, 'carried on, borne away.'

⁶ Reading avênêd, but it may be khunînêd, 'boast of.'

much, some say, as three Srôshô-karanâms¹; some say that when he keeps secret about a sin of three Srôshô-karanâms he is worthy of death; some say much otherwise². 10. Âtarô-pâd son of Zaratûst³ had remarked (pêdâkînlâ) to a disciple, about this duty, thus: 'Conform to the renunciation of sin!' and one⁴ time a secret was kept by him, and he ordered him thus: 'Henceforth be thou never apparent in this duty!' and after that he looked upon the supplication (avakhshîh) and much repentance of that disciple, and even then he did not become the high-priest (dastôbar) over him.

11. *The rule is*⁵ this, that of those who would be proper for this priestly duty (dastôbarîh), that person is proper who is perfect in (narm) the commentary (zand) of the law, and the punishment of sin is easy for him, and he has controlled himself; some say thus: 'By whom a course of priestly studies (aêrpatastân) is performed.' 12. And the punishment of sin *being* easy for him, and his *having* controlled himself are proper; and when, in danger before a menstruous woman, he engages in renunciation it is proper.

¹ Probably the same as a Farmân sin (see Chaps. I, 1, 2, IV, 14).

² Or 'many other things.'

³ This Âtarô-pâd-i Zaratûstân is mentioned in a manuscript about 500 years old, belonging to Dastûr Jâmâspji, in Bombay, as having lived for 160 years, and having been supreme high-priest for ninety years: he is also mentioned in the sixth book of the Dînkard. He may, possibly, have been the Âtarô-pâd mentioned in B. Yt. I, 7, but it is hazardous to identify an individual by a single name so common as Âtarô-pâd used to be.

⁴ Reading aê, 'one,' instead of hanâ, 'this' (see p. 218, note 3).

⁵ Assuming that the word âfnak has been omitted at the beginning of this section (see Chap. X, 1).

13. Nêryôsang¹ said thus: 'Thou deemest *it* most surprising that, of the renunciation *of sin* with energy, whatever may be its efficacy, they have been so *much* of the same² opinion, so that whenever they perform renunciation, however they perform *it*, and before whomever they perform *it*, whenever a *sin* is not even mentally originating with one³ a renunciation should be performed by him; and when very many mortal sins (*margargân*) are committed by him, and he engages mentally in renunciation of every one separately, he is not on⁴ the way to hell, owing to his renunciation; and if there be one of which he is not in renunciation the way to hell⁵ is not closed to him, for he does not rely upon the beneficence (*sûd*) of Aûharmazd, and it is allowable to appoint a priestly retribution (*rad tôgîsn*) to fully atone for it, and when thou appointest a priestly retribution for it, and dost not fully atone, it is allowable to inflict *it* justly and strongly (*drûbô*).'

14. When his sin is committed against (*dên*)

¹ This cannot be the learned Parsi translator of several Pahlavi texts into Sanskrit, who bore the same name, and is supposed to have lived in the fifteenth century. Being quoted in the Pahlavi Vendidad (see Chap. I, 4, note) he must have been one of the old commentators.

² K20 has *hômanam*, 'I am,' instead of *ham*, 'the same;' a mistake arising from reading *am*, 'I am,' for *ham*.

³ This applies to all cases of merely imputed sin, such as those committed by children, which are imputed to the father, and for which he is spiritually, as well as temporally, responsible.

⁴ Reading *pavan*, 'on,' instead of *barâ*, 'out of' (see p. 176, note 5).

⁵ Most of this clause is omitted in K20 by mistake.

accusers¹ it will be necessary to act so that the head of the family (mīrak) shall not become evil-minded², and shall not divorce the wife from matrimony, and they shall not bring³ *him* on unto him; before his accusers *he* is to be engaged in renunciation, and when not, *he* is to be engaged in renunciation *of the sin* before the high-priests (radân), and it will become debts, and debt does not make a man wicked⁴; its effect is this, that in the future existence they may quite forsake him, and this becomes a great shame, and they disturb (kâvênd) his enjoyment. 15. *As to* the sin which *affects* the accusers, when the female *has* atoned for it, its stem (pâyak) is atoned for; some say that the stem (pâyakghîh) has no root; some say that *it is* just like a tree whose leaves wither away.

16. Sin *relating* to the soul⁵, when *one* engages in renunciation, stays away *from* him; when it shall be fully atoned for *it* is well, and when he does not fully atone they will make him righteous by the three *nights'* (satûîh) punishment. 17. Kûshtanôbûgêd⁶ said that even that which *affects* accusers, when *one* engages in renunciation, stays away *from* him.

¹ Hamêâmâlân (see § 1); the particular instance of hamêâmâl sin here referred to is seduction.

² Reading dûsmînân instead of the unmeaning dûsmîyân of the MSS.

³ Reading yâftyûnâ instead of the unmeaning yâitam of the MSS.; â being often written very much like m in Pahlavi.

⁴ This clause about the hamêâmâl sin becoming a debt, to be settled with the 'accuser,' either here or hereafter, is taken from Pahl. Vend. III, 151.

⁵ That is, rūbânîk sin (see § 1, note).

⁶ See Chap. I, 4, note.

18. Nôšât Bûrz-Mitrô¹ spoke these three sayings, that is, 'Next-of-kin marriage will extirpate mortal sins (marg-argânân), and the *sacred* twigs when their ablution is *such as renders them* improper for firewood, and a man when his wife *becomes* pregnant by him.'

19. Whoever commits a sin against (dên) water, *and* kills a lizard, or other noxious water-creature, has atoned for it; also when thou atonest to (dên) fire for that *against* water it is proper², *and* when thou atonest to water for that *against* fire it is proper; some say that even a scorpion is proper *to be killed*. 20. And when a sin of one Tanâpûhar³ is committed by him, and he shall consecrate a sacred cake (drôn), or shall accomplish a good work of one Tanâpûhar⁴, it has atoned for it.

21. When he has committed a mortal *sin* (marg-argân), and engages mentally in renunciation, and the high-priest (rad) knows that, though he ought to give up his body, he *will* not give *it* up, it is allowable when he shall kill him; that is, because he relies upon the beneficence (sûd) of Aûharmazd. 22. Moreover, from the rule (man k) 'yazemna⁵ kad nâ hakad' ('through being worshipped what then at

¹ See Chap. I, 4, note.

² A blank space is left for this verb in M6, indicating that that MS. was copied from an original already old and not very legible.

³ See Chap. I, 1, 2.

⁴ Consecrating a sacred cake is a Tanâpûhar good work (see Chap. XVI, 6). The theory of counterbalancing sins by good works of the same weight is here clearly enunciated.

⁵ Written izimn in the MSS. This quotation appears to be, from some part of the Avesta, no longer extant, and being only the first words of the passage its exact meaning is very uncertain. The section, generally, seems to refer to the beneficence of Aûharmazd.

once,' &c.) it is evident, and it becomes his through *ceremonial* ablution of the hands; it amounts to a whole quarry (kânǎ) of good works, and the worship of God (yazisn-i yazdânǎ) is to be performed for him¹. 23. Âtarô-pâd² son of Mâraspend said that it is always necessary to be more diligent in performing one's worship of God *at* the time that many mortal *sins* are committed; all sins *being* admissible into renunciation, when thou shalt atone by complete self-sacrifice (pûr-gân-dâdîhâ), *and* when *one* engages in renunciation of the sin from *its* root, he becomes *free* from the sin in renunciation of which sin he engaged; for Aûharmazd will not leave his own creatures unto the evil spirit, unless on the path of non-renunciation.

CHAPTER IX.

1. The greater Hâsar is one part in twelve parts of the day and night, and the lesser Hâsar is one part in eighteen parts³.

¹ It seems that the execution of the sinner after repentance is here considered as furnishing him with a store of good works, so that it is allowable to perform such ceremonies for him, after death, as are usually performed for righteous men; the reason being given in § 23. The end of this section and beginning of the next are omitted in K20.

² Whether the prime minister of Shâpûr II, or the last editor of the Dînkard (see Bund. XXXIII, 3, 11), is not clear.

³ The Hâsar is not only a measure of distance (see Bund. XXVI, 1), but also a measure of time (see Bund. XXV, 5). According to the text here the greater Hâsar must be two hours, and the lesser Hâsar (which is not mentioned in M6) must be one hour and twenty minutes. But Farh. Okh. (p. 43) says, 'dvadasang-hâthrem asti aghrem ayare, "of twelve Hâsars is the

2. The priest (âsrûk) who passes away in idolatry¹ (aûzdâyakth) thou hast considered as desolate (vîrân)²; and there is a high-priest (dastôbar) who is of a different opinion, there is *one* who says *he is as* a non-Iranian (anâîrân) country³. 3. It is declared that, when a supreme high-priest (zaratûstrotûm) passes away in idolatry, an apostate (aharmôk) will be born in that dwelling, and a rumour of this calamity is uttered⁴ by that supreme high-priest.

4. In order to be steadfast in the good religion it is to be discussed with priests *and* high-priests, and when *one* does not discuss it is proper that he do not teach it.

longest day;" the day and night in which is the longest day are twelve of the greatest Hâsars, eighteen of the medium, and twenty-four of the least;' according to which statement there are three kinds of Hâsar, that are respectively equivalent to two hours, one hour and twenty minutes, and one hour. As the longest day is said (Bund. XXV, 4) to be twice the length of the shortest day, and the greatest Hâsar is twice the length of the least one, it may be conjectured that the Hâsar varied with the length of the day, being a subdivision (one-eighth) of the time the sun was above the horizon; this would account for the greatest and least Hâsars, which are one-eighth of the longest and shortest days, respectively; but it does not account for the medium Hâsar, which is not a mean between the two extremes, but one-ninth (instead of one-eighth) of the mean day of twelve hours. If the Hâsar of distance were really a Parasang, as is sometimes stated, the connection between it and the Hâsar of time would be obvious, as the average Hâsar of one hour and twenty minutes is just the time requisite for walking a Parasang, which seems indeed to be stated in Farh. Okh. p. 42.

¹ Or it may be 'passes over into idolatry.'

² K20 has girân, 'grievous.'

³ That is, he reads anâîrân instead of vîrân in the foregoing statement.

⁴ Or, perhaps, 'this calamity is at once announced.'

5. The ceremonial worship (*yazisn*) which they perform in a fire-temple¹, when not *done* aright, does not reach unto the demons; *but* that which they perform *in* other places, when they do not perform *it* aright, does reach unto the demons; for there is no medium in worship, it reaches either unto the angels or unto the demons. 6. Of a man who has relinquished a *bad* habit, and through his good capabilities *engages* in renunciation of *sin*², the good work advances unto the future existence.

7. Any one who shall die in a vessel (*kasttk*) it is allowable, for fear of contamination (*padvîshak*), to throw into the water; some say that the water itself is the receptacle for the dead (*khazânîh*).

8. This, too, *is declared*: 'When in the dark it is not allowable to eat food; for the demons and fiends seize upon one-third of the wisdom and glory of him who eats food in the dark;' and it is declared by that passage (*gîrnâk*) which Aûharmazd spoke to Zaratûst, thus: 'After the departure of the light let him not devour, with unwashed hands, the water and vegetables of Horvadað and Amerôdað³; for if after the departure of the light thou devourest, with unwashed hands, the water and vegetables of Horvadað and Amerôdað, the fiend seizes away from thee two-thirds of the existing original wisdom

¹ Literally, 'in the dwelling of fires.' The fire must always be sheltered from the sun's rays, and in a fire-temple it is kept in a vaulted cell, with a door and one or two windows opening into the larger closed chamber which surrounds it.

² K20 has, 'and it shall happen through his good capabilities.'

³ The two archangels whose chief duties are the protection of water and plants, respectively (see Chap. XV, 5, 25-29, Bund. IX, 2).

which, when he seizes *it* away, is the glory and religion which are auspicious for thee that day, so that diligence becomes a vexation this day¹.

9. In a passage of the fifth fargard of the Pâzôn Nask² it is declared that *one* mentions these charac-

¹ This passage does not appear to be now extant in the Avesta.

² This was the sixth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which calls it Pâzi or Pâzag; but according to the Dîni-vagarkard and the Rivâyats it was the seventh nask, called Pâgam. For its contents, as given by the Dîni-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, pp. 128, 129. The following is a short summary of the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard (that published in the Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, pp. 184, 185, being taken from the fifteenth nask, whose contents were mixed up with those of the seventh through the abstraction of several folios from the Iranian MS. of the Dînkard before M13, or any other copy, was written in India):—

The Pâzi (or Pâzag) is about the lawful slaughtering of animals in the ceremonial rites of fire and water at the season-festivals; also where, when, and how the festivals are to be celebrated, their advantages, and the duties of the officiating priests. The rotation of days, months, and years, summer and winter, the ten days at the end of the winter, when the guardian spirits visit the world, and the ceremonies to be then performed. The time for gathering medicinal plants. The retribution necessary for the various sins affecting the soul, the advantage of providing for such retribution, and the harm from not providing it. The thirty-three principal chiefs of the spiritual and worldly existences. The miracles of great good works, and the heinous sinfulness of apostasy. How far a wife can give away her husband's property, and when it is lawful for him to recover it. Whither winter flees when summer comes on, and where summer goes when winter comes on. The amount of disaster (vôighn) in one century, and the duration of everything connected with such disaster. The summer and winter months, the names of the twelve months, their meaning, and the angels they are devoted to; also the thirty days of the month, and the five Gâtha days at the end of the year, when the guardian spirits are to be revered.

The fifth fargard, quoted in the text, was probably that portion of the Nask which described the duties of the officiating priests.

teristics of four kinds of worship of the celestial beings (*yazdân*) :—one is that whose Avesta is correct, *but* the man is bad ; the second is that whose Avesta is faulty (*zîfân*)¹, *but* the man is good ; the third is that whose Avesta is correct, *and* the man is good ; *and* the fourth is that whose Avesta is faulty *and* the man is bad. 10. *That* whose Avesta is correct, *but* the man bad, the archangels will approach and will listen to, *but* do not accept ; *that* whose Avesta is faulty, *but* the man good, the archangels *and* angels² will approach, *but* do not listen to, *and* will accept ; *that* whose Avesta is correct, *and* the man good, the archangels *and* angels will approach, will come to, will listen to, and will accept ; *that* whose Avesta is faulty, *and* the man bad, they do not approach, do not listen to, and do not accept.

11. In every ceremonial (*yazisn*), at the beginning of the ceremony³, and the beginning of the sacred-cake *consecration* (*drôn*)⁴, the angels *and* guardian spirits of the righteous are to be invited to the ceremony. 12. When they invoke the angels they will accept the ceremony, and when they do

¹ K20 has *hûzvân*, 'tongue, speech,' for *zîfân*, 'faulty' (compare Pers. *zîf*, 'sin'), in all occurrences of the word.

² K20 omits from this word to 'will approach' in the next clause of the sentence.

³ That is, shortly before beginning the regular recitation of the Yasna, the angels, in whose honour the ceremony is being performed, are invited to approach by reciting their proper *Khshnûmans*, or propitiatory formulas (see Chap. VII, 8, and Haug's Essays, p. 404).

⁴ This begins with Yas. III, 1, and the spirits are to be invited by adding their proper *Khshnûmans* to those contained in Yas. III, 3-20 (see Haug's Essays, p. 408).

not invoke them, all the guardian spirits of the righteous are to be invoked at the beginning of 'staomi¹;' and when not, they watch until *the words* 'frashô-karethrām saoshyantām²,' and when they shall invoke them there they will accept the ceremony; and when not, they will watch until *the words* 'vīspau fravashayô ashaonām yazamaidê³,' and when they shall invoke *them* there they will accept⁴ the ceremony; and when not, *they will watch* until *the words* 'tauskâ yazamaidê⁵;' and when they invoke them⁶ at the threefold 'ashem vohû' and *the word* dāmanām⁷,' at the twice-told 'aokhtô-nāmanô⁸,' the 'ashâd hakâ⁹,' or the 'yâtumanahê gasaiti¹⁰,'

¹ This may be at the 'staomi' of Yas. XII, 6, which is recited before the Yasna is commenced; but K20 alters the meaning (by inserting the relative particle) into '*they* are to be invoked at "staomi," the beginning of "all the guardian spirits of the righteous" (Yas. XXVI, 1).'

² Yas. XXVI, 20.

³ Yas. XXVI, 34.

⁴ K20 has, 'shall not invoke,' and 'will not accept.'

⁵ The concluding words of the yēnhê hâtām formula, probably of that one at the end of Yas. XXVII, just preceding the recital of the Gâthas, up to which time the spirits wait, but, if not invoked, they are then supposed to ascend, away from the ceremony, as mentioned in the text.

⁶ K20 has, 'when they do not invoke them.'

⁷ Yas. VIII, 10; which is preceded by a thrice-told 'ashem vohû,' at which the officiating priest tastes the sacred cake, being the end of the Drôn ceremony (see Haug's Essays, pp. 404, 408).

⁸ Yas. XXII, 33 (§§ 14-33 being recited twice). At this point the officiating priest brings out the mortar for pounding the Hôṃ twigs (see Haug's Essays, p. 405); Yas. XXII being called the beginning of the Hôṃâst in the Vistâsp Yast Sâdah.

⁹ Yas. XXIV, 30, when the officiating priest turns the mortar right side upwards.

¹⁰ Yas. VIII, 9, which is practically the same place as the three-fold 'ashem vohû' before mentioned.

they will accept¹; and when not, they go up the height of a spear (nīzak) and will remain. 13. And they speak thus: 'This man does not understand that it will be necessary even for him² to go from the world, and our prayer (apistân) is for reminding men; it is not *that* our uneasiness *arises* from this, that we are in want of their ceremony, but our uneasiness *arises* from this, that when they do not reverence and do not invoke us, when evil comes upon them it is not possible for us to keep *it* away.'

14. 'O creator! how much is the duration in life of him who is dead?' And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'As much as the wing of a fly, O Zaratûst the Spîtâ-mân! or as much as the hearing a wing unto a sightless *one*³.'

CHAPTER X.

1. The rule⁴ is this, that a *sacred thread-girdle* (kûstik) be three finger-breadths loose transversely

¹ K20 has, 'they will not accept.'

² Literally, 'for me,' which seems to refer to the man, and not to the spirits.

³ This appears to be the complete translation of the Avesta sentence partially quoted in Pahl. Vend. VIII, 64: 'yatha makhshyau perenem, yatha vâ perenahê,' &c. The last clause is doubtful; the reading adopted here is *kand zak-i shinavâk-i par andarg avênâk*, as nothing more satisfactory suggests itself; it might also be translated by 'as much as the sound of a wing in the invisible.'

⁴ Reading âînak; Pâzand writers convert it into yak, which can, however, have the same meaning, though they evidently take the word to be Huz. khadûk, 'one,' which is written precisely like âînak in Pahlavi characters. Most of the miscellaneous statements, contained in the latter part of Sls., commence with this phrase.

(pavan targûn)¹, as is said in every teaching (kâstak)², and when it is less it is not proper.

2. The rule is this, that the sacred cake (drôn), set aside at the dedication *formula* (shnûmanê) *on the days devoted to the guardian spirits*³, is to be used *at the season-festivals, the Nônâbar*⁴, the *three nights' ceremony*⁵, the Hôm-drôn, and other *rites of the righteous guardian spirits*; and when they shall not do so, according to some teachings, it is not proper.

3. In the exposition (kâstak) of the Nihâdûm Nask⁶ it says that a man is going to commit rob-

¹ That is, round the waist (see Chap. IV, 1).

² That is, 'interpretation or exposition' (see Chap. I, 3, 4). Kzo has, 'and by every teaching it is proper.'

³ These fravarđikân are, strictly speaking, the five supplementary days at the end of the Parsi year, but the last five days of the last month are usually added to them, so as to make a period of ten days at the end of the year, during which the guardian spirits of the departed are supposed to revisit their old homes, and for whom the sacred cake is set aside.

⁴ The initiatory ceremony of a young priest (see Chap. XIII, 2).

⁵ The ceremonies performed by the survivors for three nights after a death (see Chaps. VIII, 6, XVII, 3, 4).

⁶ This was the fifteenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which calls it Nikâdûm; but according to the Dîni-vagarkard and the Rivâyats it was the sixteenth nask, called Niyârum. For its contents, as given by the Dîni-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, p. 132. The following is a brief summary of the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard, where it occupies twenty-five quarto pages of that work :—

The beginning of the law (dâd) is the Nikâdûm of thirty far-gards. The section Patkâr-radîstân ('the arbitrator's code') is about umpires and arbitration, contracts by words of four kinds and by signs of six kinds; and twelve sorts of arbitrators are described in four sub-sections, according as they decide by hearing or seeing, and with regard to women and children, foreigners and

bery, *and* a wall falls in upon him, *it is* his destroyer; when a man strikes at him *he is* his adversary, *and* both are in sinfulness; when he is going to perform the worship of God (*yazisnô-i yazdânô*) both of them are in innocence.

4. The rule is this, that when a woman becomes pregnant, as long as it is possible, the fire is to be maintained most carefully in the dwelling, because it is declared in the *Spend Nask*¹ that *towards*

those worthy of death. The second section, *Zadāmistân* ('the assault code'), is a treatise on assault and the consequences of assault, pain, blood, and unconsciousness; on blows and conflicts, man with man, women with women, and child with child, with their proper penalties; also the murder of slaves and children. The third section, *Rêshistân* ('the wound code'), is a treatise on various kinds of wounds and their characteristics. The fourth section, *Hamêmistân* ('the accuser's code'), is a treatise on accusation and false accusation of various specified crimes, on lying and slander, the care of pregnant women, impenitence and various offences against priests and disciples, remitting penalties, abetting and assisting criminals, mediation, punishment of children, smiting foreigners, murder, medical treatment, and many other things (see Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, p. 184, where they are erroneously ascribed to the *Pâzôn Nask*, owing to the defective text of the MS. M13). The fifth section contained twenty-four treatises on miscellaneous subjects connected with crime and sin (see Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, pp. 184, 185).

The passage mentioned in the text cannot be recognised in any of the details supplied by the *Dīnkard*.

¹ This was the thirteenth *nask* or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to all authorities, but is called *Sfend* in the *Rivâyats*. For its contents, as given by the *Dīnf-vagarkard*, see Haug's *Essays*, pp. 131, 132. The following is a summary of the short account of it given in the eighth book of the *Dīnkard*:—

The *Spend* is a treatise on the origin and combination of the existence, guardian spirit, and glory of *Zaratûst*; on his generation and birth; on the coming of the two spirits, the good one to sustain, and the bad one to destroy him, and the victory of the good

Dûkdâv¹, the mother of Zaratûst, when she was pregnant with Zaratûst, *for* three nights, every night a leader (khûdâ)² with a hundred and fifty³ demons rushed for the destruction of Zaratûst, *but* owing to the existence of the fire in the dwelling they knew no means of accomplishing *it*.

5. The rule is this, that they have a tank (môg) for the disciples, when they are going to perform the worship of God, *and* are sprinkling the stone seat (magôk)⁴; and lest they should make a wet place by that sprinkling through taking *water* out from it, it is to be done sitting; for in the Vendidad⁵ the high-priests *have* taught, about making

spirit; on his going, at thirty years of age, to confer with Aûhar-mazd, and his seven conferences in ten years; on the seven questions he proposed to the archangels on those occasions; on the conveyance of the omniscient wisdom into him, showing him heaven and hell, and the intermediate place of those 'ever-stationary,' the account taken of sin and good works, the future existence, and the fate of the religion on earth till the renovation of the universe, with the coming of his future sons, the last three apostles.

¹ The Pâz. Dughdâ of Bund. XXXII, 10 would indicate Pahl. Dûkdân, but the Dînkard has Dûkdâûbô and Dûkdâûbag (pointing to Av. Dugdhavan), and the Persian forms are Dughdû and Dughdavîh. Here the name is Dûkdâvô, which is transposed into Dûdkâv in Chap. XII, 11; it must have meant either 'milk-maid' or 'suckler' originally.

² K20 has sêdâ, 'a demon,' and in Chap. XII, 11, where this section is repeated, the word can be read either sêdâ, 'a demon,' or shâh, 'a king or ruler;' of course 'an arch-fiend' is meant.

³ M6 appears to have 'sixty,' instead of 'fifty,' but see Chap. XII, 11.

⁴ Or magh, on which they squat in the purification ceremony (see B. Yt. II, 36).

⁵ Referring probably to Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 98; the ground is not to be wetted further than the length of the fore-part of the foot beyond the toes, that is, not more than a hand's breadth; this

water *when standing* on foot¹, that the measure it refers to applies to everything else, not even of a like origin; by him who makes water the Avesta² for making water is to be uttered, *and then it* is the root of a Tanâpûhar sin³ for *him*, and when he does not utter *it he* is more grievously sinful.

6. The rule is this, that to recite the Gâthas over those passed away is not to be considered as beneficial, since it is not proper to recite the three Hâs⁴ which are the beginning of the Aûstûvat Gâtha whenever *one is* on the road; whenever *one* recites *them* over a man in the house *they are* healing.

7. The rule is this, that in the night wine and aromatic herbs (sparam) and anything like food are not to be cast away towards the north quarter, because a fiend⁵ *will* become pregnant; and when *one* casts *them* away one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô⁶ is to be uttered.

measure is here extended to washing water, hence the necessity of squatting during such ablutions.

¹ This is a sin which is usually classed with 'running about uncovered' and 'walking with one boot' (see Chap. IV, 8, note).

² This Avesta is prescribed in Vend. XVIII, 97, and is still in constant use; it consists of three Ashem-vohûs (see Bund. XX, 2), two Humatanâms (Yas. XXXV, 4-6), three Hukhshathrômâtâis (Yas. XXXV, 13-15), four Ahunavars (see Bund. I, 21), and one Yênhê-hâtâm (see B. Yt. II, 64).

³ See Chap. I, 1, 2.

⁴ The three chapters (Yas. XLII-XLIV) which begin the Ustavaiti Gâtha (Yas. XLII-XLV).

⁵ A drûg, or fiend, is usually considered as a female demon (see Vend. XVIII, 70-77); and the demons are supposed to come from the north, where they congregate on the summit of Aresûr, at the gates of hell (see Vend. XIX, 1, 140, 142, Bund. XII, 8).

⁶ See Bund. I, 21. This statement is repeated in Chap. XII, 18.

8. The rule is this, that reverential *should be* the abstinence from unlawfully slaughtering of *any* species of animals; for in the *Stûdgar Nask*¹ it is said, concerning those who *have* unlawfully slaughtered animals, the punishment is such that *each* hair of those animals becomes like a sharp dagger (*têkh*), and he who is unlawfully a slaughterer is slain. 9. Of animals, the slaughtering of the lamb, the goat (*vahîk*), the ploughing ox, the war-horse, the hare, the bat (*êlharâz*), the cock or bird of Vohûman, and the magpie (*kâskînak*) bird, and of birds *that* of the kite, eagle (*hûmât*), and swallow is most to be abstained from.

10. A pregnant woman who passes away is not to be carried away by less than four men², who are at it constantly with united strength; for *with* other corpses, after a dog's gaze, when they carry *them* along by two men with united strength, they do not become polluted; *but* for a pregnant woman two dogs are necessary, to whose united power *she* is to be exposed; *and* they carry *her* along by four men with united strength, *and* they do not become polluted; *but* when they carry *her* along by two men *they* are to be washed with ceremony (*pîsak*)³.

11. The rule is this, that when they beg forgiveness for a person (*marđûm*) who *has* passed away,

¹ See B.Yt. I, 1. The passage here referred to is probably one in the middle of the seventeenth fargard of this Nask, which is mentioned as follows, in the ninth book of the *Dînkard*: 'And this too, namely, those who unlawfully slay sheep and cattle, which diminishes their life and glory.'

² This is the usual custom, while that mentioned in Chap. II, 6 is the exceptional case, mentioned at the end of this section, which necessitates extraordinary purification.

³ That is, with the Bareshnûm ceremony (see Chap. II, 6).

such a *prayer* is more significant when *one* says thus : 'Whenever a trespass (*vinâs*) of mine *has* occurred against him, you will take account of *it along* with those of his *which have* occurred against me, and the trespasses *have* passed away one through the other ; *any* further trespasses of his *which have* occurred against me are then made a righteous gift by me¹.'

12. The rule is this, that *one* should not walk without boots² ; and his advantage therefrom is even this, that when a boot (*mûgak*) is on *his* foot, *and* he puts the foot upon dead matter, and does not disturb the dead matter, he does not become polluted ; when a boot is not on *his* foot, and he puts the foot upon dead matter, and does not disturb *it*, *he is polluted*³, except when he knows for certain (*aêvar*) that a dog *has* seen *it*, or *if* not it is to be considered *as* not seen by a dog⁴.

13. The rule is this, as revealed *in* the *Dûbâsrûgêd Nask*⁵, where a day in the year is indicated,

¹ That is, I pardon them in charity.

² Or, perhaps, 'without stockings,' *avîmûgak* ; this seems to be something different from the sin of *aê-mûk-dûbârisnîh*, 'running in one boot' (see Chap. IV, 12).

³ Without these words, which do not exist in the MSS., the sentence seems to have no clear meaning.

⁴ And, therefore, still containing the *Nasûs*, or fiend of corruption, who will enter into any one who merely touches the dead matter, without disturbing it, and can be driven out only by the tedious and troublesome *Bareshnûm* ceremony.

⁵ This was the sixteenth *nask* or 'book' of the complete *Mazdayasnian* literature, according to the *Dînkard*, which calls it *Dûbâsrûgêd* or *Dûbâsrûd* ; but according to the *Dînî-vagarkard*, which calls it *Dvâsrûzd*, and the *Rivâyats*, which call it *Dvâsrûgad*, *Dvâsrûngad*, or *Dvâsrûb*, it was the eighteenth *nask*. For its contents, as given by the *Dînî-vagarkard*, see Haug's *Essays*, pp. 132, 133. The following is a brief summary of the account of it given

that the *sacred thread-girdle* of every one who shall be one day more than fourteen years *and* three months *old* is to be tied on—*it is* better so than when he remains unto fifteen years, *and then* ties on the girdle—who is more cared for, that way, than a five-months' child¹, on whom they should put *it* in the womb of *its* mother.

14. The rule is this, that when *one* retains a prayer *inwardly*², *and* wind shall come *from* below, *or* wind shall come from the mouth, it is all one³.

in the eighth book of the *Dinkard*, which occupies ten quarto pages of that work:—

Of the first eighteen sections of the *Dûbâsrûgd* the first is a treatise on thieves, their arrest, imprisonment, and punishment, with the various kinds of robbery; the second section is about the irresponsibility of a father for the crimes of a grown-up son, and of a husband for those of a separated wife, about the time for instructing children, and when they first become responsible for sin, the crime of giving weapons to women, children, and foreigners, about warriors plundering, the various kinds of judges and their duties, and offences against accusers. Of the twelve next sections one, called *Pasûs-hôrivistân* ('the shepherd's dog code'), is about shepherd's dogs, their duties and rights. Of the last thirty-five sections the first, called *Stôristân* ('the beast of burden code'), is about the sin, affecting the soul, of unlawfully beating and wounding cattle and beasts of burden, birds and fish; the second section, *Argistân* ('the value code'), is a treatise on the value of animate and inanimate objects; the third section, *Aratêstâristân* ('the warrior code'), is a treatise on warriors, arms, armies, generals, battles, plunder, &c.; the fourth section is about warm baths, fires, clothing, winter stores, reaping fodder and corn, &c.

The passage mentioned in the text was probably in that part of the second section which referred to the responsibility of children. The words from 'as revealed' to 'indicated' are omitted in K20.

¹ K20 has 'nine-months' child.'

² See Chap. III, 6.

³ Literally, 'both are one;' that is, in either case the spell of the *vâg* or prayer is broken.

15. Also this, that ten women are necessary for affording assistance *to* a woman who is in labour : five women for directing the making of the cradle (gavâarak), one woman should be opposite the left shoulder, and one to hold the right shoulder, one woman to throw a hand on her neck, one woman to hold her waist, and one woman, when the infant shall be born, to take *it* up and cut the navel cord, and to make the fire blaze¹. 16. Three days and three nights no one is to pass between the fire and the child, nor to show the child to a sinful man *or* woman ; *they are* to triturate a little sulphur in the sap (mayâ) of a plant, *and* to smear it over the child ; *and* the first food to give *it* is Hô-m-juice (parâhôm) and aloes (shapyâr).

17. The rule is this, that in case any one shall beat an innocent man, until the pain shall cease it becomes every day the root of a Tanâpûhar sin² for him.

18. The rule is this, that when in a country they trust a false judge, and keep *him* among *their* superiors, owing to the sin and breach of faith which that judge commits, the clouds *and* rain, in that country, are deficient, a portion (bavan) of the deliciousness, fatness, wholesomeness, and milk of the cattle and goats diminishes³, and many children become destroyed in the mother's womb.

19. The rule is this, that a man, when he does not wed a wife, does not become worthy of death ; *but* when a woman does not wed a husband it

¹ Literally, 'make the fire high.'

² See Chap. I, 1, 2.

³ Most of these evils are also ascribed (see B. Yt. II, 41-43) to neglect of the precautions prescribed with regard to hair-cuttings.

amounts to *a sin* worthy of death; because *for* a woman *there* is no offspring except by intercourse with men, and no lineage proceeds from her; *but for* a man without a wife, when he shall recite the Avesta, as it is mentioned in the Vendidad¹, *there may be* a lineage which proceeds onwards *to* the future existence.

20. The rule is this, that a toothpick is to be cut out clear of bark (pôst pâk)², for the high-priests *have* taught that when one's toothpick—made for the mouth with the bark—shall fall, and when a pregnant woman puts a foot upon it, *she* is apprehensive about *its* being dead matter³.

21. The rule is this, that in accepting the child of a handmaid (*kakar*)⁴ discrimination is to be exercised; for in the fourteenth *of the* Nask Hûspâram⁵

¹ This reference is probably to the circumstances detailed in Vend. XVIII, 99-112, but the Pahlavi commentary on §§ 111, 112 of that passage is missing in all MSS. The Avesta to be recited in such cases is precisely the same as that detailed in a note on § 5.

² This translation is in accordance with the seventeenth chapter of the prose Sad-dar Bûndahis, or 'Bûndahis of a hundred chapters,' a Pâzand work of later times; but the text here might be translated 'cut out of clean skin,' and in Chap. XII, 13, where the statement is repeated, the word used is also ambiguous.

³ The Sad-dar Bûndahis says, 'the fear arises that the infant may come to harm.' This section and the three which follow are repeated in Chap. XII, 13-16.

⁴ This might mean a *kakar*, or 'serving' wife (see Bund. XXXII, 6), but the further details given in Chap. XII, 14, where this statement is repeated, make it more probable that a concubine is meant.

⁵ As this was the seventeenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to all authorities, it is probable that the word 'fourteenth,' in the text here, refers to some particular chapter or fargard, most likely to the last group of fourteen

the high-priests *have* taught thus : 'My son is suitable also as thy son, *but* my daughter is not suitable also as thy daughter.'

sections, mentioned below, in the summary of its contents; and this is confirmed by another reference in Chap. XII, 7. This nask is called Aspâram in the Rivâyats, and Aspârûm in the Dînî-vagarkard; for its contents, as given by the latter, see Haug's Essays, p. 133. The following is a brief summary of the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard, where it occupies sixteen quarto pages of that work :—

Of the first thirty sections of the Hûspâram, one is the Aêrpastîstân ('the priest's code'), a treatise on priestly studies, priests, disciples, and their five dispositions. One section is the Nfrangistân ('religious formula code'), a treatise on the formulas of worship, the Avesta to be recited by the officiating priests twice, thrice, and four times, the five periods of the day and their proper ceremonies, the season-festivals, the sacred girdle and shirt, cutting the sacred twigs, reverencing water, the families of Zarâtûst, Hvôv, and Vistâsp, &c. One section is the Gôharîkistân ('quality code'), a treatise on nobility and superiority, buying and selling, cattle, slaves, servants, and other property, houses where men or dogs have been sick, dealings with foreigners, &c. And other sections are about appropriating the property of others, obedient and disobedient wives, foreign wives, advantages of male and female offspring, breeding of cattle, treatment of labourers and children, the evil eye, judges, the origin and cultivation of corn, the degrees of crime and punishment, &c. Of the next twenty sections, one is about the treatment of furious cattle and mad dogs, and the damage they may do. One section on the means of accumulating wealth, the giving of sons and daughters in marriage, the goodness of charity and evil of waste, the five best actions and the five worst, unlawful felling of trees, the sin of burying the dead, &c. And one section on the begetting, birth, and treatment of children. Of the last fourteen sections, one is a treatise, in six fargard's, on the ownership of property and disputes about it, on one's own family, acquiring wife and children, adoption, &c. And a section of seven fargard's, at the end, is a treatise on the sufferings of men, women, children, and dogs, on the connection of owner and herds, priest and disciple, on various offences and sins, spiritual and worldly healing, physic and physicians, astrology,

22. The rule is this, that *one* perseveres much in the begetting of offspring, for the acquisition of abundance of good works at once; because, in the Nihâdûm Nask¹, the high-priests *have* taught that the duty and good works which a son performs are as much the father's as though they had been done by his own hand; and in the Dâmdâd Nask² it is revealed thus: 'Likewise, too, the good works, *in* like measure, which come into the father's possession.'

23. The rule is this, that they shall give to the worthy as much of anything as is proper for eating *and* accumulating; because in the Nihâdûm Nask³ the high-priests *have* taught thus: 'A man gives a hungry *one* bread, *and it is* too much, yet all the good works, which he shall perform through that superabundance, become as much his *who gave it* as though they had been done by his own hand.'

24. The rule is this, where *one* lies down, in circumstances of propriety and innocence, one Ashem-vohû is to be uttered⁴, and *in* like manner when he

the proper feeding of cattle, horses, sheep, goats, and pigs, the duty of a frontier governor during a foreign invasion, &c.

The passage mentioned in the text was probably in that portion of the last group of fourteen sections which treated of wives, children, and adoption.

¹ See § 3; the passage mentioned here cannot be traced in the account of this Nask given in the Dînkard.

² See SZS. IX, 1. The passage here quoted cannot be traced in any of the short accounts of the contents of this Nask. This section is repeated, with a few verbal alterations, in Chap. XII, 15.

³ See § 3; the passage here quoted is also not to be traced in the account of this Nask given in the Dînkard. This section is repeated, with a few verbal alterations, in Chap. XII, 16.

⁴ Compare Chap. IV, 14, where much the same is stated as what occurs in this section.

gets up well; when he does so, every single drawing of the breath (vayô) becomes a good work of three Srôshô-karanâms, that is, a weight of ten dirhams of the full weight of four mads¹.

25. The rule is this, that when an action or an opinion comes forward, and *one* does not know whether *it be* a sin or a good work, when possible it is to be abandoned *and* not executed by him; as it says in the Sakâdûm Nask² that Zaratûst *has*

¹ Reading i mad-4, instead of va maz-4; the word mad (see Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, p. 21) being Huz. for the dang or quarter-dirham. The amount of the Srôshô-karanâm, as deduced from this statement, differs from those given in Chaps. XI, 2, XVI, 5, and must be awkwardly fractional, unless the sentence be altered into 10 gûgan sang nêrn zîs pûr sang yehevûnêd, 'a weight of ten dirhams *and* a half, which is its full weight;' in which case one Srôshô-karanâm would be 3½ dirhams, as in Chap. XVI, 5.

² This was the eighteenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard; but according to the Dîni-vagarkard and the Rivâyats it was the nineteenth nask, called Askârûm or Askâram. For its contents, as given by the Dîni-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, p. 133. The following is a brief summary of the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard, where it occupies twenty quarto pages of that work:—

Of the first thirty sections of the Sakâdûm one is a treatise on the necessity of obedience and understanding the laws, on newborn infants and their proper treatment, on the care of fire and sharp-pointed things, on race-courses, the use of water, salt and sweet, warm and cold, flowing and stagnant, &c. One section is the Hakîdakânistân ('annoyances code'), a treatise on irritating words and ill-treatment of living creatures and trees, the finding of buried treasure at various depths and in different places, &c. And one section is the Zîyânakistân ('damage code'), a treatise on damage to animate and inanimate objects. Of the last twenty-two sections, one is the Vakhshistân ('increase code'), a treatise on the progress of growth, breeding of cattle and other animals, pleadings regarding debts, growth of corn, &c. One section is the Varistân ('ordeal code'), a treatise on the detection of witchcraft by ordeal, by heat and cold, &c. One section on asking assistance

not provided about everything whatever, but three times *it has been done* by Zarātūst about this duty, that is, so that the Avesta *and* Zand, when *one has* learned it thoroughly by heart¹, is for recitation, *and* is not to be mumbled² (*gûyisnō*), for in mumbling (*gûdanō*) the parts of the Ahunavar³ are more chattering⁴. 26. As it says in the Bagh Nask⁵

and rewarding it, on the unjust judge and the sagacious one, on daughters given in marriage by mothers and brothers, on the disobedient son, &c. And one section on the spirits of the earthly existences, the merit of killing noxious water-creatures, the animal world proceeding from the primeval ox, the evil spirit not to be worshipped, and much other advice.

The passage mentioned in the text appears to have been in the first section of this Nask, as the Dīnkard says it treated, among other matters, 'about a man's examining an action before doing it, *and* when he does not know whether *it be* a sin or a good work, when possible, *he* is to set it aside *and* not to do *it*.' But nothing is said there about Zarātūst, and what is said here seems to have very little connection with the 'rule' laid down in this section.

¹ Literally, 'made it quite easy.'

² Literally, 'not to be devoured or gnawed.'

³ The formula commencing with the words Yathâ ahû vairyô (see Bund. I, 21); its parts or bagha are the phrases into which it may be divided (see Yas. XIX, 4, 6, 9, 12).

⁴ Reading drâitar, 'more clamorous or chattering;' but the word is ambiguous, as it may be darâktar, 'more rending,' or girâitar, 'more weighty, more threatening,' &c.

⁵ M6 has Bak. This was the third nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dīnkard, which calls it Bakō; but according to the Dīnī-vagarkard and the Rivâyats it was the fourth nask. For its contents, as given by the Dīnī-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, p. 127. In the Dīnkard, besides a very brief account of it, in the eighth book, which states that it was a treatise on the recitation of the revealed texts, there is, in the ninth book, a long description of the contents of each of its twenty-two fargard's, occupying fifty quarto pages in the MSS. of the Dīnkard. From this it appears that the passage quoted in our text probably occurred in the first

thus: 'Whoever shall mutter, O Zaratûst! my allotment of the Ahunavar¹—that is, shall softly take *it inwardly*—and shall let *it* escape² again—that is, shall utter *it aloud*—so much as a half, or one-third, or one-fourth, or one-fifth, his soul will I shield, I who am Aûharmazd, from the best existence—that is, I *will* keep it away—by so much of an interval as the width of this earth.'

27. The rule is this, that *one* is to proceed with great deliberation when he does not know whether *it be* a sin or a good work, that is, it is not to be done.

28. The rule is this, that an opinion (andâzak) of anything is to be formed through consultation

fargard. It also occurs, in nearly the same words, in Pahl. Yas. XIX, 12–15, and as Yas. XIX is called 'the beginning of the Bakân' in some MSS., it is possible that the three Hâs (Yas. XIX–XXI) which relate to the three short Avesta formulas are really the first three fargards of the Bagh Nask, which are said to have treated of the same subjects.

¹ The text is corrupted into *min zak-i li, Zaratûst! bêstârîh-i min Ahunavar drûgist*, which might be translated, in connection with the following phrase, thus: 'Of my vexation, O Zaratûst! from the Ahunavar, the most fiendish is that *one* shall softly take *it*,' &c. But very slight alterations of the Pahlavi letters (in accordance with Pahl. Yas. XIX, 12) convert *min* into *mûn*, *bêstârîh* into *bâkhtârîh*, and *drûgist* into *drengâd*. Instead of 'allotment of the Ahunavar' we might read 'predestination, or providence, from the Ahunavar;' because the Pahlavi translator, by using the word *bâkhtârîh* or *bakhtârîh*, appears to have understood the Av. *bagha* in its sense of 'divinity, providence,' rather than in that of 'part, portion.'

² Reading *rânînêd* or *rahônêd*. The Pahlavi translator seems to think the sin consists in breaking the spell of the *vâg* or inward prayer (see Chap. III, 6) by speaking part of it aloud; but the original Avesta of this passage attributes the sin to obscuring the meaning by imperfect recitation.

with the good; even so it is revealed in the *Kidrast Nask*¹ that Spendarmad spoke to Mânûskihar thus: 'Even the swiftest horse requires the whip (tâzâ-

¹ This was the twelfth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the *Dînkard*, which calls it *Kidrastô* or *Kidrôstô*; but according to the *Dînî-vagarkard* and the *Rivâyats* it was the fourteenth nask called *Girast*. For its contents, as given by the *Dînî-vagarkard*, see Haug's *Essays*, p. 131. The following is a summary of the short account of it given in the eighth book of the *Dînkard*:—

The *Kidrôstô* is a treatise on the race of man; how Aûharmazd produced the first man, *Gâyômar*d, how the first pair, *Mashya* and *Mashyôî*, arose, with their progeny, till the region of *Khvanîras* was full, when they supplied the six surrounding regions, till they filled and cultivated the whole world. The *Pêsdâdîan* dynasty of *Hôshâng*, *Tâkhmôrupô*, and *Yim*, the evil reign of *Dahâk*, descended from *Tâz*, the brother of *Hôshâng* and father of the Arabs, then *Frêdûn* who divided *Khvanîras* between his three sons, *Salm*, *Tûg*, and *Aîrîk*, who married the daughters of *Pâtsrôbô* (compare *Pahl. Vend. XX, 4*) king of the Arabs, then *Mânûskihar*, descendant (*nâpô*) of *Aîrîk*, the penal reign of *Frâsîyâv* ruler of *Tûrân*, then *Aûzôbô* the *Tûmâspian*, descendant of *Mânûskihar*, then *Kaî-Kavâd* and the penal reign of *Karsâspô*. The *Kayânian* dynasty of *Kaî-Us*, *Kaî-Khûsrôb* son of *Sîyâvakhsh*, with many tales of the specially famous races of *Iran*, *Tûrân*, and *Salmân*, even to the reigns of *Kaî-Lôharâsp* and *Kaî-Vistâsp*. The apostle *Zaratûst*, and the progress of time and events from the reign of *Frêdûn* till *Zaratûst*'s conference with *Aûharmazd*. The race of *Mânûskihar*, *Nôdar*, and others. *Avarethrabau*'s (see *Fravardîn Yt. 106*) father, *Âtarô-pâd* son of *Mâraspend*. On future events and the reign of the renovation of the universe; the origin of the knowledge of occupation, and the care and industry of the period; the great acquaintance of mankind with the putting aside of injury from the adversary, the preservation of the body, and the deliverance of the soul, both before and after the time of *Zaratûst*.

As *Mânûskihar* is several times mentioned there are several places in this *Nask* where the statement, quoted in the text as a saying of *Spendarmad*, the female archangel who has special charge of the earth (see *Chap. XV, 5, 20-24*, and *Bund. I, 26*), may have occurred.

nak), the sharpest steel knife requires the whetstone (afsân), and the wisest man requires counsel (ham-pûrsth).'

29. The rule is this, that when *one* laughs outright (barâ khandêd) the Avesta and Zand are not to be mumbled, for the wisdom of Aûharmazd is omniscient, *and* good works are a great exercise of liberality, but an extreme abstinence from producing irritation (hangtdâr-dahtsnth); because in the Ratûstâtîth *Nask*¹ many harsh things are said about the severe punishment of producers of irritation, in the spiritual *existence*.

30. The rule is this, that *as* there *may* be *some* even of those of the good religion *who*, through unacquaintance with the religion, when a female *fowl* crows in the manner of a cock, will kill the

¹ This was the seventh nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which calls it Ratûstâtîf; but according to the Dînî-vagarkard and the Rivâyats it was the eighth nask called Ratustâtî. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, p. 129. The following is a summary of the short account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard:—

The Ratûstâtî is a treatise on indispensable religious practices, the reason of the worthiness and superexcellence in a purifying priest, and how to distinguish worthiness and superexcellence from unworthiness, in the priesthood of each of the seven regions of the earth; on the indication and manifestation of an assemblage of the archangels, the formulas and means to be employed in reverencing the angels, the position and duties of the two officiating priests in the ceremonies, and all the business of the orderers of ceremonies, with their various duties; on the greatness and voluntariness of good works, the kinds of voluntariness, and the proximity of Aûharmazd to the thoughts, words, and deeds of the material world.

It is uncertain under which of these heads the passage mentioned in the text may have occurred.

fowl, so those of the primitive faith¹ *have* said that there *may* be mischief (vinâstârîh) from wizards in that dwelling, *which* the cock is incapable of keeping away, and the female *fowl* makes that noise for the assistance of the cock², especially when the bringing of another cock into that dwelling is necessary.

31. The rule is this, that when *one* sees a hedgehog, then *along* with it³ a place in the plain, free from danger, is to be preserved; for in the Vendidad⁴ the high-priests *have* taught that it is when the hedgehog every day voids urine into an ant's nest that a thousand ants will die.

32. The rule is this, that in the Vendidad⁵ seven kinds of things are mentioned, *and* when they are the cause of a man's death, until the forthcoming period *of the day* (gâs-i levîn) comes on, contami-

¹ See Chap. I, 3.

² The cock is considered to be an opponent of demons and wizards (see Bund. XIX, 33), and to warn men against the seductions of the demoness of lethargy (see Vend. XVIII, 33-42, 52).

³ Assuming that levatman val means levatman valman, but the reading 'he takes *it* back to (lakhvâr val) the plain,' which occurs in the repetition of this section in Chap. XII, 20, seems preferable.

⁴ The details which follow are to be found in Bund. XIX, 28, but they appear to be no longer extant in the Pahlavi Vendidad; though the hedgehog is called 'the slayer of the thousands of the evil spirit,' in Vend. XIII, 5, of which passage the statement in our text seems to be an illustration. The ant is considered noxious.

⁵ Vend. VII, 5, 6, where, however, eight modes of death are mentioned, which delay the arrival of the Nasûr, or fiend of corruption, till the next period of the day; these are when the person has been killed by a dog, a wolf, a wizard, anxiety, falling into a pit, the hand of man as sentenced by law, illegal violence, or strangulation. In all other cases it is supposed that the fiend of corruption enters the corpse immediately after death (see Vend. VII, 2-4).

nation (nisrûst)¹ does not rush upon him; and for this reason, this, too, is well *for* the good, that is, to show a dog rightly again a previous corpse in the forthcoming period *of the day*².

33. The rule is this, that by those who attend to a corpse among the pure *it* is then to be shown *to* a dog very observant of the corpse; for when even a thousand persons shall carry away a corpse which a dog *has* not seen, they are all polluted³.

34. The rule is this, that meat, when there is stench or decomposition not even originating with *it*, is not to be prayed *over*⁴; *and* the sacred cake (drôn) and butter (gâûs-dâk) which are hairy are also not to be prayed over⁵.

35. A woman is fit for priestly duty (zôttîh) among women⁶, and when she is consecrating⁷ the sacred

¹ See Bund. XXVIII, 29.

² In order that there may be no risk of the fiend of corruption having entered the corpse after it was first exhibited to a dog.

³ This statement has been already made in Chap. II, 65.

⁴ That is, it is not to be used in any religious ceremony. Small pieces of meat are consecrated, along with the sacred cakes, in the Drôn and Âfrîngân ceremonies at certain festivals.

⁵ So in K20; but M6 has, 'the sacred cake they present, even that is not to be prayed over.' Although M6 is more carefully written than K20, it seems to have been copied from an original which was hardly legible in some places, of which this is one. The presence of a hair in the cake or butter would render it useless for religious purposes.

⁶ But only for some of the minor priestly offices, such as consecrating the sacred cake. According to Avesta passages, quoted in the Nîrangistân, any man who is not a Tanâpûthar sinner can perform certain priestly duties for virtuous men, and any woman who is not feeble-minded (kasu-khrathwa) can perform them for children.

⁷ M6 has, 'when she does not consecrate.'

cake (drôn), and one Ashem-vohû¹ is uttered by her, she puts the *sacred* twigs (baresôm) back on the twig-stand, brings *them* away, and the utterance of another one is good; when she says it is not expedient to do *it* with attention before a meal, it is proper. 36. The sacred cake of a disreputable woman is not to be consecrated, but is to be rendered ineligible (avigînakö).

37. When *one* places a thing before the fire observantly, and does not see the splendour itself, 'tava âthrô²' is not to be said.

38. At night, when³ *one* lies down, the hands are to be thoroughly washed. 39. That which comes from a menstruous woman to any one, or to anything, is all to be thoroughly washed with bull's urine (gômêz) and water⁴.

[40. The rule is this, as Âtarô-pâd *son of* Mâraspend⁵ said when every one passed away:—'The mouth-veil⁶ and also the clothing are to be well

¹ See Bund. XX, 2; it is rather doubtful whether we should read 'one' or 'two.'

² These Avesta words, meaning 'for thee, the fire,' are used when presenting anything to the fire, such as firewood and incense (see Yas. VII, 3, XXII, 10, 22, &c.)

³ Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'who' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

⁴ Here ends the original Shâyast lâ-shâyast. § 40 is found only in M6, and is evidently a later addition to that MS. by another hand. Then follows the Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk, both in M6 and K20; this is an old Avesta-Pahlavi Glossary which has no connection with Sls., although it may be of the same age, as it quotes many Avesta sentences which are no longer extant elsewhere, and amongst others passages from the Nihâdûm Nask (see Sls. X, 3) and the commentary of Afarg (see Sls. I, 3).

⁵ See Bund. XXXIII, 3.

⁶ The padâm (Av. paitidâna, Pâz. penôm) 'consists of two

set *apart* from the gifts (dâsarân), so that his soul may become easier.' Completed in peace and pleasure.]

PART II.—*A Supplementary Treatise*¹.

CHAPTER XI.

1. The degrees of sin are these², such as a Farmân, Srôshô-karanâm, Âgerept, Atvrist, Aredûs, Khôr, Bâzât, Yât, and Tanâpûhar, and I *will* mention each of them a second time. 2. A Farmân is the weight of three dirhams of four mads³; a

pieces of white cotton cloth, hanging loosely from the bridge of the nose to at least two inches below the mouth, and tied with two strings at the back of the head. It must be worn by a priest whenever he approaches the sacred fire, so as to prevent his breath from contaminating the fire. On certain occasions a layman has to use a substitute for the penôm by screening his mouth and nose with a portion of his muslin shirt.' (Haug's Essays, p. 243, note 1; see also Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 1-4.)

¹ This second part is evidently by another writer, for he not only repeats several passages (Chaps. XI, 1, 2, XII, 11, 13-16, 18, 20), which are given in the first part, but he also writes generally in a less simple style. In some MSS. of Sls. alone, such as M9, the second part immediately follows the first, as in this translation; indicating that it has been accepted as a part of the same work. But in M6 the two parts are separated by the Farh. Okh., occupying twenty folios; and in K20 there is an interval of ninety-two folios, containing the Farh. Okh., Bund., B. Yt., and several other texts.

² §§ 1, 2 are a repetition of Chap. I, 1, 2, with a few variations. The number of degrees is here raised to nine by the addition of the Srôshô-karanâm (see Chap. X, 24), which is written Srôsha-karanâm in both these sections.

³ Reading i mad-4, instead of va m-4; the mad being a quarter-dirham (see Chap. X, 24, note); or we can read 'weight and quantity (mâyah) of three dirhams.' The amount of the Farmân

Srôshô-karanâm is one dirham *and* two mads; three Srôshô-karanâms are the weight of four dirhams and two mads¹; an Âgerept is thirty-three stîrs²; an Aivrist is the weight of thirty-three dirhams; an Aredûs is thirty stîrs³; a Khôr is sixty stîrs; a Bâzâl is ninety stîrs; a Yât is a hundred and eighty stîrs, and a Tanâpûhar is three hundred stîrs.

3. Every one ought to be unhesitating *and* unanimous about this, that righteousness is the one thing, and heaven (garôdmân)⁴ the one place, *which* is good, and contentment the one thing more comfortable.

4. When a sheep⁵ is slaughtered and divided, its meat-offering (gâvûs-dâk)⁶ is to be thus presented:—the tongue, jaw, and left eye are the

here given appears to agree with that stated in Chap. XVI, 1, but differs very much from the sixteen dirhams mentioned in Chap. I, 2, and the twenty-eight dirhams quoted by Spiegel.

¹ That is, one Srôshô-karanâm is one dirham and a half, and three of them, therefore, are four dirhams and a half; the mad being a quarter-dirham. This computation differs considerably from the amounts stated in Chaps. X, 24, XVI, 5, but corresponds better with the supposition (see Chap. IV, 14, note) that a Srôshô-karanâm is one-third of a Farmân.

² Both this amount and the next are evidently wrong, and no doubt the Pahlavi ciphers have been corrupted. Chap. XVI, 5 gives 'sixteen' and 'twenty-five' stîrs, which are probably correct, though the computation in Chap. I, 2 is very different.

³ Written Aredûs 30 sî, 'an Aredûs is 30 (thirty),' as in Chap. I, 2; with which also all the remaining amounts correspond.

⁴ See note on pâhlûm ahvân in Chap. VI, 3.

⁵ Or 'goat.'

⁶ Av. gâus hudhau, which is generally represented by a small piece of butter placed upon one of the sacred cakes; but on certain occasions small pieces of meat are used. The object of this section is to point out what part of the animal is suitable for use in a ceremony dedicated to any one of the angels, or spirits, mentioned.

angel Hôm's¹ own; the neck is Ashavahist's² own; the head is the angel Vâê's³ own; the right shoulder (arm) is Ardvîsûr's⁴, the left is Drvâsp's⁵; the right thigh (hakht) is *for the guardian spirit*⁶ of Vistâsp, and the left *for the guardian spirit* of Gâmâsp⁷; the back is *for the supreme chief*⁸; the loin is the spirits' own; the belly is Spendarmad's⁹; the testicles¹⁰ are *for the star* Vanand¹¹; the kidneys are

¹ Av. haoma, the angel of the Hôm plant (see Yas. IX-XI, Bund. XVIII, 1-3, XXVII, 4, 24), the juice of which is used in ceremonial worship by the Parsis.

² The same as Ardavahist (see Bund. I, 26).

³ M6 has 'Râm' as a gloss; he is the Vayô of the Râm Yt., 'the good Vaê' of Mkh. II, 115, who assists the righteous souls in their progress to the other world; his name, Râm, is given to the twenty-first day of the Parsi month (see Chap. XXII, 21).

⁴ Av. Ardvî sûra of the Âbân Yt., a title of Anâhita, the female angel of the waters (see Bund. XXXII, 8). This title is written Arêdvîsûr in the Bundahis, and applied to the source of pure water (Bund. XIII); while the name Âvân, 'waters,' is given to the eighth month and the tenth day of each month in the Parsi year.

⁵ Av. Drvâspa of the Gôs Yt., the name of the female angel of cattle, called Gôsûrvan in Bund. IV; her alternative name, Gôs, is given to the fourteenth day of the Parsi month.

⁶ The word fravash-i, 'the guardian spirit of,' is evidently omitted here, as it occurs with the next name. For Vistâsp, see Bund. XXXI, 29, XXXIV, 7.

⁷ Av. Gâmâspa of Yas. XIII, 24, XLV, 17, XLVIII, 9, L, 18, Âbân Yt. 68, &c., the prime minister of Vistâsp.

⁸ Ratpôk berêzad stands for the Av. rathwô berezatô of Yas. I, 46, &c., a 'supreme chief' who is often associated with the chiefs of the various subdivisions of time, and seems to be Aûharmazd himself (see Yas. LVI, i, 10).

⁹ The female archangel who has charge of the earth (see Chap. XV, 5, 20-24, and Bund. I, 26).

¹⁰ The word gûnd has here, in most MSS., the usual Persian gloss dahân, 'mouth' (see Bund. XIX, 1), which is a very improbable meaning in this place.

¹¹ Probably Fomalhaut (see Bund. II, 7, note).

Haptôring's¹; the ventricle (naskadakö)² is *for* the guardian spirit of priests; the lungs are *for* the guardian spirit of warriors; the liver is *for* compassion and sustenance³ of the poor; the spleen is Mânsarspend's⁴; the fore-legs (bâzât) are *for* the waters; the heart is *for* the fires; the entrail fat is Ardât-fravard's⁵; the tail-bone (dunb-gazakö) is *for* the guardian spirit of Zaratûst the Sptâmân⁶; the tail (dunbak) is *for* Vâd⁷ the righteous; the right eye is in the share of the moon⁸; and any⁹ *that* may be left over from those is *for* the other arch-angels. 5. *There* have been *those* who may have spoken about protection, and *there* have been *those* who *may* have *done* so about meat-offerings; whoever *has* spoken about protection is such as *has*

¹ Ursa Major, called Haptôk-rîng in Bund. II, 7.

² Translating in accordance with the Persian gloss *kustah*, given in the modern MS. M9; but *nas-kadakö* may perhaps mean 'the womb.'

³ Reading *sar-âyisnô*, 'maturity,' the usual equivalent of *Av. thraosta* (see *Yas. XXXIV, 3*), and not *srâyisnô*, 'chanting.'

⁴ *Av. mâtthra spenta*, 'the beneficent sayings, or holy word,' of which this angel is a personification; his name is often corrupted into *Mahrspend* or *Mâraspend*, and is given to the twenty-ninth day of the Parsi month (see *Chap. XXII, 29*).

⁵ A personification of the *Av. ashaonām fravashayô*, 'guardian angels of the righteous' (see *Fravardîn Yt. 1, &c.*), whence the first month, and the nineteenth day of each month, in the Parsi year, are called *Fravardîn*.

⁶ This clause and the next are omitted in K20.

⁷ The angel of the wind, whose name is given to the twenty-second day of the Parsi month (see *Chap. XXII, 22*).

⁸ Or its angel, *Mâh*, whose name is given to the twelfth day of the Parsi month.

⁹ M6 has *va aê-maman* = *va aêk* (*Pers. îk*, 'any'); K20 has *kolâ maman*, 'whatever,' and omits the words 'may be left over' and 'other.'

spoken well, and whoever *has* spoken about meat-offerings has not spoken everything which is noteworthy¹. 6. When *one* shall offer up² *what* pertains to one (khadûkag) on account of another it is proper; except the tongue, jaw, and left eye, for *that* those are the angel Hôm's own is manifest from the passage: 'Hizvãm frerenaod³,' &c.

CHAPTER XII.

I. The rule is this, that when one's *form of worship* (yast)⁴ is performed, and it is not possible for him to prepare *it*, the practice of those of the primitive faith⁵ is, when the girdle (aŋpiyâûng) is twined about a *sacred* twig-bundle (baresôm)⁶ of seven twigs (tâk), to consecrate a sacred cake (drônô) thrice, which becomes his *form of worship* that is performed one degree better through the sacred cake; and of the merit of a threefold *consecration*

¹ Meaning, apparently, that to pray for protection as a favour is better than to pray for it as a return for an offering.

² K20 has 'shall give up.'

³ It is doubtful if this passage can be found in the extant Avesta; but a passage of similar meaning, and containing the words frerenaod' and hizvô, occurs in Yas. XI, 16, which states that 'the righteous father, Ahuramazda, produced for me, Haoma, as a Draona, the two jaws, with the tongue and the left eye;' and it then proceeds (Yas. XI, 17-19) to curse any one 'who shall deprive me of that Draona, or shall himself enjoy, or shall give away what the righteous Ahuramazda gave me, the two jaws, with the tongue and the left eye.'

⁴ A Yast is a formula of praise in honour of the sun, moon, water, fire, or some other angel, as well as a term for prayers and worship in general.

⁵ See Chap. I, 3.

⁶ See Chap. III, 32, note.

of the sacred cake the high-priests *have* specially taught, in the Hûspâram *Nask*¹, that *it* is as much as *that* of a lesser *form* of worship.

2. The rule is this, that he who is himself more acquainted with religion is he who considers him who is more acquainted with religion than himself as high-priest, and considers *him* as high-priest² so that he may not destroy the bridge of the soul³; as it says in the Sakâdûm *Nask*⁴ that no one of them, that is an inattentive (asrûshdâr) man who has no high-priest, attains to the best existence⁵, not though his recitations should be so many that they have made his duty and good works as much as the verdure (sapdak) of the plants when it shoots forth in spring, the verdure which Aûharmazd *has* given abundantly.

3. The rule is this, that they keep a fire⁶ in the house, because, from not keeping the fire properly, *there* arise less pregnancy of women and a weeping (âv-dîdanô) for the loss of strength (tanû) of men⁷; and the chilled charcoal (angist) and the rest which are without advantage (bar) are to be

¹ See Chap. X, 21. The passage mentioned in the text was probably in the section called Nîrangistân.

² K20 omits this repetition.

³ That is, may not render the passage of his soul to heaven, over the *Kinvađ* bridge (see Bund. XII, 7), impossible, owing to the sin of arrogance in this world.

⁴ See Chap. X, 25; the passage alluded to was probably at the beginning of the *Nask*, which treated of 'the reward of the precepts of religion, and the bridge of the destroyers of good preceptors, adapted to their destruction.'

⁵ See Chap. VI, 3.

⁶ K20 has 'that a fire is to be properly kept.'

⁷ K20 has 'and a loss of the strength and wealth of men.'

carried away from the fire; and in the *Spend Nask*¹ *it* is revealed that a fire, when they shall make it quite clean from its chilled charcoal, *has* as much comfort as a man whose clothing they should make clean.

4. The rule is this, that when any one passes away it is proper to render useless² as much as the smallest mouth-veil³, for it says in the *Vendidad* 'that 'if even those Mazdayasnians should leave on him who is dead, in parting with him, as much as that which a damsel would leave in parting with the food-bowl (*padmânakö*)—that is, a bag (*anbâ-nakö-hanâ*)⁴—the decree is this, that *it* is a *Tanâ-*

¹ See Chap. X, 4; the passage mentioned was probably in that part of the *Nask* which described the protection afforded by the fire to the new-born *Zaratûst*.

² Probably a negative is omitted, or *akârînistânö* should be translated 'to make no use of.'

³ See Chap. X, 40. *K20* has 'garment.'

⁴ Always written *Vadîkdâd* in this second part of *Sls.*, except in Chap. XIII, 7; whereas in the first part it is written in its uncorrupted form *Gavîd-dêf-dâd* or *Gavîd-sêdâ-dâd*, 'the law opposed to the demons.' The passage here quoted is *Pahl. Vend. V*, 171, 172, with one or two verbal variations.

⁵ Standing for *anbânak-aê*, which is corrupted in the *Vendidad MSS.* into the unintelligible form *andanakö-1*, so that this old quotation throws a rather unexpected light upon a passage in the *Vendidad* which translators would be almost certain to misunderstand. The allusion is to the bags used by a menstruous woman, when eating, to prevent contamination of the food. The Persian *Rivâyats* state that three bags (*kîsah*) are made of two thicknesses of strong linen, one bag to wear on each hand, and the third, which is larger, to hold the metal food-bowl and water-goblet. After thoroughly washing her hands and face, she puts the two bags on her hands, taking care that they do not touch her food, or clothes, or any other part of her body. She then feeds herself with a metal spoon, which must not touch her nose; and when the meal

pûhar *sin*¹ at root, which is hell; *and* in the Vendidad² it says that the clothing of the charitable (dahisn-hômand) soul, and even the clothing which they will give *it*, are out of almsgivings (dâsarân)³.

5. The rule is this, that when any one passes away, after keeping fasting the three *nights*⁴, still the presentation of holy-water (zôhar) to the fire is to be performed, which is the presenting of the holy-water to the nearest fire; for in the Dâmdâd Nask⁵ *it* is revealed that when they sever (te-brûnd) the consciousness of men it goes out to the nearest fire, then out to the stars, then out to the

is finished the food-bowl and water-goblet are placed on the large bag, and the two smaller bags inside it, till wanted again.

¹ See Chap. I, 1, 2.

² This passage does not appear to be now extant in the Vendidad, and it is possible to read Nask Dâd instead of Vadîkdâd. The Dâdî or Dâdak Nask was the eleventh nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which merely says that its 'Avesta and Zand are not communicated to us by the high-priest.' According to the Dînî-vagarkard, which calls it Khûstô, and the Rivâyats, which call it Khast, it was the twelfth Nask, and they give its contents in more detail than usual (see Haug's Essays, pp. 130, 131).

³ Meaning that the dead require no clothing, as their future bodies will be clothed out of the garments they have given away in charity. The resemblance of this statement to that contained in Bund. XXX, 28, which must have been abridged from the Dâmdâd Nask (see SZS. IX, 1), renders it possible that it may have been taken from that Nask.

⁴ No fresh meat is to be cooked or eaten for the first three days after a death in the house, according to the Sad-dar Bundahis, LXXVIII (compare Chap. XVII, 1-3).

⁵ See SZS. IX, 1. The passage here quoted may perhaps be found in the complete text of the Bundahis, as given in TD (Chap. 37; see Introduction, p. xxxvii).

moon, and then out to the sun¹; and *it* is needful that the nearest fire, which is that to which it *has* come out, should become stronger (zôr-hômand-tar)².

6. The rule is this, that they should not leave a nail-*paring* unprayed over (anâfsûdak), for if it be not prayed over (afsând)³ it turns into the arms and equipments of the Mâzanân demons⁴; *this* is explicitly shown in the Vendidad⁵.

7. The rule is this, that the labour of child-birth⁶ is not to be accomplished at night, except while with the light of a fire, or the stars and moon, upon *it*; for great opposition is connected with it, and in the twentieth of the Hûspâram Nask⁷ it is shown *that* over the soul of him who works in the dark *there is* more predominance of the evil spirit.

8. The rule is this, that they should allow the egg and other food⁸ for those gifts *and* favours of the

¹ A righteous soul is supposed to step out first to the star station, then to the moon station, and then to the sun station, on its way to 'Garôdmân, the highest heaven; but if its righteousness is imperfect it has to stop at one of these three stations, which are the three lower grades of heaven (see note on pâhlûm ahvân, Chap. VI, 3).

² Or 'more provided with zôr,' which may mean 'holy-water,' as the two words zôr and zôhar are occasionally confounded.

³ Or, perhaps, 'if they shall not pray over *it*.'

⁴ See Bund. III, 20, XIX, 19, 20.

⁵ Vend. XVII, 29.

⁶ Barman-zerkhûnisnîh may also mean 'begetting a son.'

⁷ See Chap. X, 21. The word 'twentieth' appears to refer to the second group of twenty sections, one of which treated of the begetting, birth, and treatment of children.

⁸ Referring to the egg, drôns, frasasts, and gâus hudhau or 'meat-offering' (which may be either butter or meat, see Chap. XI, 4) that are used in the drôn ceremony, or consecration of the sacred cakes (see note on drôn, Chap. III, 32). The object of

sovereign moon (*mâh-i khûdâi*) and the other angels; if so, it is to be allowed by them thus: 'I will consecrate so much food for such an angel,' and not thus: 'One sacred cake (*drônô*) in so much food.' 9. And the reason of it is this, that *they* who shall allow thus: 'One sacred cake out of so much food,' and of which *it* is one thing less, even though *one* shall consecrate *it* many times, still then he *has* not repaid; and *they* who should allow thus: 'I will consecrate so much food for such an angel,' though *one* shall reverence *him* with many sacred cakes, it is proper. 10. And in the twenty-two *sections* of the *Sakâdûm Nask*¹ grievous things are shown about those who do not make offerings (*aûstôfrîd*) unto the angels.

11. The rule is this, that when a woman becomes pregnant, as long as it is possible, a fire *one* cares for well is to be maintained in the house, because it is revealed² in the *Spend Nask* that *to Dûkdâv*³, the mother of *Zaratûst*, when she was pregnant with *Zaratûst*, for three nights, every night a leader (*shâh*)⁴ with a hundred and fifty demons came for the destruction of *Zaratûst*, and yet, owing to the existence of the fire in the dwelling, they knew no means *for it*.

this paragraph is, evidently, to reprove niggardliness in such offerings, and to prevent their being mere pretexts for feasting.

¹ See Chap. X, 25. The passage alluded to here was probably in that section, of the last twenty-two, which treated of the spirits of the earthly existences, one portion of which was 'about preparing offerings (*aûstôfrîd*) to the angels.'

² M6 has 'the fire of *Aûharmazd* is to be fully maintained, *and* it is revealed,' &c. This section is a repetition of Chap. X, 4, with a few variations.

³ Here written *Dûdkâv*.

⁴ Or it may be read *sêdâ*, 'a demon,' meaning 'an arch-fiend.'

12. The rule is this, where a child is born, *during* three days, for protection from demons, wizards, and witches, a fire is to be made at night until *daylight*, and is to be maintained there in the day, and pure incense is to be put upon it, as is revealed in the thirtieth of the *Sakādūm Nask*¹.

13. The rule is this², that from a toothpick the bark³ is to be well cut off, for there are *some* of those of the primitive faith⁴ who *have* said that, when⁵ they shall make it for the teeth *with* the bark on, and they throw *it* away, a pregnant woman, who puts a foot upon it, is doubtful about *its* being dead matter.

14. The rule is this, that *it* is well *if any one of* those who have their handmaid (*kakar*) in cohabitation (*zanth*), and offspring is born of her, shall accept all those who are male as sons; *but* those who are female are no advantage, because an adopted *son* (*satôr*) is requisite, and in the fourteenth of the *Hûspâram Nask*⁶ the high-priests

¹ That is, in the first thirty sections of the *Nask* (see Chap. X, 25); the passage alluded to must have been in that portion which treated of new-born infants and their proper treatment.

² §§ 13-16 are a repetition of Chap. X, 20-23, with a few variations.

³ The word appears to be *tôpö* or *tûfö*, which would rather mean 'scum' or 'gum' (see Bund. XXVII, 19), unless it be considered a miswriting of *tôgö* or *tôzö*, which would mean 'thin bark' or 'bast.' It can also be read *tûpar*, 'a leather bag,' and the sentence can be so translated as to imply that a toothpick should be cut out of a leather bag, an alternative similar to that suggested by the text of Chap. X, 20.

⁴ See Chap. I, 3.

⁵ Reading *amat*, 'when,' instead of *mûn*, 'who' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

⁶ See Chap. X, 21.

have taught thus: 'My son is suitable also as thy son, *but* my daughter is not suitable also as thy daughter;' and *there* are many who¹ do not appoint an adopted *son with* this idea, that: 'The child of a handmaid may be accepted by us as a son.'

15. The rule is this, that *one is* to persevere much in the begetting of offspring, since *it is* for the acquisition² of many good works at once; because in the Spend³ and Nihâdûm Nasks⁴ the high-priests *have* taught that the duty and good works which a son performs are as much the father's as though they had been done by his own hand; and in the Dâmdâd Nask⁵ it is revealed thus: 'Likewise, too, the good works, *in* like manner, which come *to* the father as his own.'

16. The rule is this, that what they shall give to the worthy is as much as is proper and beyond, for eating *and* accumulating; because in the Nihâdûm Nask⁶ the high-priests *have* taught thus: 'When a man gives bread to a man, even though that man *has* too much bread, all the good works, which he shall perform through that superabundance, become as much his *who gave it* as though they had been done by his own hand.'

17. The rule is this, that in the night water is

¹ The writer of M6 evidently found his original illegible at this place, as he wrote . . . m a m a n instead of mûn denman.

² M6 has 'performance,' which is probably a misreading, due to the original of that MS. being partially illegible.

³ See Chap. X, 4. This Nask is not mentioned in Chap. X, 22, and the passage here alluded to is not to be traced in any of the short accounts of its contents.

⁴ See Chap. X, 3, 22.

⁵ See SZS. IX, 1, and Chap. X, 22.

⁶ See Chap. X, 3, 23.

not to be drawn¹ from a well, as in the Bâg-yasnô² notice is given about the uncleanness (ayosdâsarîh) of well-water at night.

18. The rule is this, that in the night anything eatable is not to be cast away to the north, because a fiend *will* become pregnant; and when it is cast away one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô³ is to be uttered. 19. Those of the primitive faith⁴ who *used* to act more orthodoxically (hû-rastakîhâtar), when food *was* eaten by them in the night, for the sake of preservation from sin owing to the coming of strainings *and* sprinklings *on* to the ground, directed a man to chant the Ahunavar⁵ from the beginning of the feast

¹ K20 has 'that water is not to be drawn on foot.'

² Probably the Bakân-yastô is meant, which was the fourteenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard; but according to the Dînî-vagarkard and the Rivâyats it was the fifteenth nask, called Baghân-yast. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, p. 132. The following is the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard:—

'The Bakân-yastô is a treatise, first, on the worship (yastô) of Aûharmazd, the most pre-eminent of divinities (bakân avartûm), and, secondly, the worship of the angels of the other invisible and visible worldly existences, out of whom are even the names of the days, and the glory, power, triumph, and miraculousness of their life also is extreme; the angels who are invoked by name in their worship, and the attention *and* salutation *due* to them; the worthiness *and* dispensation of favour for worshippers, *and* the business of their many separate recitations unto the angels; the business of unlimited acquaintance with knowledge about the promoters of the treasures of the period, unto whom the creator Aûharmazd *is* to intrust them, *and* they remain to cause industry. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.'

³ See Bund. I, 21. This section is a repetition of Chap. X, 7, with a few variations.

⁴ See Chap. I, 3.

⁵ That is, the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô (see Bund. I, 21).

(myazd) unto the end, more especially at the feast of the season-festivals; as it says in the Hâdôkht *Nask*¹, that of the sayings which are spoken out the Ahunavar is that *which* is most triumphant.

20. The rule is this, that when *one* sees a hedgehog he takes *it* back to the plain, and its own place is to be preserved free from danger; for in the Vendidad the high-priests *have* taught, that every day, when the hedgehog voids urine into an ant's nest, a thousand ants will die².

21. The rule is this, that some who are of the good religion *say*, where *one* is washing *his* face, one Ashem-vohû³ is always to be uttered, *and* that Ashem-vohû is to be uttered before the *washing*; for when he utters *it* while washing *his* face, *he* is doubtful (var-hômand) about the water coming to *his* mouth.

22. The rule is this, that they select from the purifiers⁴—when their business (mindavam) is as important (rabâ) as purity and impurity—*him* with whom the control⁵ of ablution (pâdîyâvîh)⁶ and non-ablution is connected; they select *him* especially

¹ See B.Yt. III, 25. The passage here quoted must have been in the first division of the Nask.

² This section is a repetition of Chap. X, 31.

³ See Bund. XX, 2.

⁴ The yôsdâsarân, 'purifiers' (Av. yaosdâthrya), are those priests who retain so much of the purifying effect of the Bareshnûm ceremony (see Chap. II, 6) as to be able to assist in purifying others by means of the same ceremony. When that effect has passed away a priest can no longer perform the sacred rites, until he has again undergone the nine nights' purification of the Bareshnûm.

⁵ Reading band, but it may be bôd, 'vitality, essence.'

⁶ See Chap. II, 52.

with regard to the good disposition and truthful speaking of the man, and *to* the particular work ; and on account of *his being* in innocence *he* is to be considered more righteous. 23. As in the Vendidad¹ it says, about the two shares of righteousness, how *one* should tell that *he is* 'a righteous man, O Zarâtûst the Spîtâmân ! who is a purifier, who should be a speaker that speaks truly, an enquirer of the *sacred* texts—that is, he has performed his ritual (yast)—a righteous *one* who specially understands purification from the religion of the Mazdayas-nians, that is, he understands its *religious* formulas (nîrang).' 24. When *it* is so that the control of their ablution is connected with him, so that they consider what *pertains* to the *purifying* bowl (zak-i tâstîk) as his, and ever abstain from it, though the angels hear and consider *them* as clean, and they select for him those who consecrate the water and bull's urine (gômêz) on account of *their* control of purification (yôsdâsarkarîh), *and it* is to be performed very observantly by the consecrators at the place which is to be measured with a measure and very exactly (khûptar)². 25. And the purifier is so much the better when washed again, and when *it is* by some one through whose periodic (zamânîk)

¹ The passage here quoted is from Pahl. Vend. IX, 4-6.

² Referring to the Bareshnûm-gâh, or place prepared for the Bareshnûm ceremony of purification with bull's urine and water, which are handed to the person undergoing purification by an officiating priest (see Chap. II, 6). The place is marked out with furrows in the ground, and furnished with stones (magh) to squat upon during the ablutions (see B. Yt. II, 36). The construction of this paragraph is very obscure in many places, and its proper division into sentences is, therefore, uncertain.

care *he* is thus done; for in the periodic interval many secret¹ kinds of pollution are produced. 26. Of the celebrators of the Vendidad the good are *they* who shall again perform the Navashâdar rite²; for, on account of the same nicety (nâzûkîh) which is written above by me, *and* on account of much also *that is* secret, which has happened *and* mostly arises about it, *there* is no harm from performing *it*. 27. And *any one* of those who shall receive the water and bull's urine *it* is very important to wash beforehand (pavan pês)³; because, if *there* be impurity *about* him⁴, *and* he puts a hand to the cup (gâmak), the water, *and* the bull's urine, *they* are unclean (apâdâvö)⁵; when *it is* so that *there* be some one, when so, *it* is better *that* they always wash his eyelids (môyak gâs), *and* to wash them by the clean is good.

28. The rule is this, that thou shouldst not consider even any one hopeless (anâîmêd) of heaven,

¹ Reading nihân, but we might perhaps read 'causes (vahân) of pollution of many kinds.' The meaning of the section is, that it is necessary for the purifying priest to maintain his own purity by frequently undergoing the Bareshnûm ceremony himself.

² Yast-i Navashâdar in all MSS., but the latter word is most probably a corruption of Av. navakhshapara, 'a period of nine nights,' for which length of time the Bareshnûm ceremony must be continued (see Vend. IX, 144, XIX, 80). The 'Navashâdar rite' is, therefore, 'the ceremony of the nine nights,' which should be frequently undergone by the priests who celebrate the Vendidad ceremonial.

³ M6 has pavan pîsak, 'with ceremony.'

⁴ M6 has 'them.'

⁵ M6 has 'one knows it is unto the cup and bull's urine;' but as M6 was evidently copied from a MS. already nearly illegible in some places, it is generally safer to follow K20, except when M6 supplies words omitted by the more careless writer of K20.

and they should not set *their* minds steadfastly on hell; thereby much sinfulness for which *there* is a desire would be undesirable, because *there* is nothing which is a sin *in* my religion for which *there* is no retribution, as it says in the Gâthas¹ thus:—‘Of those who are aware that thou art, O Aûharmazd! is even he who is infamous (raspakö); and they know the punishment of him even who is very sinful.’ 29. And *as to* him even who is a very sinful person, through the desire² of good works which is entertained by him, *there* then comes more fully to him the joy of a soul newly worthy (nuk shâyad); as in the Spēd Nask³ it was shown to Zaratûst about one man, that all *his* limbs were in torment, and one foot was outside; and Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd about the reason *of it*; and Aûharmazd said that he was a man, Davâns⁴ by name; he was ruler over thirty-three⁵ districts, and he never practised

¹ The passage here quoted from the Gâthas will be found in Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 7.

² M6 has merely ‘through the good works which are practised by him;’ but K20 has ‘r hamak’ inserted at this point, which seems to indicate the existence of the nearly identical Pahlavi letters kâmak, ‘desire,’ in the original from which it was copied.

³ See Chap. X, 4. The passage here quoted was no doubt contained in that part of the Nask which treated of the exhibition of heaven and hell to Zaratûst, which must have been very similar to the Ardâ-Vîrâf-nâmak, in which most of the details of this story about Davâns are given (see AV. XXXII).

⁴ This is, no doubt, the Av. davâs of Yas. XXXI, 10, which may be translated ‘hypocrite.’ The Pahlavi translation of the line in which the word occurs is thus rendered in Haug’s Essays (p. 351): ‘Aûharmazd does not allot to him who is an idler, the infidel who is any hypocrite (davâs) in the sacred recitations. In the good religion it is asserted that even as much reward as they give to the hypocrite they do not give to the infidel.’

⁵ K20 has ‘thirty-four.’

any good work, except one time when fodder *was* conveyed by him to a sheep with that one foot.

30. The rule is this, that when a man has performed his *form of* worship (yast), and his wife has not performed *it*, *it* is extremely necessary to perform the suitable *form of* worship, or to order a Gêôtô-kharîd¹, so that they may become such as are dwelling more closely *together* in the spiritual *existence* than in the world; and in the Hâdôkht Nask² it says that a woman (nâtrîk) who shall be reverent (tarsak) is to be considered as much as she who is suitable (zîtyâk).

31. The rule is this, that these five ceremonies (yazisn), when they shall perform *them*, are good works³; when *one* does not perform *them*, and the time is manifest to him, and when he shall set *them* aside to perform *them* out of the proper time, they shall go to the bridge⁴ *as* sin; the ceremonies which go to the bridge are these, and in the Hûspâram Nask⁵ it says that *they are* the non-celebration of the rites (lâ yastanô) of the season-festivals⁶, the

¹ Here written gêtôk-kharîd, but see Chap. V, 6, and Bund. XXX, 28.

² See B. Yt. III, 25; but the passage here quoted is not clearly indicated in the accounts we have of the contents of this Nask.

³ The distinction between these ceremonies and those whose values as good works are given in Chap. XVI, 6, appears to be that any omission in performing these five at their proper times amounts to an absolute sin, whereas the others are not so indispensable.

⁴ That is, they will be taken into account at the judgment on the soul's actions at the Kinvad bridge (see Bund. XII, 7).

⁵ See Chap. X, 21. The passage here quoted was probably in the section called Nirangistân.

⁶ The Gâsânbârs or Gâhanbârs (see Bund. XXV, 1-6).

Rapitvîn¹, the three *nights*² after a death, the days devoted to the guardian spirits³, and the sun and moon⁴.

32. The rule is this, that at every one of these three things, *which* come through hungry living, that is, sneezing, yawning, and sighing, *one* is to speak out a Yathâ-ahû-vairyô and one Ashem-vohû⁵; and also when *one* hears the sneezing of any one, to speak *in* like manner is so considered as an action of the good⁶; and in the Stûdgar Nask⁷ it says thus: "What prepares sneezing? that is, through what process (kâr) does it come?" And Aûharmazd said thus: "Hungry living, O Zaratûst! because the remedy for its existence is the Ahunavar, O Zaratûst! and righteousness⁸."

CHAPTER XIII.

o. The signification of the Gâthas⁹.

1. These three Ashem-vohûs (Yas. XI, end) which

¹ The midday period (see Bund. II, 8, 9, XXV, 9-14).

² See Chap. VIII, 6.

³ See Chap. X, 2.

⁴ See Chap. VII, 1-5.

⁵ See Bund. I, 21, XX, 2.

⁶ That is, it is commendable, though not obligatory. The practice of uttering a blessing on hearing a sneeze is still common in many parts of Europe.

⁷ See B. Yt. I, 1. The passage here quoted is not to be traced in any of the accounts of this Nask.

⁸ 'The Ahunavar and praise of righteousness' would be a Pahlavi equivalent for 'the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô and Ashem-vohû.'

⁹ That is, the mystical meaning or influence supposed to attach to various parts of the ancient hymns, or to the manner in which they are chanted. The term Gâtha or 'hymn' (Pahl. gâs) is applied, in this chapter, not only to the five Gâthas properly so called, but also to the Yasna of seven chapters, and apparently to

*represent*¹ the Fravarânê (Yas. XI, end) of the preliminary ritual (pêš nîrang) and the rotation of these three Hâs ('chapters'), the Fravarânê, Frastuyê, and Âstuyê—*fravarânê being* the beginning of the Fravarânê² *which extends* as far as frastayaêka³, frastuyê⁴, the beginning of the Frastuyê (Yas. XII, 1–XIII, 26) *which extends* up to the Âstuyê, and âstuyê⁵, the beginning of the Âstaothwanem⁶ (Yas. XIII, 27–XIV, end) *which extends* as far as âstaothwanemkâ daênayau Mâzdayasnôis—*also represent* the Vîsâi-ve-ameshâ-spentâ (Yas. XV), *which is* the beginning of the Stôtân-yasnô ('the ritual of praisers')⁷, and these three Hâs of the Baghâm (Yas. XIX–XXI).

2. In the exposition (*kashîdak*) and through the

other portions of the Yasna written in the Gâtha dialect of the Avesta.

¹ This appears to be the meaning, but the construction of this section is altogether very obscure, and the text is more or less corrupt in all MSS. In the celebration of the Yasna or Yazšn the officiating priest tastes the Hôš juice during the recitation of Yas. XI (see Haug's Essays, p. 404), and shortly afterwards he commences the preliminary prayers mentioned in the text.

² Both K20 and M6 have Frerân in Pâzand.

³ Both K20 and M6 omit the initial f.

⁴ M6 has âstuyê.

⁵ M6 omits this word.

⁶ This is the Avesta name of the Hâ or chapter consisting of Yas. XIII, 27–XIV, 19; as Fraoreti is the name of the preceding Hâ, consisting of Yas. XII, 1–XIII, 26.

⁷ Probably consisting of the three Hâs, Yas. XV–XVII; in which case, the meaning seems to be that the three Ashem-vohûs, at the beginning of this preliminary ritual, are symbolical of each of the three triplets of chapters which follow them; first, of the Fravarânê, Fraoreti, and Âstaothwanem chapters; secondly, of the three chapters of the Stôtân-yasnô; and thirdly, of those of the Baghân Yast.

evidence of revelation (dînô) the wise of those of the primitive faith¹ have thus said, that a man of fifteen years², and a son and brother of Mazdayas-nians—when he confesses *his* failings (mândak) to the high-priests (radân), and they shall bring him the whip and scourge³, and these five Gâthas⁴ are chanted and the good waters consecrated by him, and the whole of the renewed-birth ceremony (navîd-zâdîth)⁵ is performed by him—*becomes* a mature youth and not a child, and a share of the prayers of initiation (nâpar) and of the fires is to be given over to him⁶; and when thus much is not performed by him, a share is not to be given. 3. These five⁷ Gâthas are made up from the body of a righteous man.

¹ See Chap. I, 3.

² Referring to one about to become a priest.

³ The Av. astra and sraoshô-karana of Vend. IV, 38-114, &c., which were formerly used for the temporal punishment of sinners. Whether they are here brought to the neophyte as a token of his admission to the priesthood, or are administered to him as a punishment for his offences, is not quite clear.

⁴ The five Gâthas are the Ahunavaiti (Yas. XXVIII-XXXIV), the Ustavaiti (Yas. XLII-XLV), the Spentâ-mainyû (Yas. XLVI-XLIX), the Vohû-khshathra (Yas. L), and the Vahistôisti (Yas. LII); these collections of hymns are thus named from the words with which each of them commences, excepting the first, which derives its name from the Ahunavar (see Bund. I, 21) which is written in the same metre.

⁵ This is the Pahlavi form of the Parsi navazûdî, a term applied to the whole initiatory ceremonial of a nônâbar, or newly initiated priest; the term evidently implies that the ceremony is considered somewhat in the light of 'regeneration.'

⁶ That is, he can take his part in the regular priestly duties, including the initiation of other neophytes.

⁷ Both K20 and M6 have four in ciphers, which can hardly be right; the sentence is clear enough, but the idea of its writer is rather obscure.

4. Ahyâ-yâsâ (Yas. XXVIII), Khshmaibyâ (Yas. XXIX), and Ad-tâ-vakhshyâ (Yas. XXX) *have*, severally, eleven stanzas (*vaêêst*), because eleven things move spiritually within the bodies of men, as life, consciousness, religion, soul, guardian spirit, thought, word, deed, seeing, smelling, and hearing; and the bodies of men and other creatures are formed of water, fire, and wind¹.

5. Ashem-Ahurem-mazdâh (Visp. XV) is *to be recited*² three times before the coming of Hûshêdar, Hûshêdar-mâh, and Sôshyans; and when they also recite the chapter (*hâd*) well, and by line (*gâs*) and stanza, those *apostles* are present³, and the

¹ These first three chapters of the Ahunavaiti collection of hymns are here supposed to symbolize the three material elements, whose union distinguishes a man's body from inorganic substances; while the eleven stanzas, which each of these chapters contains, symbolize the eleven immaterial existences said to be contained in the same body.

² This is doubtful, as no verb is expressed, and the word bâr, 'time,' is struck out in M6, so it is possible to read 'the "three foremost" of the Ashem-Ahurem-mazdâh are the coming of Hûshêdar,' &c. The 'three foremost' (3 levînôg) would be a possible Pahlavi translation of the Av. *tisrô paoiryô* and *tisra paoirya* of Visp. XV, 4-6, instead of the actual 'three first' (3-i fratûm), as may be seen from Pahl. Visp. VIII, 17, 20; where both *pêr* (= levînô) and *fratûm* are used indifferently for Av. *paoiryô*. At any rate the idea embodied in the text is that these 'three first' have some reference to the three future apostles of the Parsi religion (see Bund. XXXII. 8, B. Yt. III, 13, 44, 52, 62). In fact, however, they seem to refer to the first three chapters of the Ahunavaiti Gâtha, immediately after which this chapter (Visp. XV) is recited in the full Parsi ritual; the phrase being rendered in the Pahlavi translation thus:—'I reverence the three first by not speaking out, that is, I do not say anything during them, and not wearing out, that is, I do not doze away during them.'

³ K20 has 'arrive early.'

country becomes more flourishing and more dominant in the world.

6. The twenty-two stanzas of *Tâ-ve-urvâtâ* (Yas. XXXI) are the twenty-two judgments (*dâd'istân*) of which it speaks in the *Hâdôkht Nask*¹ thus:— 'Anaomô mananghê daya vîspâi kva, kva parô?' ('where are *they* to be produced beyond every thought? *and* where before?') 'Lodging in the judge, that while *he has* twenty-two judgments *he may be* more just;—so that when they pray the *Tâ-ve-urvâtâ* chapter well, and recite *it* by line and stanza, the judges possess those twenty-two judgments more correctly, and judiciousness is more lodging *in them*.

7. The sixteen stanzas of the *Hvaêtumaithi chapter* (Yas. XXXII)² are lodging in warriors, so that it becomes possible, during their good protection, to force the enemy *away* from those sixteen countries which the *Vendidad*³ mentions in *its* first fargard.

¹ See B. Yt. III, 25. Both the Avesta text here quoted and the translation suggested must be received with caution, as the MSS. do not agree in the three central words; K20 has mananhê dya vîspâi kaua, and M6 has mananhê kya vîsâi kaia. The former reading has been adopted, with very slight correction, as it seems the more intelligible; but the meaning of the preceding word, anaomô, is far from certain. The writer seems to have been quoting from a Pahlavi version of the *Nask* which contained this Avesta quotation.

² This *Hâ*, which begins with the words *a hvyâkâ hvaêtus*, is not called by its initial words, as the preceding chapters are, but has this special name (see the prayers at the end of it) derived from its second word, and which is corrupted in Pahlavi into *Khvêtmanô*.

³ Here written *Gavîd-sêdâ-dâd* as in Sls. Part I, and not *Va-dîkdâd* as in other parts of Sls. Part II (see § 19 and Chap. XII, 4, 6, 20, 23, 26). *Vend. I* contains an account of the sixteen

8. The fourteen stanzas of Yathâ-âis (Yas. XXXIII) are for this reason, because seven archangels are more diligent in activity *for* the spirit, and seven archangels¹ for the world, so that they may attain 'to heaven, the home (mêhônô) of Âû-harmazd, the home of the archangels, the home of those righteous ones,' avi garô-nmânem, maêthanem Ahurahê mazdau, maêthanem ameshanâm spentanâm, maêthanem anyaêshâm ashaonâm². 9. The three repetitions (dânar) of Ye-sevistô (Yas. XXXIII, 11)³, and the holding up of the holy-water (zôhar) at these *repetitions*, are for the four classes⁴, and for this *reason* at Ahurâi mazdâi and ashemkâ frâdad⁵ the holy-water is

'best of regions and countries' where the Iranian power and religion extended at an early date.

¹ The seven archangels besides their spiritual duties have severally charge of the seven worldly existences, man, animals, fire, metal, earth, water, and plants (see § 14 and Chap. XV). But perhaps we should read 'angels,' as they are often mentioned as 'the angels of the spiritual and worldly existences.'

² This quotation, of which the Pahlavi translation is first given, and then the Avesta text, is from Vend. XIX, 107.

³ This stanza is recited thrice, and about the same time the officiating priest strains the Hôh juice, and prepares to pour holy-water into the mortar in which the Hôh twigs were pounded (see Haug's Essays, pp. 402, 406).

⁴ Or 'professions' of the community, of which there were originally only three, the priest, warrior, and husbandman; but at a later date the artizan was added. Both K20 and M6 have 'four classes,' but this is inconsistent with the 'three repetitions.' The Avesta generally knows only three classes, but four are mentioned in the Baghân Yast (Yas. XIX, 46).

⁵ That is, probably, at the words Ahurô mazdauskâ in the first line, and ashemkâ frâdad in the second line of the stanza; but this is doubtful, as the MSS. give the words corruptly, in a mixture of Av. and Pahl., as follows: pavan Ahurâi mazdâi ahârayih-i dadôih.

to be held level with the heart of him who is the officiating priest (*zôt*), and at *sraotâ*¹ *it* is to be held level with the arm of him who is the officiating priest, so that while the warriors are in battle with foreigners (*anâtrân*) they may be fuller of breath (*vayô-gîrtar*), and the husbandmen stronger-armed in the tillage and cultivation of the world.

10. The fifteen stanzas of *Yâ-skyaothanâ* (*Yas. XXXIV*) are for this reason, because it is given² for the destruction of those fifteen fiends who are disclosed in the medical part (*bêshâz*) of the *Hâdôkht Nask*³. 11. The four repetitions (*bâr*) of *Mazdâ-ad-môi* (*Yas. XXXIV, 15*)⁴ are for the right coming on of the share of these five chieftainships (*radîh*), the house-ruler, the village-ruler, the tribe-ruler, the province-ruler, and the supreme *Zaratûst*⁵.

12. The two repetitions of *Ahyâ-yâsâ* (*Yas. XXVIII, 1*)⁶ are for this reason, that the sovereign (*dahyûpat*) may not at once seize body, conscious-

¹ The first word in the third line of the stanza ; but this, again, has to be guessed from a Pahlavi version in the MSS. which may be read *va vâ-srôdâân*.

² Or 'produced.'

³ In the last division of that *Nask* (see *B. Yt. III, 25*, note).

⁴ This last stanza of the *Ahunavaiti Gâtha* is recited four times.

⁵ See *Yas. XIX, 50-52*. The last of these rulers must have been the supreme pontiff or patriarch of the province, and in the province of *Ragha* (*Rages* or *Raî*, near *Teheran*) he was both temporal and spiritual ruler.

⁶ This first stanza of the *Ahunavaiti Gâtha* is recited twice, not only in its proper place (as the first stanza of each chapter is, in the *Gâthas*), but also at the end of every chapter of the *Ahunavaiti Gâtha*, while the officiating priest sprinkles the sacred twigs with the sacred milk or *gâus gîvya*, 'living-cow produce' (see *Haug's Essays*, pp. 405, 406).

ness, and soul. 13. Those four Yathâ-ahû-vairyô's of the first *Gâtha*¹ are for this reason, that is, so that inferiors may become more tolerant of the commands of superiors, and good thoughts, good words, and good deeds be more domesticated (*mâh-mântar*) in the world, and the fiend more powerless (*apâdakhshâhtar*).

14. In short (*aê-mar*)², *Ahyâ-yâsâ* is as (*pavan*)³ *Aûharmazd* and the righteous man, *Khshmaibyâ* as *Vohûman* and cattle, *Ad-tâ-vakhshyâ* as *Ardavahist* and fire, *Tâ-ve-urvâtâ* as *Shatvaîrô*⁴ and metal, the *Hvaêtumaithi* as the *Gâtha* of *Spendarmad* and the earth, *Yathâ-âis* as *Horvada* and water, and *Yâ-skyaothanâ* as *Amerôda* and plants.

15. The progress which is in⁵ the *Ahunavaiti* *Gâtha* the house-rulers should carry on; that which is in the *Ustavaiti* *Gâtha* the village-rulers should carry on; that which is in the *Spentâ-mainyû*⁶ *Gâtha* the tribe-rulers should carry on; that which is in the *Vohû-khshathra* *Gâtha* the province-rulers should carry on; that which is in the *Vahistô-isti* *Gâtha* the supreme *Zaratûsts* should carry on; and

¹ After the two *Ahyâ-yâsâs*, at the end of each chapter of the *Ahunavaiti* *Gâtha*, the *Yathâ-ahû-vairyô* formula (see *Bund. I, 21*) is recited four times.

² Or 'to sum up.'

³ It is not quite clear how *pavan*, 'in, on, with, by, through, as, for,' &c., should be translated in each clause of this section; but the intention is evidently to compare the seven chapters of the *Ahunavaiti* *Gâtha* with the seven archangels and the seven earthly creations which they severally protect (see *Chap. XV*).

⁴ Here written *Shatrîvar*.

⁵ Meaning probably 'the prosperity which is occasioned by;' but the exact signification of the word *frâk-shâm* or *frêh-kashâm* (or however it may be read) is uncertain.

⁶ *Spendômat* or *Spendamat* in Pahlavi.

that which is in the Yasna, which is the place of righteous blessing¹, these four classes themselves should carry on.

16. Of the Yasna of *seven chapters* (Yas. XXXV–XLI, 17) the beginning section (*kardakö*) has nine stanzas; and its beginning² is Humatanām (Yas. XXXV, 4), and its end is Humatanām (Yas. XLI, 17 suppl.)

17. The six stanzas of Ahyâ-thwâ-âthrô (Yas. XXXVI) are owing to the six hot ordeals (*var*) which, in the Hûspâram *Nask*³, are effected by *ka-thrayâim âthraiām*⁴.

18. The five stanzas of Ithâ-âd-yazamaidê (Yas. XXXVII) are thanksgiving and praise for the production of the good creations by Aûharmazd.

19. The five stanzas of Imām-âd-zām (Yas. XXXVIII) are owing to those five comforts and five discomforts of the earth, which, it is declared in the third fargard in the Vendidad⁵, are accomplished

¹ That is, the Yasna of seven chapters (Yas. XXXV–XLI), which is called simply 'the Yasna' in this chapter. This last clause, which is omitted in M6, connects these later hymns with the four classes of the community (see § 9), just as the five older hymns are connected with the five chiefs of the community (see § 11) in the former clauses. This section may be a translation from the Avesta, as the verbs precede their nominatives.

² That is, the beginning of the Yasna of seven chapters.

³ See Chap. X, 21; but the *Sakâdûm Nask* (see Chap. X, 25) is probably meant, as it contained a section on ordeals by heat and cold.

⁴ These Avesta words are evidently corrupt, but perhaps 'a quadruple fire' is meant. K20 has *ka-thrâyâim âthraiām*.

⁵ Here written *Vandikdâd* (see § 7). The passage here cited is not a quotation, but only a brief summary of Vend. III, 1–37; and appears to have been derived direct from the Avesta, without the assistance of the Pahlavi version, as several words differ from that translation.

thus:—‘The first comfort of the earth is from the land on which a righteous man walks forth; the second is when they shall make the dwelling of the good and fires upon it; the third is when they sow corn upon it, and shall take heed of dead matter; the fourth is when all beasts *of burden* are born upon it; the fifth is when every beast *of burden* is on it¹; and its first discomfort is from the Arezûr ridge² and the gate of hell; the second is when they dig³ it up *for* a dead *body*; the third is when *one* constructs a depository *for the dead* (khazân)⁴ upon it; the fourth is from the holes of its noxious creatures; the fifth is when they shall forsake a man in affliction (vardakth) upon it, who is righteous.’

20. The five stanzas of Ithâ (Yas. XXXIX) are just as those which *go* before.

21. The four stanzas of Âhû-ad-paiti (Yas. XL) are about the benefit (arg-hômandth) which is on account of water, earth, plants, and animals.

22. The six stanzas of Stûtô-garô (Yas. XLI, 1-17), the two repetitions of Humatanâm (Yas. XXXV, 4-6), *and* the three repetitions of Hukhsh-athrôtemâi (Yas. XXXV, 13-15) are on account of the existence of the sons of Zaratûst⁵.

¹ The verb is probably omitted by mistake, and we ought to read ‘voids urine upon it,’ in accordance with Vend. III, 20.

² See Bund. XII, 8.

³ Reading kalëndend (Pers. kalandand), as Vend. III, 27 refers to burial of the dead, and the same idea might be obtained, more fancifully, by reading kilînênd, ‘they turn to clay’ (compare Pers. gil, ‘clay’); but the most obvious reading is karînênd, ‘they cut,’ and as the sentence stands it would imply that ‘they cut up its dead.’

⁴ See Chap. II, 6.

⁵ The three apostles expected in the future (see § 5 and Bund. XXXII, 8). It is doubtful whether these three passages in the

23. The two repetitions of Ashahyâ-âad-sairi ¹ (Yas. XXXV, 22, 23) are for the laudation of righteousness and the destruction of the fiend. 24. The two repetitions of Yênhê-hâtâm ² are for the laudation of Aûharmazd and the archangels, and the destruction of the evil spirit and the miscreations (vishûdakân). 25. *The two repetitions of* ³ Thwôi-staotaraskâ (Yas. XLI, 12-14) are for the laudation of ceremonial worship (yazisnô) and the *sacred* feast (mâzd).

26. The two repetitions of Âtaremka (Visp. XIX, 1-8) ⁴ are for the laudation of the Frôbâk fire and the fire Vâzist ⁵.

27. Of the sixteen stanzas of the Ustavaiti *chapter* (Yas. XLII) ⁶ it is related just as about the *Hvaētu-maithi chapter* ⁷.

Yasna are here intended all to refer to the same subject, but no other subject is mentioned for the two former. Having completed the enumeration of the sections of the Yasna of seven chapters, the writer is now proceeding to notice those passages which are recited more than once in the performance of the ritual.

¹ M6 has gairî, 'in a song,' with the obsolete g, which is very like s, and is also used in the word garô in § 22; this is a variant well worth consideration by translators of the Avesta. K20 has only Ashahyâ.

² This formula (see B. Yt. II, 64) is recited after every chapter of the Gâthas, but does not appear to be anywhere recited twice; so the words 2 dânar, 'two repetitions,' may perhaps be inserted here in the wrong place, as they are wanting in § 25.

³ These words are omitted in the Pahlavi text, evidently through mistake.

⁴ Visp. XIX, XX follow Yas. XLI in the full Parsi ritual, and the first of them is recited twice.

⁵ The Frôbâk is the oldest sacred fire on earth, and the Vâzist is the lightning (see Bund. XVII, 1, 5, SZS. XI, 5, 8-10).

⁶ The first chapter of the Ustavaiti Gâtha (see § 2, note 4), so called from its first word ustâ.

⁷ See § 7.

28. The twenty stanzas of *Tad-thwâ-peresâ* (Yas. XLIII) are the twenty judgments (*dâd'istân*) between the beneficent spirit and the evil spirit; and for this *reason* they should every time utter *Tad-thwâ-peresâ* again¹, because they should utter the original judgment again, and the twentieth time the evil spirit becomes confounded.

29. The eleven stanzas of *Ad-fravakhshyâ* (Yas. XLIV) are made up from the six chieftainships² and the five accomplishments (*farhâng*) owing to religion; one is thus, not to do unto others³ all that which is not well for one's self; the second is to understand fully *what* is well-done and not well-done; the third is to turn from the vile and their conversation (*andarag-gûftanô*); the fourth is to confess *one's* failings to the high-priests, and let them bring the whip; the fifth is not to neglect the season-festivals at *their proper* hour (*dên hâsar*), *nor* the other things which go to the bridge⁴; and the six chieftainships are not his property who has not these

¹ That is, the first line (*tad thwâ peresâ eres môi vaokâ Ahurâ!* 'that I shall ask thee, tell *it* me right, O Ahurâ!') is repeated at the beginning of each of the first nineteen stanzas, and the first stanza being recited twice (as in all chapters of the *Gâthas*) these words are recited twenty times before the last stanza is reached. The phrases 'and for this *reason*' and 'because they should utter the original judgment again' are omitted in M6.

² These cannot be the same 'chieftainships' (*rad'ih*) as those mentioned in § 11, of which there are only five; but perhaps they are the spiritual chieftainships, or primacies, of the six other regions of the earth (see Bund. XXIX, 1).

³ Assuming that *aîsan* stands for *aîsân*.

⁴ The *Kinvad* bridge, or route of the soul to the other world (see Chap. XII, 31). Part of these fourth and fifth clauses is omitted in K20 by mistake.

five accomplishments, and he is not fit even for teaching.

30. The nineteen stanzas of Kām-nemōi-zām (Yas. XLV) are for this reason, that every one may so persevere in his own duty (khvêsakânîh)¹, that while those are our nineteen propitiations (aûsô-frîd)², which it says in the Sakâdûm *Nask*³ should be my own, the strength and power of the angels shall become more considerable, and the destroyer more perishable.

31. The Ustavaiti Gâtha is a Gâtha (gâs) of four chapters⁴, and each stanza of five lines (gâs), except Haêkad-aspâ-vakhshyâ (Yas. XLV, 15)⁵. 32. The two repetitions of Ustâ-ahmâi (Yas. XLII, 1)⁶ are, one as a retention and embrace of Aûharmazd, and one as a destruction of the fiends; and Usta-Ahurem-mazdâm (Visp. XXI, 1-5)⁷ in like manner.

33. Spentâ-mainyû (Yas. XLVI) has six stanzas, Yêzi-adâis (Yas. XLVII) twelve stanzas, Ad-mâyavâ (Yas. XLVIII) twelve stanzas, and Kad-môiruvâ (Yas. XLIX) eleven stanzas. 34. The Spentâ-mainyû Gâtha is a Gâtha of four chapters⁸, and

¹ Or, it may be, 'through his own intellect (khvêsak hûsh),' or merely another mode of writing khvêskârîh, 'industry.'

² Considering each of the stanzas as an offering to, or propitiation of, (Av. usefriti) the angels.

³ See Chap. X, 25.

⁴ Those detailed in §§ 27-30.

⁵ Which stanza has only four lines. Pahl. gâs means both the whole hymn and also each line of the hymn.

⁶ The first stanza of the Ustavaiti Gâtha, which is recited twice, both in its proper place and at the end of each chapter of that Gâtha (see § 12, note).

⁷ Visp. XXI follows Yas. XLV in the full Parsi ritual, and is recited twice.

⁸ Those detailed in § 33.

each stanza of four lines; it is made up from the five chieftainships and four classes¹. 35. The two repetitions of *Spentâ-mainyû* (Yas. XLVI, 1)² are, one *for* the laudation of the beneficent spirit (*spendamat*), and one for that of the earth³.

36. One *Spentem-Ahurem-mazdâm* (Visp. XXII, 1-11)⁴ is the laudation of the creatures of the beneficent spirit, and one is the destruction of the creatures of the evil spirit.

37. The twenty-two stanzas of the *Vohû-khshathra Gâtha* (Yas. L) are those twenty-two judgments which are lodging within judges, as written above⁵.

38. The two repetitions of *Vohû-khshathrem* (Yas. L, 1)⁶ are, one the laudation of living (*zîndakîh*), and one of the supreme *Zaratûst*.

39. One *Vohû-khshathrem yazamaidê* (Visp. XXIII, 1-9)⁷ is for the laudation of *Shatvatrô*⁸, and one of metal. 40. The two repetitions of *Avi-*

¹ See §§ 9, 11.

² The first stanza of the *Spentâ-mainyû Gâtha*, which is recited twice, both in its proper place and at the end of each chapter of that *Gâtha* (see § 12, note).

³ It seems probable that the Pahlavi writer has here confounded *Spendamat*, 'the beneficent spirit,' with the archangel *Spendarmad* who has special charge of the earth; their names being even more alike in Pahlavi than in English, though corrupted from the distinct Avesta forms *spenta mainyu* and *spenta ârmaiti*, respectively.

⁴ Visp. XXII follows Yas. XLIX in the full Parsi ritual, and is recited twice.

⁵ See § 6.

⁶ The first stanza of the *Vohû-khshathra Gâtha*, which is recited twice, both at the beginning and end of the chapter (see § 12, note).

⁷ Visp. XXIII, 1-9 follows Yas. L in the full Parsi ritual, and is recited twice.

⁸ The archangel who has special charge of metal (see § 14, Chap. XV, 5, 14-19, and Bund. I, 26, XXX, 19); the name is here written *Shatrîvar*.

apām (Visp. XXIV, 1-12)¹ are, one for the laudation of waters, and one of plants.

41. The nine stanzas of the Vahistôisti (Yas. LII) are on account of those nine things which are² . . . the supreme Zaratûstship lodging in the supreme Zaratûsts, the source of fountains, the bridge *over* waters, and even the navigable river, the righteous man, and the righteous woman. 42. And *it is* a Gâtha of one chapter, *and* each stanza of four lines, except Ithâ-t-haithyâ-narô (Yas. LII, 6)³, for *there is* always one lord and sovereign in the world. 43. And those four lines are for this *reason*, because *it* is declared: *kathrus hamayau khshapô dahmayâd parô âfritôid*⁴, 'four times every night is the "blessing of the holy" (Yas. LIX),' and three *times* Srôsh⁵, twice Bûshâsp⁶, and once Aêshm⁷ will come

¹ After the two recitations of Visp. XXIII, 1-9 there follow Vend. XV, XVI, and Visp. XXIII, 10, and then Visp. XXIV, 1-12 is recited twice, in the full Parsi ritual, followed by Visp. XXV.

² Some words are evidently lost here; M6 has m followed by a blank space, and K20 has madam, 'on.' It is not quite certain whether the things mentioned are to be reckoned as four, five, or six; but assuming they are five, it is possible that the four things missing in the text are the four remaining chieftainships (see § 11), the rulerships of the house, village, tribe, and province lodged in the rulers of the same, respectively.

³ Which stanza has five lines, and is, therefore, here considered symbolical of the ruling monarch, or pontiff.

⁴ This Avesta passage does not appear to be extant elsewhere, and its Pahlavi translation, given in the text, is not quite correct; it would be better thus: 'through the "blessing of the holy" four times every night;' dahma âfriti (Pahl. dâhmân âfrînô, 'blessing of the holy') is the technical name of Yas. LIX.

⁵ See Bund. XIX, 33, XXX, 29. This angel, invoked by the 'blessing' (Yas. LIX, 8), comes to defend mankind against the wiles of Bûshâsp and Aêshm.

⁶ The demoness of sloth (see Bund. XXVIII, 26).

⁷ The demon of wrath (see Bund. XXVIII, 15-17, 20).

to the material world. 44. And the five *lines* of that one *stanza* (Yas. LII, 6) are for this *reason*, because the assistants of the supreme Zaratûst are five, the house-ruler, the village-ruler, the tribe-ruler, the province-ruler, and she even who is his own wife (nârîk)¹. 45. The two repetitions of Vahistâ-îstis (Yas. LII, 1)² are, one *for* the laudation of sovereigns, and one for the laudation of peace (pad-mân).

46. The two repetitions of Vahistem-Ahurem-mazdām (Visp. XXVI)³ are, one *for* the laudation of Aûharmazd and the archangels, and one for the destruction of the fiends. 47. The four repetitions of the Airyamana (Yas. LIII)⁴ are for the existence of more submission (atrmânth) in the house, village, tribe, and province. 48. The four repetitions of Avad-mizdem (Visp. XXVII) are for the healing of those⁵ *who* dwell in the house, village, tribe, and province.

49. The section (karḍakō) whose beginning is Tad-sôidhis (Yas. LVII, 1-9)⁶ is, for the completion

¹ Though bound to be strictly obedient to her husband or guardian, a Mazdayasnian woman occupied a more honourable position in the community than was sanctioned by any other oriental religion.

² The first stanza of the Vahistôisti Gâtha, which is recited twice, both at the beginning and end of the chapter (see § 12, note).

³ Visp. XXVI follows Yas. LII in the full Parsi ritual, and is recited twice, followed by Vend. XIX, XX.

⁴ So called from its first words â airyemâ; it is recited four times after Vend. XX, and shortly afterwards Visp. XXVII is also recited four times, as mentioned in § 48.

⁵ M6 has 'of the soul,' which is, no doubt, a blunder due to the illegibility of the MS. from which it was copied.

⁶ This is the Fshûshô-mâthra ('a spell or prayer for prosperity')

of the Gâthas, taught as *pertaining* to the Gâthas (gâsântk kâst).

50. The beginning of the Gâthas is Ahyâ-yâsâ (Yas. XXVIII, 1), and their end is drigavê vahyô (Yas. LII, 9, end); and *there* are 278 stanzas, 1016 lines, 5567 words (vâkak), 9999 mârik, and 16,554 khûrdak¹. 51. For the lines and stanzas of the Gâthas *were* collected by us, and were:—one hundred stanzas of the Ahunavaiti Gâtha (Yas. XXVIII–XXXIV), of which each stanza is three lines; forty stanzas of the Yasna of seven chapters (Yas. XXXV–

of Visp. I, 28, II, 30, Yas. LVI, ix, 6, LVIII, 13. Whether the remainder of Yas. LVII is to be considered as pertaining to the Gâthas is uncertain; it is recited in seven sections by the assistant priest, each section from a different position; these seven positions being the stations of the seven assistant priests who are supposed to be present spiritually, and to be arranged three on each side, and one at the south end, of the ceremonial area, while the chief officiating priest occupies the north end (see Haug's Essays, p. 332).

¹ The numbers of the stanzas and lines are correct, as may be seen from the details given in § 51. Regarding the words there is the uncertainty as to what constitutes a compound word, but, taking each compound in Westergaard's edition of the texts as a single word, the total number of words in the 1016 lines is about 6147; and this could be reduced to 5567 only by omitting the Yasna of seven chapters, and somewhat relaxing the rule as to compound words. The meaning of the last two terms, mârik and khûrdak, is doubtful, but they are certainly not syllables and letters, as the number of syllables exceeds 13,000. In other places (see Bund. I, 21) mârik usually means 'a word,' but that meaning is expressed by the term vâkak here. If the number 9999 be correct, mârik must signify some particular class of syllable which would include about three-fourths of the whole number of syllables. It may be noted, however, that Zâd-sparam, in the particulars he gives about the Gâthas (see SZS. XI, 10, note 6), states the number of mârik at 6666. The khûrdak or 'small' things are probably the consonants.

XLI, 17), of which each stanza is three lines; sixty-six stanzas of the Ustavaiti Gâtha (Yas. XLII—XLV), of which each stanza is five lines, except Haêkad-aspâ (Yas. XLV, 15), for that one is four lines; forty-one stanzas of the Spentâ-mainyû Gâtha (Yas. XLVI—XLIX), of which each stanza is four lines; twenty-two stanzas of the Vohû-khshathra (Yas. L), of which each stanza is three¹ lines; *and* nine stanzas of the Vahistôisti (Yas. LII), of which each stanza is four lines, except Ithâ-î (Yas. LII, 6), for that one is a stanza of five;—the amount of the foregoing² is 278 stanzas³.

CHAPTER XIV⁴.

o. May it be in the name of God (yazdân) and the good creation!

1. When they consecrate^a a sacred cake (drônô), *and* it becomes demon worship^b, what and how many *things* are not proper?

¹ All MSS. have 'four,' and then add the exception about Ithâ-î to the account of this Gâtha, instead of mentioning it in the details of the Vahistôisti; which blunder is here corrected.

² Reading kadmon yehevûnîsnô, but the latter word, with part of the ciphers which follow, is torn away in K20, and in M6 it is written so as to resemble the Avesta letters gnn gnn, which are unintelligible, though something like Pahl. yehevûnîsnô; there can, however, be little doubt as to the general meaning of the phrase.

³ The number of lines is easily computed from the same details, as follows:—300 + 120 + 329 + 164 + 66 + 37 = 1016 lines, as stated in § 50, and as they still exist in the Gâtha texts.

⁴ This chapter is also found in L15, fols. 1-4, and a Pâzand version of §§ 1-3 exists in L22, fols. 126, 127, and L7, fols. 78, 79.

⁵ That is, it becomes desecrated through some fault in the cere-

2. The decision is this:—Whoever knowingly consecrates a sacred cake with unpurified *sacred* twigs (baresôm-i apâdiyâv)¹, or with a twig-bundle the number of whose twigs (tâk) is *too* many or *too* few, or of another plant not proper *for sacred* twigs; or holds the end of the twig-bundle to the north² *and* utters the Avesta attentively; or whoever consecrates with efficacy unawares, *it* is not to be considered as uttered by him. 3. *Nor by him* who advertently or inadvertently takes a taste (kâshnik), not from the sacred cake with the butter (gâûs-dâê)³, *but* from the frasast; or takes the prayer (vâg)⁴ *inwardly* regarding that cake (drônô) before the officiating priest (zôt) takes a taste from the same cake; or shall utter the length of a stanza *in excess, and* does not again make a beginning of the *consecration of the* sacred cake; or takes *up* the

mony, for any ceremony, which is too imperfect for acceptance by the celestial beings, is supposed to be appropriated by the demons, as performed for their benefit (see Chap. IX, 5). Demon worship is a term also applied to many other evil actions which are supposed to give the demons special power over the perpetrator of them.

¹ See Chap. III, 32, note.

² The supposed direction of the demons (see Chaps. X, 7, XII, 18). When praying, a Parsi must face either the sun, or a fire or lamp; and when the direction of the sun is doubtful, or when it is nearly overhead, he must face to the south, even when he is in so low a latitude that the sun may be somewhat to the north of him.

³ Which usually takes the place of the meat-offering mentioned in Chap. XI, 4–6, and is placed upon one of the cakes on the left side of the table during consecration, while the frasasts are the cakes on the right-hand side of the table (see Chap. III, 32, note).

⁴ That is, prepares for eating by muttering the portion of the grace which is to be recited in a low murmur before eating (see Chap. III, 6, note). This clause is omitted in K20.

dedication *formula* (shn ūmanō)¹ *too* soon or *too* late; or does not utter the Avesta for the fire when he sees the fire.

4. This is how it is when the period *of the day* (gâs)² is retained, and how it should be when *one* may relinquish *it*; that is, when even one of the stars created by Aûharmazd is apparent, *it* is retained, *and* when not *it* is relinquished. 5. It is Vand-Aûharmazd³ *who* said that when, besides Tîstar, Vanand, *or* Satavês⁴, one of the zodiacal stars (akhtarîk) is apparent, *it* is retained, and when not *it* is relinquished. 6. *There* have been *some* who said that when, besides one of those three, three zodiacal stars are apparent, *it* is retained, and when not *it* is relinquished⁵.

¹ See Chaps. III, 35, VII, 8.

² See Bund. XXV, 9. The text appears to refer to the transition from the Ushahina to the Hâvani Gâh at daybreak; and as certain portions of the prayers are varied according to the period of the day, it is very necessary to know precisely when each period commences, so as to avoid vitiating the whole ceremonial by the use of a wrong prayer.

³ See Chap. I, 4, note.

⁴ Three of the leading stars, probably Sirius, Fomalhaut, and Antares (see Bund. II, 7).

⁵ This chapter is followed (in both the old MSS. M6 and K20) by the Pahlavi text of the Patîr-i Khûd, or renunciation of one's own *sin*, a translation of which will be found in Bleeck's English version of the Avesta, London, 1864, III, pp. 159-162, derived from Spiegel's German translation of the Pâzand text. This translation is fairly correct on the whole, although some passages might be improved, thus (p. 162), instead of 'all sins which may attack the character of man [or] have attacked my character, if I, on account of much death, have not recognised the death,' &c., we should read 'of all sins which may become the lot of men, and have become my lot, on account of whose excessive number I do not know the number,' &c.

PART III.—*Appendix*¹.CHAPTER XV².

1. *It* is revealed by a passage of the Avesta that Zaratûst, seated before Aûharmazd, always wanted information (vâk) from him; and he spoke to Aûharmazd thus: 'Thy head, hands, feet, hair, face, and tongue are in my eyes just like those even which are my own, and you have the clothing men have; give me a hand, so that I may grasp thy hand.'

2. Aûharmazd said thus: 'I am an intangible spirit; *it* is not possible to grasp my hand.'

3. Zaratûst spoke thus: 'Thou art intangible, and Vohûman, Ardavahist, Shatvalrô³, Spendarmad, Horvada⁴, and Amerôda⁴ are intangible, and when I depart from thy presence, and do not see thee *nor* even them—since of the person whom⁴ I see and worship *there* is something—*should* thou and the seven archangels be worshipped by me, or not⁵?'

¹ This Appendix consists of a number of fragments found in the old MS. M6, and of somewhat the same character as the Shâyast lâ-shâyast, but they have no claim to be considered as a portion of that work. Excepting Chaps. XVIII, XIX, XXI, they are not found in the other old MS. K20, and beyond the fact that they must be more than five centuries old their age is quite uncertain, though some of them are probably older than others.

² This chapter follows the Patî-i Khûd in M6, and is also found in L15, fols. 16–28; for a Pâzand version of it, see L22, fols. 113–122, and L7, fols. 70–76.

³ Written Shatrôivar throughout this chapter; these six (see Bund. I, 26) with Aûharmazd himself, are the seven archangels.

⁴ Reading mûn, 'whom,' instead of a mat, 'when' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

⁵ Zaratûst is doubtful whether he ought to worship beings of

4. Aûharmazd said thus : ' They *should* be ; I tell thee, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân ! that each individual of us has produced his own one creation (dâyak) for the world, by means of which they may set going in its body, in the world, that activity which they would exercise in the spiritual existence. 5. *In* the world that which is mine, who am Aûharmazd, is the righteous man, of Vohûman are the cattle, of Ardavahist is the fire, of Shatvaîrô is the metal, of Spendarmad are the earth and virtuous woman, of Horvadađ is the water, *and* of Amerôdađ is the vegetation. 6. Whoever has learned¹ the care of all these seven, acts and pleases well, his soul never comes into the possession of Aharman and the demons ; when he *has* exercised his care of them, he has exercised his care of the seven archangels, *and* ought to teach all mankind in the world.

7. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Aûharmazd in the world, wishes to promote the things of Aûharmazd ; *and* whoever he be, with whom Aûharmazd ever is in every place (gâs)², it is necessary *that* he should³ propitiate the righteous man, in whatever

whose existence he had had no tangible evidence, when he no longer saw them ; fearing, perhaps, that they might have been mere dreams or optical illusions. But he is told that each of these spiritual beings is the protector of one class of worldly existences, and that the proper treatment of these existences is a man's best means of reverencing the spiritual beings interested in their welfare.

¹ Or 'taught,' for the verb has both meanings.

² Or 'at all times ;' it is always doubtful whether gâs means 'time' or 'place.'

³ Throughout this chapter a conditional meaning is given to the verbs by prefixing hanâ, aê, or ı (all representing Pâz. aê or e) to the present tense, instead of affixing it.

has happened *and* whatever occurs to him, *and* should act for his happiness, and afford him protection from the vile. 8. Since the righteous man is a counterpart of Aûharmazd the lord, *and* when the righteous man acts it is caused by him who is Aûharmazd, whoever propitiates the righteous man, his fame and welfare exist a long time in the world, and the splendour of Aûharmazd and pleasure and joy become his own *in* heaven (*vahist*).

9. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Vohûman in the world, *and* wishes to act for *his* happiness, is *he* who wishes to promote the things of Vohûman; and it is necessary for him, so that Vohûman may be ever with him, *that* he should propitiate, at every place (*gâs*) *and* time, the well-yielding (*hûdhâk*) cattle, in whatever has happened *and* whatever occurs, and should act for *their* happiness; and in the terrible days and the hurried times (*gâs*) which *befall* them, he should afford them protection from the oppressive and idle. 10. He should not give *them* as a bribe to a man who is a wicked tyrant, *but* should keep *them* in a pleasant and warm locality and place (*gâs*); and in summer he should provide them a store of straw and corn, so that it be not necessary to keep *them* on the pastures (*karak*) in winter; and he should not deliver them *up* for this purpose, that is, "So that I may give them up to the vile," because it is necessary to give to the good; and he should not drive them apart from *their* young, and should not put the young apart from their milk. 11. Since they are counterparts of him (Vohûman) himself in the world, the well-yielding cattle, whoever propitiates those which are well-yielding cattle his fame subsists in the world, and

the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes his own *in* the best existence¹.

12. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Ardavahist in the world is *he* who wishes to promote his things; and it is necessary for him, so that Ardavahist may be with *him* at every place (gâs) and time, *that* he should propitiate the fire of Aûharmazd, in whatever has happened and whatever occurs, *and* should act for *its* happiness; he should not put upon *it* wood, incense, and holy-water² which are stolen and extorted, and he should not cook at it a ration (bâ-har) which is violently extorted from men. 13. For it is a counterpart of him (Ardavahist) himself in the world, the fire of Aûharmazd; and whoever propitiates those which are fires of Aûharmazd his fame subsists in the world, and the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes his own *in* heaven.

14. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Shatvaîrô in the world, and wishes to act for *his* happiness, is *he* who wishes to promote the things of Shatvaîrô; *and* whoever he be, it is necessary, so that Shatvaîrô may be with him at every place and time, *that* he should propitiate melted metal³ at every place and time. 15. And the propitiation of melted metal is this, that he shall practise habits (âiyînô) of the

¹ See Chap. VI, 3.

² Holy-water is not put upon the fire, for that would be sinful, but it is presented to the fire, and the outside of the fire-place is sprinkled or washed with it (see Haug's Essays, p. 403). The 'fire of Aûharmazd' means any fire, whether sacred or used for household purposes.

³ The word may be read either âiyên or asîn (Av. ayangh, Pers. âyan, âhan, or âhîn), which is usually translated 'iron,' but also means 'metal' generally, as it certainly does here, and very probably likewise in B. Yt. I, 1, 5, II, 14, 22.

heart so unsullied and pure that, when they shall drop melted metal upon *it*, it does not burn. 16. And Âtarôpâd son of Mâraspend¹ even acted in this priestly fashion (dastôbarîh), so that the melted metal, when they drop *it* upon the region (khânô) of *his* pure heart, becomes as pleasant to him as though² they were milking milk upon it. 17. When they drop *it* upon the region of the heart of the wicked and sinners, it burns, and they die. 18. And *one* should not commit sin with metal, and with its burning; and should not give gold and silver to the vile. 19. For it is a counterpart of Shatvatrô himself in the world for him, *and* since he propitiates those which are melted metals, his fame subsists in the world, and the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes his own *in* heaven.

20. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Spendarmad in the world, wishes to promote the things of Spendarmad; *and* whoever he be, it is necessary, so that Spendarmad may be with him, *that* he should propitiate, at every place and time, the earth and virtuous woman, in whatever has happened and in whatever occurs, *and* should act for *their* happiness. 21. For when he does not spread out (barâ lâ vêshêd) this earth, and it does not separate one *piece* from another, his body also *will* not be always

¹ The primate and prime minister of Shâpûr II (A.D. 309-379), who is said to have undergone the ordeal of having melted metal poured upon his chest, in order to prove the truth of the Mazdayasnian religion. The metal used is generally called rûf, 'brass,' but here it is aîyên, 'iron,' though a more fusible metal than either was, no doubt, used.

² Reading amat, 'though,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

living upon *it at* every place and time¹. 22. On account of the lodgment of Spendarmad in the earth, when a robber, violent and worthy of death, and wives who are disrespectful to *their* husbands walk about in sinfulness in the world, and their husbands are active *and* virtuous, it becomes much distressed (zanōtk). 23. This, too, is declared, that, whenever this *earth* becomes distressed (zanīk), it is most *so* at the time when sinners worthy of death are most; for *it* is declared, when sinners worthy of death walk upon *it*, *its* pain and uneasiness become as distressing (dûskhvâr) to it as the dead son on *her* bosom *to* a mother; *and* the lodgment of Spendarmad in the earth is little *in* that place whereon sinners worthy of death walk. 24. And her² happiness arises from that place when they shall perform tillage and cultivation on it, and a virtuous son is born upon it, and they rear cattle upon it; and it is so one's fame subsists in the world, and the splendour of Aôharmazd becomes one's own *in* heaven.

25. 'Whoever' wishes to propitiate Horvadađ and Amerôdađ in the world, whereas that is necessary which promotes their things, whoever he be it is necessary *that* he should propitiate, at every place and time, the water and vegetation of Horvadađ and Amerôdađ, in whatever has happened and in

¹ Meaning that the earth must be tilled in order to support its inhabitants, but there is some doubt as to the exact wording of the translation.

² Spendarmad is a female archangel; perhaps, however, the earth is meant here, as it is said to be most pleased by the existence of fire-temples, dwellings of righteous people, cultivation, stables, and pastures (see Vend. III, 1-20).

whatever occurs, *and* should seize upon those who consume *and* steal water and vegetation¹. 26. And he should not act oppressively, he should not walk the world in sinfulness, and should not bring bodily refuse (*hîkhar*), dead matter (*nasât*)², *or* any other pollution to water; he should not destroy vegetation unlawfully, and should not give fruit to the idle and vile. 27. For when he commits sin against water and vegetation, even when it is committed against merely a single twig of it, and he has not atoned for it, when³ he departs from the world the spirits of all the plants in the world stand up high in front of that man, and do not let him go to heaven. 28. And when he has committed sin against water, even when it is committed against a single drop of it, and he has not atoned for *it*, that also stands up as high as the plants stood, and does not let him go to heaven. 29. Since they are counterparts of *Horvada* and *Amerôdad* themselves, the water and vegetation, whoever propitiates those which be water and vegetation, his fame subsists in the world, and a share of the splendour of *Aûharmazd* becomes his *in* heaven.'

30. *Aûharmazd* said this also to *Zaratûst*, namely:

¹ Reading *mûn*, 'who,' instead of *amat*, 'when,' and *dûgend*, 'they steal,' instead of *dûgd* (perhaps for *dûgak*, 'thievish'); and supposing the verb to be *vakhdûnêd*, 'takes, seizes,' and not *vâdûnêd*, 'makes, acts.' If the reverse be assumed, the translation would be thus: 'should act for their *happiness*. When they consume water and vegetation he should not act thievishly and oppressively.'

² For the meaning of *hîkhar* and *nasât*, see note on Chap. II, 30.

³ Reading *amat*, 'when,' instead of *mûn*, 'who' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

‘My will and pleasure is *that* the observance and propitiation of these seven archangels shall be *as I have* told thee; and do thou, too, speak thus unto men, so that they may commit no sin and may not become wicked, and the splendour of Aûtharmazd may become their own *in* heaven.’

31. Completed in peace, pleasure, *and* joy¹.

CHAPTER XVI.

o. In the name of God (yazdân) I write a paragraph (babâ) where the sins which are as it were small are *mentioned* one *by* one.

1. The least sin is a Farmân; *and* a Farmân is three coins of five annas², some say three coins. 2. An Âgerept is, as regards whatever weapon (snêš) men strike with in the world, whenever the weapon is taken in hand; and taken up by *any* one four finger-breadths from the ground *it is* the root³ of an

¹ This is the most usual concluding phrase of short Pahlavi texts, and indicates that this account of the best mode of propitiating the archangels is to be considered as a separate text. It is followed in M6 by the paragraphs which constitute the next two chapters.

² Reading 3 nûmâî-i 5 ânak, but this is uncertain, and if correct must have been written in India, as the anna is an Indian coin worth nearly three halfpence. The coin of five annas was probably a dirham, as the dirham being about fifty grains of silver (see note on gûgan in Chap. I, 2), and the rūpî having formerly been less than 180 grains in Gugarât, the former would be nearly five-sixteenths of the latter, that is, five annas. It may, therefore, be assumed that the amount of the Farmân is here taken at three dirhams, as in Chap. XI, 2; but in § 5 it appears to be 3½ dirhams, and in Chap. I, 2 as much as sixteen dirhams.

³ See Chap. II, 69, note.

Âgerept for him ; *and* the retribution and punishment for an Âgerept should be fifty-three dirhams (*gûgan*)¹. 3. When the weapon turns downwards *it is* the root of an Avôtrist for him, and his sentence (*dlnâ*) is to be changed ; his retribution *and* punishment should be seventy-three dirhams², which is when anything further occurs. 4. When he shall lay the weapon on *any* one *it is* the root of an Aredûs for *him*, and his retribution *and* punishment are thirty stîrs ; if the wound thereby made by him be one-fifth of a span (*dîst*)³ *it is* no root of an Aredûs *for* him, and his retribution *and* punishment are the same thirty stîrs.

5. I write the degrees of sin :—A Srôshô-karanâm⁴ is three coins and a half, a Farmân is a Srôshô-karanâm, an Âgerept is sixteen stîrs, an Avôtrist is twenty-five stîrs, an Aredûs is thirty, a Khôr is sixty, a Bâzâf is ninety, a Yât is a hundred and eighty, *and* a Tanâpûhar is three hundred⁵.

6. The good works which are in the *ceremonial*

¹ § 5 says sixteen stîrs, which, if equivalent to these fifty-three dirhams, would imply $3\frac{5}{8}$ dirhams to the stîr, instead of four as usually stated (see Chap. I, 2). The amounts mentioned in Chaps. I, 2, XI, 2 are very different.

² § 5 says twenty-five stîrs, which, at $3\frac{5}{8}$ dirhams to the stîr (as in the case of Âgerept), would be very nearly eighty-three dirhams, which is probably the number we ought to read in the text, and also, possibly, in Chap. XI, 2.

³ The *dîst* is a span of ten finger-breadths (about $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches) between the thumb and middle finger (see Bund. XXVI, 3, note).

⁴ See Chap. IV, 14, note. Comparing the amount here mentioned with that of the Farmân in § 1, the Srôshô-karanâm, which is here made equal to the Farmân, appears to amount to $3\frac{1}{2}$ dirhams, which agrees very nearly with the statement in Chap. X, 24, but differs from that in Chap. XI, 2.

⁵ For similar scales of degrees, see Chaps. I, 2, XI, 2.

worship of the sacred beings (*yazisn-i yazdân*):—*Consecrating* a sacred cake (*drôn*)¹ is a good work of one Tanâpûhar²; a *form of worship* (*yast*)³ is a hundred Tanâpûhars; a *Visparad*⁴ is a thousand Tanâpûhars; a *Dô-hômâst*⁵ is ten thousand; a *Dvâzdah-hômâst* is a hundred thousand, *and* the merit (*kirfak*) of every one which is *performed* with holy-water is said *to be* a hundred to one; a *Hâd-ôkht*⁶ is two thousand Tanâpûhars, *and* with holy-water it becomes a hundred to one⁷.

¹ See Chap. III, 32. The Persian Rivâyats explain that this is when the proper ritual is merely recited, without using the sacred twigs and other ceremonial apparatus; when the twigs are used the merit is ten times as great.

² That is, sufficient to counterbalance a Tanâpûhar sin (see Chap. I, 1, 2).

³ A *Yast* is a formula of praise in honour of some particular angel; when recited with all the accessories of sacred twigs and other ceremonial apparatus, the merit is ten times as great as is mentioned in the text.

⁴ The *Visparad* service includes the *Yasna*, and when performed with the use of the sacred twigs, holy-water, and other ceremonial apparatus the merit is ten times as great as here stated; some authorities say it is a hundred times as great.

⁵ This kind of *Hômâst* is not mentioned in Dastûr Jâmâspji's explanation of this species of religious service (see B. Yt. II, 59, note); it occurs, however, in the Nrangistân as a distinct kind, though called merely *Hômâst* in the Persian Rivâyats.

⁶ See B. Yt. III, 25.

⁷ The merits of other prayers and ceremonies are detailed in the Persian Rivâyats; thus, that of the ordinary recital of a *Vendidad* (which includes both *Yasna* and *Visparad*) is sixty thousand Tanâpûhars, and when with sacred twigs and holy-water it is a hundred thousand; that of the recital of any *Nyâys* (see Chap. VII, 4), or of taking and retaining a prayer (*vâg*, see Chap. III, 6) inwardly, is one Tanâpûhar.

CHAPTER XVII.

1. This, too, Zaratûst asked of Aûharmazd, that is: 'Which is the time when *one* must not eat meat?'

2. Aûharmazd gave a reply thus: 'In a house when a person shall die, until three nights are completed, nothing whatever of meat is to be placed on a sacred cake (drôn) therein and in *its* vicinity¹; but these, such as milk, cheese, fruit, eggs, and preserves, are to be placed; *and* nothing whatever of meat is to be eaten *by* his relations². 3. In all the three days it is necessary to perform the ceremonial (yazisn) of Srôsh for this *reason*, because Srôsh will be able to save his soul from the hands of the demons *for* the three days³; and when *one* con-

¹ Reading va hamgôshak, the latter word being apparently used in a parallel passage in Pahl. Vend. VIII, 64 in old MSS.; this reading is, however, somewhat doubtful here, and perhaps we ought to read 'on a sacred cake in that roofed place (pavan zak vâmkînfh);' the last word being a possible term for 'roofing' as it stands, though it may be a miswriting of vâmpôš (Pers. bâmpôš, 'roofing').

² The Parsis, nowadays (Dastûr Hoshangji says), do not cook for three days under a roof where a death has occurred, but obtain food from their neighbours and friends; but if the cookroom be under a separate roof, as often happens in India, they have no objection to cooking there.

³ The soul is supposed to hover about the body for the first three nights after death, during which time it has to rely upon the angel Srôsh (see Bund. XXX, 29) for protection from the demons, which the angel, it is presumed, will afford more efficiently if properly propitiated by the surviving relatives. At the third dawn after death (that is, the dawn of the fourth day inclusive of the day of death) the soul is supposed to depart finally for the other world (see AV. IV, 8-36, XVII, 5-27).

stantly performs a ceremonial *at* every period (gâs)¹ in the three days *it* is *as* good as though they should celebrate the whole religious ritual (hamâk dīnô) at one time. 4. And after the third night, *at* dawn, *one* is to consecrate three sacred cakes (drôn), one *for* Rashnû and Âstâd, the second *for* Vâê the good², and the third *for* the righteous guardian spirit (ardâi fravard); and clothing³ is to be placed upon the sacred cake of the righteous guardian spirit. 5. For the fourth day it is allowable to slaughter a sheep⁴, and the fourth day the ceremonial (yazisn) of the righteous guardian spirit is to be performed; and afterwards are the tenth-day, the monthly, and, then, the annual *ceremonies*; and the first monthly is exactly on the thirtieth day, and the annual on the particular day⁵. 6. When he

¹ These periods of the day are five in summer, and four in winter (see Bund. XXV, 9, 10).

² The usual name of the angel Râm (the Vayu of Râm Yt.) who, with the angels Rashnû and Âstâd, is supposed to be stationed at the Kinvad bridge, where the soul has to give an account of its actions during life shortly after the dawn following the third night after death (see AV. V, 3, CI, 21, note, Mkh. II, 115).

³ This clothing must be new and good, and is supposed to be supplied to the spirit to prevent its appearing unclothed in the other world, where the clothing of the soul is said to be formed 'out of almsgivings' (Chap. XII, 4); to fulfil which condition the clothes provided are presented to the officiating priests (see Sad-dar Bundahis LXXXVII).

⁴ Or 'goat.'

⁵ That is, on the exact anniversary of the death; the sentence is rather obscure, but this appears to be the meaning. With regard to the ceremonies after a death, the Persian Rivâyats give more details, which may be summarized as follows:—On each of the first three days a Srôsh Yast is performed and a Srôsh Drôn consecrated (see Chap. III, 32, note). On the third night, in the middle of the Aiwisrûthrem Gâh (dusk to midnight), a renuncia-

shall die *at* a place distant *from that* where the information arrives, when the three *days' ceremonies* (satûth) are celebrated *at* that place where he shall die *it* is well, when not, their celebration is *to be at* this place, *and* from the *time* when the information arrives, until three nights are completed, it is necessary to perform the ceremonial of Srôsh, *and* after three days and nights it is necessary to perform the ceremonial of the righteous guardian spirit.'

7. *In* one place *it* is declared, that of him whose begetting is owing to the demons, of him who commits sodomy, and of him who performs the religious rites (dînô) of apostasy, of none of the three do

tion of sin is performed in the house of the deceased; and in the Ushahin Gâh (midnight to dawn) four Drôns are consecrated, one dedicated to the good Vâê (Nâ-f veh), one to Rashn and Âstâd, one to Srôsh, and one to the righteous (ashôân), and in front of the last are placed new and clean clothes with fruit, but without an egg. On the fourth day, at sunrise, the Dahmân Âfrîngân (Yas. LIX) is recited, and then the Khûrshêd and Mihir Nyâyis, after which the people in the house can first eat fresh-cooked meat. During the fourth day also the Yast of the righteous is performed, and the Drôn of the righteous is consecrated; and the same again on the tenth day, together with the recitation of the Dahmân Âfrîngân. On the thirtieth day the Sîrôzah (praise of the thirty days) is to be celebrated, with the dedication to the thirty days; thirty-three beans (lûvak) and thirty-three eggs, with fruit, being placed in front of the Drôn, which is consecrated in the presence of fire; and, afterwards, the assistant priest consecrates a Drôn for Srôsh. The next day the chief priest consecrates a Drôn for the righteous; a suit of clothes and fruit being placed in front of the Drôn. And each day a Yast of the righteous is performed, a Drôn of the righteous is consecrated, and an Âfrîngân recited. On the same day every month the same Yast, Drôn, and Âfrîngân are celebrated; a priest also undergoes the Bareshnûm for the deceased, a Gêti-kharîd (see Bund. XXX, 28) is performed, and three Vendidads dedicated to Srôsh. On each day at the end of a year the Sîrôzah Yast is performed, and a Drôn

they restore the dead¹, for this *reason*, because he whose begetting is owing to the demons is himself a demon², and the soul of him who commits sodomy will become a demon³, and the soul of him *who* performs the religious rites of apostasy will become a darting snake⁴.

8. This, too, is revealed by the Avesta⁵, that Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Give ye up the persons of all men, with the submissiveness of worshippers, to that man *to* whom the whole Avesta and Zand is easy⁶, so that he may make you acquainted with duties and good works; because men go to hell for this *reason*, when they do not submit *their* persons to priestly control (aêrpatistân), and do not become acquainted with duties and good works.'

9. Query:—There is an action which, according to the Avesta⁷, is not good for a person to do, *and* the sentence of 'worthy of death' is set upon *it*; for *one's* better preservation is *one* not to do that action,

dedicated to the thirty days is consecrated, thirty-three beans being placed, with one Drôn, one Frasast (see Chap. III, 32, note), one pentagonal Drôn as the sun, one crescent-shaped as the moon, thirty-three eggs, and fruit, in front of the Drôn, which is consecrated in the presence of fire; afterwards, the assistant priest consecrates a Drôn for Srôsh, and recites the Dahmân Âfrîngân, and the next day the chief priest consecrates a Drôn for the righteous, a suit of clothes being placed before the Drôn, and recites the Dahmân Âfrîngân.

¹ That is, there is no resurrection for them.

² And, therefore, not immortal according to the Parsi faith.

³ Compare Vend. VIII, 98-106.

⁴ Which being a creature of the evil spirit is doomed to destruction.

⁵ But it is doubtful if the passage be extant.

⁶ That is, the man who knows the whole scripture and commentary by heart.

⁷ Reading pavan Avistâk, instead of Avistâk pavan.

or to accomplish *and* urge *it* on, for the advance of religion in a state of uncertainty (*var-hômandîh*)?

10. The answer is this, that when they act well for *their* better preservation *there* is no fear, on account of acting well, but *one* is not to forsake that¹, too, though *it* be not goodness; a forsaken duty is very bad, for a contempt of it enters into one.

11. This, too, is declared, that Zarâtûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: 'From what place do these people rise again? from that place where they first went into *their* mothers, or from that place where the mothers have given *them* birth, or from that place where *their* bodies happen to be (*aûftêd*)?'

12. Aûharmazd gave a reply thus: 'Not from that place where they have gone into *their* mothers, nor from that place where they have been born from *their* mothers, nor from that place where *their* bodies and flesh happen to be, for they rise from that place where the life went out from their bodies.'

13. And this, too, he asked, that is: 'Whence do they raise² *him* again who is suspended from anything, *and* shall die in the air?'

14. The reply *was*: 'From that place where his bones and flesh first fall to the ground; hence, except when he shall die on a divan (*gâs*) or a bed (*vistarg*), before they carry him away, whatever *it*

¹ The religion in a position of difficulty appears to be the meaning, but the reply to this question of casuistry is by no means clear.

² Literally, 'they rise,' both here and in the next section, but the change to the plural number is perplexing, unless it refers to those who prepare the resurrection of the dead (*Bund. XXX, 4, 7, 17*), as here assumed by reading 'they raise.'

is, a fragment¹ is to be taken and to be laid across his limbs; for when the usage is not so, they raise him again from that place where his body arrives at the ground.'

15. Completed in peace, pleasure, *and* joy².

CHAPTER XVIII³.

1. It is said in revelation that Aêshm⁴ rushed into the presence of Aharman⁵, and exclaimed thus: 'I *will* not go into the world, because Aôharmazd, the lord, has produced three things in the world, to which it is not possible *for* me to do anything whatever.'

2. Aharman exclaimed thus: 'Say which are those three things.'

3. Aêshm exclaimed thus: 'The season-festival

¹ Apparently a fragment of the place whereon the death took place is meant by *kadâm-1 pârak*.

² The miscellaneous passages which follow Sls. in M6 terminate at this point, which is the end of the first volume of that MS. The next three chapters are taken from the latter end of the other volume of M6.

³ Both this chapter and the next are also found in K20, the first being placed before the first part of Sls., and the second before the second part. Chap. XVIII also occurs in Dastûr Jâmâspji's MS. of the Bundahis, just after Chap. XXXIV of that text (see Introduction, p. xxx), and a Pâzand version of it occupies the same position in L7 and L22, and is translated by Justi as the last chapter of the Bundahis, in his German translation of that work (see Introduction, p. xxvi).

⁴ The demon of wrath (see Bund. XXVIII, 15–17).

⁵ See Bund. I, 3. Aêshm, as the chief agent of the evil spirit in his machinations against mankind, rushes into his master's presence in hell to complain of the difficulties he encounters.

(gâsânbâr)¹, the *sacred* feast (myazd), and next-of-kin marriage (khvêtk-das).'

¹ See Bund. XXV, 1, 3, 6. The six Gâhanbârs or season-festivals are held, respectively, on the 45th, 105th, 180th, 210th, 290th, and 365th days of the Parsi year. An explanation of the cause of the inequality of these intervals has been proposed by Mr. Khurshedji Rustamji Cama, which is well worthy of attention, and appears to have been first published in 1867 in Nos. 7 and 8 of his Zartosti Abhyas. His view is that the mediæval Zoroastrians, beginning their year at the vernal equinox (Bund. XXV, 6, 13, 21), recognised originally only two seasons, a summer of seven months and a winter of five (Bund. XXV, 7), and they held a festival, not only at the end of each season, that is, on the 210th and 365th days of their year, but also in the middle of each season, that is, on the 105th and 290th days of their year. That these two latter were mid-season festivals is proved by their Avesta names, Maidhyôshema and Maidhyâirya, beginning with the word maidhya, 'middle.' Later on, the Zoroastrians divided their year into four equal seasons, spring, summer, autumn, and winter (Bund. XXV, 20), and without interfering with their old festivals, they would, no doubt, have wished to celebrate the end and middle of each of their new seasons. The ends of these four seasons occur on the 90th, 180th, 270th, and 365th days of the year, and their mid-points are the 45th, 135th, 225th, and 320th days; but the Zoroastrians already held a festival on the 365th day, and celebrated midsummer and midwinter (the 135th and 320th days of their new calendar) on the 105th and 290th days of their year, and they would consider the 90th, 225th, and 270th days too close to their old festivals of the 105th, 210th, and 290th days to allow of the former being held as new festivals; so that they would have only the midspring festival, on the 45th day, and that of the end of summer, on the 180th day, to add to their old festivals. It may be objected that the end of summer was already celebrated on the 210th day, and, for this reason, it is more probable that the festivals were intended to celebrate the beginnings and mid-points of the seasons, rather than their ends and mid-points. According to this view, the six season-festivals were intended, respectively, to celebrate midspring, midsummer, the beginning of autumn, the beginning of winter, midwinter, and the beginning of spring. That they were also intended to commemorate, respectively, the

4. Aharman exclaimed thus: 'Enter into the season-festival! if one of those *present* shall steal a single thing the season-festival is violated, and the affair is *in accordance* with¹ thy wish; enter into the *sacred* feast²! if only one of those *present* shall chatter the *sacred* feast is violated, and the affair is *in accordance* with thy wish; *but* avoid next-of-kin marriage³! because I do not know a remedy for it; for whoever *has* gone four times near to *it will* not become parted from the possession of Aûharmazd and the archangels⁴.'

creations of the sky, water, earth, vegetation, animals, and man, is a belief of later times, derived probably from a foreign source.

¹ Reading pavan, 'with,' instead of barâ, 'beyond,' as in the next clause of the sentence (see p. 176, note 5).

² By the sacred feast is meant the consecration of sacred cakes, with meat-offerings and the recital of the Âfrîngâns or blessings (see Chaps. III, 32, XI, 4).

³ By next-of-kin marriage Parsis nowadays understand the marriage of first cousins, which they consider a specially righteous act; and the passages in Pahlavi texts, which appear to approve of marriages between brother and sister, father and daughter, and mother and son, they explain as referring to the practices of heretics (see Dastûr Pêshôtan's English translation of the Dînkard, p. 96, note). How far this explanation may be correct has not been ascertained, for the passages in question are rather obscure, and have not been thoroughly examined. But it is quite conceivable that the Parsi priesthood, about the time of the Muhammadan conquest (when the practice of next-of-kin marriage was most extolled), were anxious to prevent marriages with strangers, in order to hinder conversions to the foreign faith; and that they may, therefore, have extended the range of marriage among near relations beyond the limits now approved by their descendants.

⁴ The object of this chapter is evidently to extol the religious merit of next-of-kin marriage. A Persian version of the passage, contained in M5, fols. 54, 55, adds the following details: 'Therefore it is necessary to understand, that the chief next-of-kin marriage is that of a sister's daughter and brother's son; a medium

CHAPTER XIX.

1. The Yathâ-ahû-vairyô ¹ *formulas* that are necessary in each place, and how *they* are to be spoken in performing anything ².

2. One *by him* who goes forth to an assembly, or before grandees *and* chieftains, or on any business; or when he goes to ask for what he wants (val khvahîsnô); also when he quits any business; in each of these situations *he* is to say only one *formula*, so that his business may proceed more promptly ³.

next-of-kin marriage is that of a brother's son and a younger (dîgar) brother's daughter, or of a sister's son and a younger sister's daughter; and inferior to a medium next-of-kin marriage is that of a sister's son and a younger brother's daughter. It is necessary to know that any person who contracts a next-of-kin marriage, if *his* soul be *fit* for hell, will arrive among the ever-stationary (see Chap. VI, 2), if it is one of the ever-stationary it will arrive at heaven. Another particular is to be added; if any one, in departing, settles and strives for the next-of-kin marriage betrothal (paivand) of a next brother it is a good work of a thousand Tanâpûthars; if any one strives to break off a next-of-kin marriage betrothal he is worthy of death.'

¹ See Bund. I, 21.

² It appears from the ninth book of the Dînkard, that the contents of this chapter are derived from the first fargard of the Sûdkar Nask (see B. Yt. I, 1, note). The account given by the Dînkard contains fewer details, but, so far as it goes, it is in accordance with our text, except that it seems to transfer the object of § 10 to § 12, and removes the objects of §§ 12, 13 one step onwards; it also adds 'going on a bridge' to § 2. The Persian Rivâyat of Bahman Pûngyah gives further details, as will be mentioned in the notes below.

³ The Persian Rivâyat adds to these occasions, when he goes on the water, or a river, or goes to borrow, or to ask repayment of a loan, or goes out from his house, or comes into it.

3. *That* a blessing (âfrînô) may be more benedictory, for this *reason one* utters two *formulas*; for *there* are two kinds of blessing, one is that which is in the thoughts¹, and one is that which is in words.

4. Four are for coming out more thankfully when at a season-festival².

5. Five *by him* who goes to atone for sin, in order to expel the fiend; because it is necessary to undergo punishment by the decision (dastôbarîh) of these five persons, the house-ruler, the village-ruler, *the tribe-ruler*³, the province-ruler, and the supreme Zaratûst; and five Ashem-vohûs⁴ are to be uttered by him at the end.

6. Six *by him* who goes to seek power, and to battle, so that he may be more successful.

¹ The words pavan mînîsn are guessed, for this first clause is omitted by mistake in M6, and these two words are illegible in K20, except part of the last letter.

² K20 substitutes for val, 'at,' the following mutilated phrase: [. . . anhau khshapô kadârkkâi pavan kadârkkâi] madam vazlûnêd râdîh-i; the portion in brackets being evidently a fragment from the Hâdôkht Srôsh Yt. 5 with Pahlavi translation (a passage which treats of the efficacy of reciting the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô). If this fragment be not merely a marginal gloss, which has crept into the text by mistake, we must translate the whole section as follows: 'Four are for the more thankful coming out of the liberality of a season-festival, when the *passage*, "*on that day nor on that night comes there anything whatever on any one*," goes on.' The Dînkard has merely: 'Four *by him* who is at the invocation of the chiefs of *creation and* the celebration of a season-festival.' The Persian Rivâyats omit the section altogether.

³ This person is omitted both in M6 and K20, but he is wanted to make up the five. This section is omitted by the Persian Rivâyats.

⁴ See Bund. XX, 2. These are to be recited after the punishment is over.

7. Seven *by him* who goes to perform the worship of God (yazdân), *so that* the archangels may come more forward¹ at the worship.

8. Eight *by him* who goes to perform the ceremonial of the righteous guardian spirit.

9. Nine *by him* who goes to sow corn; these he utters for this *reason*, because the corn will ripen (rasêd) in nine months, *and* so that the corn may come forward he will make the mischief of the noxious creatures less².

10. Ten *by him* who goes to seek a wife, so that the presents may be favourable for the purpose.

11. Ten *by him* who wishes to allow the male *access* to beasts of *burden* and cattle, so that it may be more procreative³.

12. Eleven *by him* who goes to the lofty mountains, so that the glory of mountains and hills may bless him *and* be friendly⁴.

13. Twelve *by him* who goes to the low districts, so that the glory of that country and district may bless him and be friendly⁵.

14. Thirteen *by him* who shall become pathless; *at* that same place he shall utter *them*; or *by him*

¹ Or 'may arrive earlier;' there being seven archangels has suggested the number seven. This section and the next are omitted by the Persian Rivâyats.

² The Persian Rivâyats add general cultivation, planting trees, and cohabitation with one's wife.

³ Instead of §§ 10, 11 the Persian Rivâyats have buying quadrupeds, and driving pegs into the ground for picketing them.

⁴ The Persian Rivâyats substitute conference with a maiden, seeking a wife, giving one's children in marriage, and obtaining anything from another.

⁵ The Persian Rivâyats add going up hills, mounting anything lofty, going on a bridge, and losing one's way.

who shall pass over a bridge and a river, so that the spirit of that water may bless him¹; because the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô is greater and more successful *than* everything in the Avesta as to all rivers, all wholesomeness, and all protection.

15. Religion is as connected with the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô as the hair is more connected with the glory of the face; any one, indeed, would dread (*samâd*) to separate hairiness *and* the glory of the face.

CHAPTER XX².

1. *In* one place it is declared that it is said by revelation (*dînô*) that a man is to go as much as possible (*kand vês-ast*) to the abode of fires³, and the salutation (*ntyâyisnô*) of fire⁴ is to be performed *with* reverence; because three times every day the archangels form an assembly in the abode of fires, and shed good works and righteousness there; and then the good works and righteousness, which are shed there, become more lodged in the body of *him* who goes much thither, and performs many salutations of fire *with* reverence.

¹ The Persian Rivâyats substitute going to and entering a city or town; they also add twenty-one recitations on setting out on a journey, so that the angel Bahrâm may grant a safe arrival.

² The contents of this chapter conclude the MS. M6; a few lines even having been lost at the end of that MS., though preserved in some of its older copies. A more modern copy, in the MS. No. 121 of the Ouseley collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, contains §§ 4-17, appended to the Bundahis. Complete Pâzand versions, derived from M6, occur in L7 and L22, immediately following the Pâzand of Chap. XVIII.

³ The fire-temple.

⁴ That is, the Âtâs Nyâyis is to be recited.

2. This, too, that the nature of wisdom is just like fire; for, in this world, *there* is nothing which shall become so complete as that thing which is made with wisdom; and every fire, too, that they kindle and *one* sees from far, makes manifest *what is* safe and uninjured (atrâkht); whatever is safe in fire is safe for ever, and whatever is uninjured in fire is uninjured for ever.

3. This, too, that a disposition in which is no wisdom is such-like as a clear, unsullied (anâhûk) fountain which is choked (bastö) and never goes into use; and the disposition with which *there* is wisdom is such-like as a clear, unsullied fountain, over which an industrious man stands *and* takes *it* into use; cultivation restrains *it*, and it gives crops (bar) to the world.

4. This, too, that these three things are to be done by men, to force the *demon of* corruption (nasûs)¹ far away from the body, to be steadfast in the religion, and to perform good works. 5. To force the *demon of* corruption far away from the body is this, that before the sun *has* come up *one* is to wash the hands² and face with bull's urine and water; to be steadfast in the religion is this, that *one* is to reverence the sun³; and to perform good works is this, that *one* is to destroy several noxious creatures.

6. This, too, that the three greatest concerns of men are these, to make him who is an enemy a friend, to make him who is wicked righteous, and to make him who is ignorant learned. 7. To make

¹ See Chap. II, 1.

² See Chap. VII, 7.

³ See Chap. VII, 1-6.

an enemy a friend is this, that out of the worldly wealth *one* has before him he keeps a friend in mind; to make a wicked *one* righteous is this, that from the sin, whereby he becomes wicked, *one* turns him away; and to make an ignorant *one* learned is this, that *one* is to manage himself so that he who is ignorant may learn of him.

8. This, too, *that* the walks of men are to be directed chiefly to these three places, to the abode of the well-informed, to the abode of the good, *and* to the abode of fires¹. 9. To the abode of the well-informed, that so *one* may become wiser, and religion be more lodged in *one's* person; to the abode of the good for this *reason*, that so, among good and evil, he may thereby renounce the evil and carry home *the good*²; and to the abode of fires for this *reason*, that so the spiritual fiend may turn away from him.

10. This, too, that *he* whose actions are for the soul, the world is then his own, and the spiritual *existence* more his own; and *he* whose actions are for the body, the spiritual *existence* has *him* at pleasure, *and* they snatch the world from him compulsorily.

11. This, too, that Bakht-âfrîd³ said, that every Gâtha (gâsân)⁴ of Aûharmazd has been an opposi-

¹ The fire-temple.

² Assuming that the word *rapîrîh*, 'the good,' has been omitted by mistake; the sentence appearing to be unintelligible without it.

³ See B. Yt. I, 7.

⁴ The word *gâsân* being plural, Gâtha must be taken in its collective sense as an assemblage of hymns. The word can also be read *dahîsn*, 'creation,' but this meaning seems improbable here.

tion of the one adversary, and the renunciation *of sin* (patittk)¹ for the opposition of every fiend.

12. This, too, that, regarding the world, anxiety is not to be suffered, it is not to be considered as anything whatever, and is not to be let slip from the hand. 13. Anxiety is not to be suffered for this *reason*, because that which is ordained will happen; it is not to be considered as anything whatever for this *reason*, because should it be expedient it is necessary to abandon *it*; and it is not to be let slip from the hand for this *reason*, because it is proper, in the world, to provide a spiritual *existence* for oneself.

14. This, too, that the best thing is truth, and the worst thing is deceit; and *there* is *he* who speaks true *and* thereby becomes wicked, and *there* is *he* who speaks false *and* thereby becomes righteous.

15. This, too, that fire is not to be extinguished², for *this* is a sin; and *there* is *he* who extinguishes *it*, *and* is good.

16. This, too, is declared, that nothing is to be given to the vile; and *there* is *he* by whom the best and most pleasant ragout (khûrdik) is to be given to the vile.

17. On these, too, is the attention of men *to be fixed*, because *there* is a remedy for everything but death, a hope for everything but wickedness, everything will lapse³ except righteousness, it is possible

¹ That is, the Patit or formula of renunciation (see Chap. IV, 14).

² Literally, 'killed.'

³ M6 ends at this point, the next folio being lost. The remainder of the chapter has been recovered from a copy in Bombay, checked by the Pâz. MSS. L7 and L22, all of which must have

to manage everything but temper (gôhar), and it is possible *for* everything to change but divine providence (bakô-bakhtô).

18. This, too, is declared, that Frêdûn¹ wished to slay Az-i Dahâk², *but* Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Do not slay *him* now, for the earth will become full of noxious creatures.'

CHAPTER XXI³.

1. I write the indication of the midday shadow; may it be fortunate!

2. Should the sun come⁴ into Cancer *the shadow* is one foot of the man, *at* the fifteenth *degree* of Cancer *it* is one foot; *when* the sun is at Leo *it* is

been derived from M6 before it lost its last folio; whereas the MS. No. 121 of the Ouseley collection at Oxford, which ends at the same point, must have been written after the folio was lost.

¹ See Bund. XXXI, 7.

² See Bund. XXIX, 9, XXXI, 6, B. Yt. III, 55-61.

³ The contents of this chapter, regarding the lengths of midday and afternoon shadows, immediately follow a tale of Gôst-i Fryânô, which is appended to the book of Ardâ-Vîrâf's journey to the other world, both in M6 and K20. As will be seen from the notes, these details about shadows were probably compiled at Yazd in Persia, as they are suitable only for that latitude.

⁴ Reading âyad-ae (a very rare form), or it may be intended for hômanâe, 'should it be,' but it is written in both MSS. exactly like the two ciphers for the numeral 5. Mullâ Fîrûz in his Avîgeh Dîn, p. 279 seq., takes 5 khadûk pâî as implying that the shadow is under the sole of the foot, or the sun overhead; but neither this reading, nor the more literal 'one-fifth of a foot,' can be reconciled with the other measures; though if we take 5 as standing for pangak, 'the five *soes* or sole,' we might translate as follows: 'When the sun is at Cancer, *the shadow* is the sole of one foot of the man.'

one foot and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Leo *it* is two feet; *when* the sun is at Virgo *it* is two feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Virgo *it* is three feet and a half; *at* Libra *it* is four¹ feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Libra *it* is five feet and a half²; *at* Scorpio *it* is six feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Scorpio *it* is seven³ feet and a half; *at* Sagittarius *it* is eight feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Sagittarius *it* is nine feet and a half; *at* Capricornus *it* is ten feet, *at* the fifteenth of Capricornus *it* is nine⁴ feet and a half; *at* Aquarius *it* is eight⁵ feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Aquarius *it* is seven feet and a half; *at* Pisces *it* is six feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Pisces *it* is five feet and a half; *at* Aries *it* is four feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Aries *it* is three feet and a half; *at* Taurus *it* is two feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Taurus *it* is two feet; *at* Gemini *it* is one foot and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Gemini *it* is one foot⁶.

¹ K20 has 'three' by mistake.

² M6 omits 'and a half' by mistake.

³ K20 has 'six' by mistake.

⁴ Both MSS. omit one cipher, and have only 'six,' but the shadow must be the same here as at the fifteenth of Sagittarius.

⁵ Both MSS. have 'seven,' which is clearly wrong.

⁶ It is obvious that, as the length of a man's shadow depends upon the height of the sun, each of these observations of his noonday shadow determines the altitude of the sun at noon, and is, therefore, a rude observation for finding the latitude of the place, provided we know the ratio of a man's foot to his stature. According to Bund. XXVI, 3 a man's stature is eight spans (vitast), and according to Farh. Okh. p. 41 a vitast is twelve finger-breadths, and a foot is fourteen (see Bund. XXVI, 3, note), so that a man's stature of eight spans is equivalent to 6½ feet. Assuming this to have been the ratio adopted by the observer, supposing the obliquity of the ecliptic to have been 23° 35' (as it

3. The midday shadow is written¹, may *its* end be good!

4. I write the indication of the Aûzêrîn (afternoon)² *period of the day*; may it be well and fortunate by the help of God (yazdân)!

5. When the day is at a maximum (pavan afzûnô), and the sun comes unto the head³ of Cancer, and *one's* shadow becomes six feet and two parts⁴, he makes *it* the Aûzêrîn period (gâs). 6.

was about A.D. 1000), and calculating the latitude from each of the thirteen different lengths of shadow, the mean result is $32^{\circ} 1'$ north latitude, which is precisely the position assigned to Yazd (the head-quarters of the small remnant of Zoroastrians in Persia) on some English maps, though some foreign maps place it $15'$ or $20'$ farther south. With regard to the rough nature of this mode of observation it may be remarked that, as the lengths of the shadows are noted only to half a foot, there is a possible error of a quarter-foot in any of them; this would produce a possible error of $2^{\circ} 4'$ in the midsummer observation of latitude, and of $39'$ in the midwinter one; or a mean possible error of $1^{\circ} 22'$ in any of the observations; so that the possible error in the mean of thirteen observations is probably not more than $6'$, and the probable error is even less, provided the data have been assumed correctly.

¹ Reading nipist, but only the first and last letters are legible in M6, and the middle letter is omitted in K20.

² See Bund. XXV, 9.

³ The word sar, 'head,' usually means 'the end,' but it must be here taken as 'the beginning;' perhaps, because the zodiacal signs are supposed to come head-foremost.

⁴ What portion of a foot is meant by bâhar, 'part,' is doubtful. It can hardly be a quarter, because 'two quarters' would be too clumsy a term for 'a half.' But it appears from §§ 5-7 that the shadow, necessary to constitute the Aûzêrîn period, is taken as increasing uniformly from six feet and two parts to fourteen feet and two parts, an increase of eight feet in six months, or exactly one foot and one-third per month, as stated in the text. And, deducting this monthly increase of one foot and one-third from the seven and a half feet shadow at the end of the first month, we have six feet and one-sixth remaining for the shadow at the

Every thirty days it always increases one foot *and* one-third, therefore about every ten days the reckoning is always half a foot ¹, *and when* the sun is at the head of Leo the shadow is seven ² feet *and* a half. 7. In this series every *zodiacal* constellation is *treated* alike, and the months alike, until the sun comes unto the head of Capricornus, *and* the shadow becomes fourteen feet and two parts. 8. In Capricornus it diminishes again a foot *and* one-third ³; *and* from there *where* it turns back, because of the decrease of the night and increase of the day, it always diminishes one foot *and* one-third every one of the months, *and* about every ten days the reckoning is always half a foot, until it comes back to six feet and two parts; every *zodiacal* constellation *being treated* alike, and the months alike ⁴.

beginning of the month. Hence we may conclude that the 'two parts' are equal to one-sixth, and each 'part' is one-twelfth of a foot.

¹ Meaning that the increase of shadow is to be taken into account as soon as it amounts to half a foot, that is, about every ten days. Practically, half a foot would be added on the tenth and twentieth days, and the remaining one-third of a foot at the end of the month.

² Both MSS. have 'eight,' but this would be inconsistent with the context, as it is impossible that 'six feet and two parts' can become 'eight feet and a half' by the addition of 'one foot and one-third,' whatever may be the value of the 'two parts' of a foot.

³ Both MSS. have 3 yak-1 pāî, instead of pāî 3 yak-1.

⁴ This mode of determining the beginning of the afternoon period is not so clumsy as it appears, as it keeps the length of that period exceedingly uniform for the six winter months with some increase in the summer time. In latitude 32° north, where the longest day is about 13 hours 56 minutes, and the shortest is 10 hours 4 minutes, these observations of a man's shadow make the afternoon period begin about 3½ hours before sunset at mid-

CHAPTER XXII¹.

1. May Aûharmazd give *thee* the august rank and throne of a champion ²!

2. May Vohûman give thee wisdom! may the benefit of knowing Vohûman³ be good thought, and mayest thou be acting well, that is, saving the soul!

3. May Ardavahist, the beautiful, give thee understanding and intellect!

4. May Shatvairô grant thee wealth from every generous one!

5. May Spendarmad grant thee praise through the seed of *thy* body! may she give thee *as* wife a woman from the race of the great!

6. May Horvadađ grant thee plenty and prosperity!

7. May Amerôdad grant thee herds of four-footed *beasts*!

summer, diminishing to $2\frac{3}{4}$ hours at the autumnal equinox, and then remaining very nearly constant till the vernal equinox.

¹ These last two chapters are found written upon some folios which have been added to the beginning of M6; but, though not belonging to that MS. originally, they are still very old. The first of these two chapters has not been found elsewhere; it is an elaborate benediction, in which the writer calls down, upon some one, a series of blessings from each of the thirty archangels and angels whose names are given to the days of the Parsi month in the order in which they here stand (compare the same names in Bund. XXVII, 24).

² The meaning of the word *pâdrôg* or *pâdrang* (which occurs also in §§ 12, 26, and appears to be a title) may be guessed from the following passage in the *Yâdkâr-i Zarîrân*, or *Vistâsp-shâh-nâmak*: Pavan har razm va pâdrazm-i lak pîrôg va vêh pâdrôg sem yâityûnî-ae, 'in every attack and counter-attack of thine mayest thou bring *away* the title of conqueror and good champion!'

³ The reading is uncertain.

8. May Dīnô always secure¹ *thee* the support of the creator Aûharmazd!

9. May the light of the sublime Âtarô² hold thy throne in heaven!

10. May Âvân grant thee wealth from every generous one!

11. May Khûr hold thee without mystery *and* doubt among the great and *thy* compeers (ham-budîkân)!

12. May Mâh give thee an assistant, who is the assistant of champions!

13. May Tîstar hold thee a traveller in the countries of the seven regions!

14. Gôsûrvan the archangel³ is the protection of four-footed *beasts*.

15. May Dīnô always remain *for thee as* the support of the creator Aûharmazd!

16. May Mitrô be thy judge, who shall wish thy existence *to be* vigorous!

17. May Srôsh the righteous, the smiter of demons, keep greed, wrath, and want⁴ far from thee! may he destroy *them, and* may he not seize thee *as* unjust!

18. May Rashnû be thy conductor⁵ to the resplendent heaven!

¹ This verb is doubtful; here and in § 23 it is netrûnâd, 'may she guard,' but in § 15 it is ketrûnâd, 'may she remain.'

² Bûrâz âtarô, 'the sublime fire,' seems to be a personification of the fire Berezi-savang of Bund. XVII, 1, 3, the Supremely-benefiting of SZS. XI, 1, 6.

³ She is usually called an angel. Either the verb is omitted in this section, or it is not a blessing; and the same may be said of §§ 20, 25.

⁴ These are the three fiends, Âz, Aeshm, and Nîyâz (see Bund. XXVIII, 15-17, 26, 27).

⁵ It is very possible that the verb should be yehabûnâd,

19. May Fravardîn give thee offspring, which may bear the name of *thy* race!

20. Vâhrâm the victorious is the stimulator of the warlike.

21. May Râm, applauding the life of a praiser of the persistent¹ lord, keep thee perfect (aspar), that is, living three hundred years², undying and undecaying unto the end of *thy* days!

22. May Vâd bring thee peace³ from the resplendent heaven!

23. May Dînô always secure *thee* the support of the creator Aûharmazd!

24. May Dînô become thy guest in thy home and dwelling!

25. Arshisang, the beautiful, is the resplendent glory of the Kayâns.

26. May Âstâd be thy helper, who is the assistant of champions!

27. May Âsmân bless thee with all skill and wealth!

instead of yehevûnâd, in which case we should have 'give thee a passport.'

¹ The meaning of khvâpar (Av. *hvaâpara*) is by no means certain; it is an epithet of Aûharmazd, angels, and spirits, and is then often assumed to mean 'protecting;' but it is also a term applied to the earth and offspring; perhaps 'self-sustaining' would suit both its etymology and its various applications best, but the root *par* has many other meanings.

² That is, two great cycles. It is usual for the copyists of Pahlavi MSS. to wish, in their colophons, that the persons for whom the MSS. are written, whether themselves or others, may retain the MSS. for a hundred and fifty years before leaving them to their children; which period is mentioned because it is supposed to constitute a great cycle of the moon and planets.

³ Written drûd instead of drûd.

28. May Zamyâd destroy for thee the demon and fiend out of thy dwelling!

29. May Mâraspend hold thee a throne in the resplendent heaven!

30. May Anîrân the immortal, with every kind of all wealth, become thy desire! the horses of God (yazdân)¹ who shall come that he may go, and thou mayest obtain a victory.

31. May destiny give thee a helper! he is the guardian of the *celestial* sphere for all these arch-angels whose names I have brought *forward*; may he be thy helper *at* all times, in every good work and duty!

32. Homage to Srit² the teacher! may he live long! may he be prosperous *in* the land! may *his* be every pleasure and joy, *and* every glory of the Kayâns, through the will of the persistent Aûharmazd!

CHAPTER XXIII.

o. In the name of God and the good creation be health³!

1. Aûharmazd is more creative, Vohûman is more

¹ Both nouns are in the plural, and both verbs in the singular. Anîrân is a personification of Av. *anaghra raoḱau*, 'the beginningless lights,' or fixed stars (which, however, are said to have been created by Aûharmazd in Bund. II, 1), and these stars appear to have been considered as horses of the angels (Bund. VI, 3, SZS. VI, 1). There are several uncertain phrases in §§ 30-32.

² This would appear to be the name of the person to whom the benediction is addressed, as it can hardly be meant for the ancient hero Thrîta, the Athrat of Bund. XXXI, 27, and the Sritô of SZS. XI, 10, note.

³ Two versions of this chapter, detailing the qualities of the

embellished¹, *Ardavahist* is more brilliant², *Shatvairô* is more exalted³, *Spendarmad* is more fruitful⁴, *Horvada* is moister⁵, *Amerôdad* is fatter⁶.

2. *Dîn-pa-Âtarô* is just like *Aûharmazd*⁷, *Âtarô* is hotter⁸, *Âvân* is more golden⁹, *Khûr* is more observant¹⁰, *Mâh* is more protective¹¹, *Tîr* is more liberal, *Gôs* is swifter¹².

3. *Dîn¹³-pa-Mitrô* is just like *Aûharmazd*, *Mitrô* is more judicial, *Srôsh* is more vigorous, *Rashn* is more just, *Fravardîn* is more powerful, *Vâhrâm* is more victorious, *Râm* is more pleasing, *Vâd* is more fragrant.

4. *Dîn-pa-Dînô* is just like *Aûharmazd*, *Dînô* is more valuable, *Ard*¹⁴ is more beautiful, *Âstâd* is purer, *Âsmân* is more lofty, *Zamyâd* is more conclusive, *Mâraspend* is more

thirty angels and archangels, are extant; one in M6, which has lost §§ 3-5, and the other in a very old MS. in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis at Bombay. This latter, being complete, is here taken as the text, while the variations of M6, which occur in nearly every epithet, are given in the notes. Which version is the oldest can hardly be ascertained with certainty from the state of the MSS. M6 omits this opening benediction.

¹ M6 has 'more nimble.'

² M6 has 'more discriminative.'

³ M6 has 'more active.'

⁴ M6 has 'more complete.'

⁵ M6 has 'fatter.'

⁶ M6 has 'more fruitful.'

⁷ M6 has 'Dînô is more desirous.'

⁸ M6 has 'more heating.'

⁹ Referring perhaps to the golden channels (Bund. XIII, 4, 5) through which the water of *Arêdvîvsûr* (a title of the angel *Âvân*, 'waters') is supposed to flow. M6 has 'more glittering.'

¹⁰ M6 has 'more embellished.'

¹¹ M6 has *varpântar*, the meaning of which is uncertain.

¹² M6 has 'more listening.'

¹³ The version in M6 ends here; the next folio being lost.

¹⁴ The same as *Arshirang* (see Bund. XXII, 4).

conveying the religion, Antrân is the extreme of exertion *and* listening¹.

5. May it be completed in peace and pleasure !

¹ The reading of both these nouns is uncertain. The days of the Parsi month, which bear the names of these thirty angels, are divided, it will be observed, into four nearly equal divisions, resembling weeks, which are here separated in §§ 1-4. The first weekly period begins with a day dedicated to Aûharmazd, and called by his own name ; and each of the three other weekly periods also begins with a day dedicated to Aûharmazd, but called by the name of Dîn, 'religion,' with the name of the following day added as a cognomen. The first week, therefore, consists of the day Aûharmazd followed by six days named after the six archangels respectively (see Bund. I, 23, 26). The second week consists of the day Dîn-with-Âtarô followed by six days named after the angels of fire, waters, the sun, the moon, Mercury, and the primeval ox. The third week consists of the day Dîn-with-Mitrô followed by seven days named after the angels of solar light, obedience, and justice, the guardian spirits, and the angels of victory, pleasure, and wind. And the fourth week consists of the day Dîn-with-Dînô followed by seven days named after the angels of religion, righteousness, rectitude, the sky, the earth, the liturgy, and the fixed stars.

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OBSERVATIONS.

1. The references in this index are to the pages of the introduction, and to the chapters and sections of the translations; the chapters being denoted by the larger ciphers.

2. References to passages which contain special information are given in parentheses.

3. Though different forms of the same name may occur in the translations, only one form is usually given in the index, to which the references to all forms are attached; except when the forms differ so much as to require to be widely separated in the index.

4. Pahlavi forms are always given in preference to Pâzand and Persian, when only one is mentioned; but where only a Pâzand form occurs it is printed in italics, as Pâzand orthography is usually corrupt. In all such italicised names any letters, which would elsewhere be italic, are printed in roman type.

5. Abbreviations used are :—Av. for Avesta word; Bd. for Bundahis; Byt. for Bahman Yast; ch. for chapter of Visparad; com. for commentator and commentary; Gug. for Gugarâti; Huz. for Huzvâris; Int. for Introduction; lun. man. for lunar mansion; m. for mountain; meas. for measure; n for foot-note; Pahl. for Pahlavi; Pâz. for Pâzand; Pers. for Persian; r. for river; Sl. for Shâyast lâ-shâyast; trans. for translation; wt. for weight; zod. for zodiacal constellation; Zs. for Selections of Zâd-spâram.

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Záinigäv, man, Bd. 31, 6.
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Zairivairi, prince, Bd. 31, 29.
Zâl, man, Bd. 31, 37 n.
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Zav, king, Bd. 31, 23 n.
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Zendah r., Bd. 20, 15 n.
Zisak, man, Bd. 32, 1 n.
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ERRATA.

P. 133, note 6, for 'daughter' read 'grand-daughter.'

P. 161, note 4, for 'Dâd-sparam' read 'Zâd-sparam;' also in p. 167, note 5; p. 168, note 2; p. 177, note 3; p. 182, note 1; p. 184, note 1.

P. 199, note 6, for 'Shâpûr I' read 'Shâpûr II.'

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zand.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.								
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis	k	. . .	. . .	क	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k	
2 " aspirata	kh	. . .	. . .	ख	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	kh	
3 Media	g	. . .	. . .	ग	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	. . .	
4 " aspirata	gh	. . .	. . .	घ	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	. . .	
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	. . .	. . .	ङ	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	. . .	
6 Nasalis	h (ng)	. . .	. . .	ञ	{ 3 (ng) 𐬚 (N) 𐬛 (hv)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	
7 Spiritus asper	h	. . .	. . .	ट	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	h, hs	
8 " lenis	'	. . .	. . .	ड	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	
9 " asper faucalis	'h	. . .	. . .	ण	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	. . .	. . .	त	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	
11 " asper fricatus	'h	. . .	. . .	थ	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	
12 " lenis fricatus	'h	. . .	. . .	द	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis	k	. . .	. . .	च	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	k	
14 " aspirata	kh	. . .	. . .	छ	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	kh	
15 Media	g	. . .	. . .	ज	𐬣	𐬣	𐬣	𐬣	𐬣	. . .	
16 " aspirata	gh	. . .	. . .	झ	𐬤	𐬤	𐬤	𐬤	𐬤	. . .	
17 " Nasalis	ñ	. . .	. . .	ञ	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	. . .	

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y	...	...	य	𐬨 𐬩 𐬪 init.	𐬨	ي	ي	,	y
19 Spiritus asper	...	(ȳ)	...	...	...	𐬨	...	...	...	...
20 " lenis	...	(ȳ)	...	...	...	𐬨	...	...	...	...
21 " asper assibilatus	...	s	...	श	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
22 " lenis assibilatus	...	z	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	z
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t	...	...	त	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	t
24 " aspirata	th	...	...	थ	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	th
25 " assibata	...	...	TH	...	...	𐬨	...	...	...	...
26 Media	d	...	...	द	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
27 " aspirata	dh	...	...	ध	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
28 " assibata	...	...	DH	...	...	𐬨	...	...	...	...
29 Nasalis	n	...	...	न	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	n
30 Semivocalis	l	...	...	ल	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	l
31 " mollis 1	...	l	...	...	...	𐬨	...	...	...	...
32 " mollis 2	...	...	L	...	...	𐬨	...	...	...	...
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	...	...	स	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	s
34 " asper 2	...	...	s (ʃ)	...	...	𐬨	...	...	...	...
35 " lenis	z	...	...	...	...	𐬨	...	...	...	z
36 " asperimus 1	...	...	z (ʒ)	...	...	𐬨	...	...	...	...
37 " asperimus 2	...	...	z (ʒ)	...	...	𐬨	...	...	...	...

Dentales modificatae
(linguales, &c.)

38	Tennis	.....	..
39	" aspirata	.....	..
40	Media	.....	..
41	" aspirata	.....	..
42	Nasalis	.....	..
43	Semivocalis	.....	r
44	" fricata	.....	..
45	" diacritica	.....	..
46	Spiritus asper	.....	sh
47	" lenis	.....	zh

Labiales.

48	Tennis	.....	p
49	" aspirata	.....	ph
50	Media	.....	b
51	" aspirata	.....	bh
52	Tenuissima	.....	...
53	Nasalis	.....	m
54	Semivocalis	.....	w
55	" aspirata	.....	hw
56	Spiritus asper	.....	f
57	" lenis	.....	v
58	Anusvāra	.....	...
59	Visarga	.....	...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
	0									
1 Neutralis	0			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ɔ			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3 " labialis	ɔ			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4 Gutturalis brevis	a			अ	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	ا	א	...
5 " longa	ā	(a)		आ	𐬁	𐬁	𐬁	آ	א	...
6 Palatalis brevis	i			इ	𐬂	𐬂	𐬂	ي	י	...
7 " longa	ī	(i)		ई	𐬃	𐬃	𐬃	יי	י	...
8 Dentalis brevis	ɛ			ए	...	...	...	...	...	...
9 " longa	ē			ऐ	...	...	...	...	...	...
10 Lingualis brevis	ɪ			ऋ	...	...	...	...	...	...
11 " longa	ī			ॠ	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 Labialis brevis	u			उ	...	...	...	...	...	...
13 " longa	ū			ऊ	...	...	...	...	...	...
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e			ए	...	...	...	...	...	...
15 " longa	ē	(e)		ऐ	...	...	...	...	...	...
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	ai	(ai)		ऐ	...	...	...	...	...	...
17 " "	ei	(ēi)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
18 " "	oi	(ōi)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20 " longa	ō	(o)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	au	(au)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
22 " "	eu	(ēu)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
23 " "	on	(ōn)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
25 Palatalis fracta	ī			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
26 Labialis fracta	ū			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ō			...	...	...	...	...	...	...



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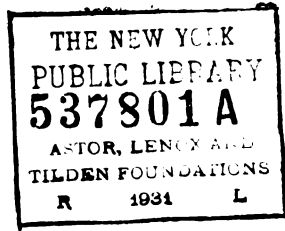
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PAHLAVI TEXTS

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E. W. WEST

PART II

THE DĀDISTĀN-Ī DĪNĪK AND THE EPISTLES
OF MĀNŪSKĪHAR

Orford

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1882

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INTRODUCTION.

I. GENERAL REMARKS.

THE Pahlavi texts selected for translation in this volume are distinguished from all others by the peculiarity that both the name and station of their author and the time in which he lived are distinctly recorded.

His name, *Mânûskihar*, son of *Yûdân-Yim* (or *Gûsn-dam*), is mentioned in each of the headings and colophons to the *Dâdîstân-î Dînîk* and the three Epistles attributed to him. He is styled simply *aêrpat*, or 'priest,' in the headings of Eps. I and II, and *aêrpat khûdâî*, or 'priestly lordship,' in that of Ep. III; but he is called the *rad*, 'pontiff, or executive high-priest,' of *Pârs* and *Kirmân*, and the *farmâdâr*, 'director,' of the profession of priests, in the colophons to Dd. and Ep. II; and we learn from Dd. XLV, 5 that the *farmâdâr* was also the *pesûpâî*, or 'leader' of the religion, the supreme high-priest of the *Mazda*-worshipping faith.

Regarding his family we learn, from Ep. I, iii, 10, vii, 5, that his father, *Yûdân-Yim*, son of *Shahpûhar*, had been the leader of the religion before him; and his own succession to this dignity indicates that he was the eldest surviving son of his father, who, in his declining years, seems to have been assisted by his advice (Ep. I, iii, 11). We also learn, from the heading of his second epistle, that *Zâd-spam* was his brother, and this is confirmed by the language used in Ep. II, vi, 1, ix, 6, and by *Zâd-spam* being a son of the same father (Eps. I, heading, III, 2); that he was a younger brother appears from the general tone of authority over him adopted by *Mânûskihar* in his epistles. Shortly before these epistles were written, *Zâd-spam* appears to have been at *Sarakhs* (Ep. II, v, 3), in

the extreme north-east of Khurāsān, where he probably came in contact with the Tughazghuz (Ep. II, i, 12) and adopted some of their heretical opinions, and whence he may have travelled through Nivshahpûhar (Ep. II, i, 2, note) and Shîrâz (Ep. II, v, 3, 4) on his way to Sîrkân to take up his appointment as high-priest of the south (Eps. I, heading, II, i, 4, v, 9, vii, 1, viii, 1, Zs. I, o). Soon after his arrival at Sîrkân he issued a decree, regarding the ceremonies of purification, which led to complaints from the people of that place, and compelled his brother to interfere by writing epistles, threatening him with deprivation of office (Ep. I, xi, 7) and the fate of a heretic (Eps. II, viii, 2, 3, III, 17-19). That Zâd-sparam finally submitted, so far as not to be deprived of his office, appears from his still retaining his position in the south while writing his Selections (Zs. I, o), which must have been compiled at some later period, free from the excitement of active and hazardous controversy.

The age in which Mânûsîhar lived is decided by the date attached to his third epistle, or public notification, to the Mazda-worshippers of Irân; which date is the third month of the year 250 of Yazdakard (Ep. III, 21), corresponding to the interval between the 14th June and 13th July A.D. 881; at which time, we learn, he was an old man (Ep. II, ix, 1), but not too old to travel (Eps. I, iii, 13, xi, 4, II, v, 5, vi, 4, 6, vii, 3, viii, 4, 5).

His writings, therefore, represent the state of the Zoroastrian religion a thousand years ago; and it may be presumed, from the importance and influentialness of his position, that his representations can be implicitly relied upon. To detect any differences there may be between the tenets and religious customs he describes, and those upheld by Zoroastrians of the present time, would require all the learning and experience of a Parsi priest; but, so far as a European can judge, from these writings and his own limited knowledge of existing religious customs among the Parsis, the change has been less than in any other form of religion during the same period.

The manuscripts containing the writings of Mânûsîhar

are of two classes, one represented in Europe by the codex No. 35 of the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi manuscripts in the University Library at Copenhagen, the other represented by No. 14 of the Haug Collection of similar manuscripts in the State Library at Munich, which two manuscripts are called K35 and M14, respectively, in this volume. In the former of these classes, represented by K35, the *Dâdîstân-î Dînîk* occupies the central third of the codex; being preceded by a nearly equal extent of other miscellaneous religious writings of rather later date, resembling a Pahlavi *Rivâyat*; and being followed by a third series of similar writings of about the same age and extent as the *Dâdîstân-î Dînîk*, which includes the Epistles of *Mânûskîhar* and the Selections of *Zâd-spâram*. In the latter class of manuscripts, from which M14 is descended, the text of the *Dâdîstân-î Dînîk* contains many variations from that in the former class, as if it had been revised by some one whose knowledge of Pahlavi was insufficient to decipher difficult passages, and who had freely exercised his editorial license in altering and mutilating the text to suit his own limited comprehension of it.

The codex K35, which was brought from Persia by the late Professor Westergaard in 1843, is one of the most important manuscripts of the former class, and now consists of 181 folios; but it is incomplete at both ends, having lost seventy-one folios at the beginning and about thirty-five at the end. It still includes, however, the whole of the *Dâdîstân-î Dînîk* and the Epistles of *Mânûskîhar*; though its date has been lost with its last folios. But this date can be recovered from an old copy of this codex existing in India (here called BK) and still containing a colophon, probably copied from K35¹, which states that the manuscript was

¹ One reason for supposing that this colophon was so copied is that K35 does not seem older than the date mentioned in it. Another reason is that the loss of the end of this colophon in BK allows us to assume that it was followed by another colophon, as is often the case in copies of old MSS. A colophon that extends to the end of the last folio of a manuscript can never be safely assumed to belong to that manuscript, because it may have been followed by others on further folios.

completed by Marzapân Frêdûn Vâhrôm Rûstâm Bôndâr Malkâ-mardân Dîn-ayâr, on the day Âsmân of the month Amerôdad A.Y. 941 (19th March, 1572), in the district of the Dahikân in the land of Kirmân. The end of this colophon is lost with the last folio of BK, which renders it possible that the last folio contained the further colophon of this copy.

That BK is descended from K35 is proved by its containing several false readings, which are clearly due to mis-shapen letters and accidental marks in K35. And that it was copied direct from that codex is proved by the last words of thirty-two of its pages being marked with interlined circles in K35, which circles must have been the copyist's marks for finding his place, when beginning a fresh page after turning over his folios. This copy of K35 has lost many of its folios, in various parts, but most of the missing text has been recently restored from the modern manuscript J, mentioned below; there are still, however, eleven folios of text missing, near the end of the codex, part of which can be hereafter recovered from TK, described below. The independent value of BK is that it supplies the contents of the seventy-one folios lost at the beginning of K35, and of about nineteen of the folios missing at the end of that codex.

A third manuscript of the first class, which may be even more important than K35, was brought to Bombay from Persia about fifteen years ago, and belongs to Mr. Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria, of Bombay, but it has not been available for settling the texts translated in this volume. It is here called TK, and is described as still consisting of 227 folios, though seventy folios are missing at the beginning and about fourteen at the end. In its present state, therefore, it must begin very near the same place as K35, but it extends much further, so as even to supply nearly half the contents of the eleven folios missing from BK; it does not, however, include the contents of the last three folios of BK. According to a colophon appended in this manuscript to the 'Sayings of Zâd-spâram, son of Yûdân-Yim, about the formation of men out of body, life,

and soul' (see Zs. XI, 10, note), some copy of these 'sayings' was written by Gôpatshah Rûstôm Bândâr Malkâ-marzân in the land of Kirmân. This Gôpatshah was evidently a brother of Vâhrôm, the grandfather of the Marzapân who wrote the colophon found in BK and supposed to have been copied from K35 (see pp. xv, xvi). If, therefore, this colophon in TK has not been copied from some older MS., it would indicate that TK is two generations older than K35.

A recent copy of TK exists in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis in Bombay, to whom I am indebted for the information that its text does not differ from that of K35, at the two points (Dd. XCIII, 17 and Ep. III, 11) where some omission of text may be suspected.

The manuscripts of the second class appear to be all descended from an old, undated codex brought to Bombay from Persia about sixty-five years ago¹, and recently in the library of Mr. Dhanjibhâi Frâmji Pâtel of Bombay. From what is stated, concerning the contents of this codex, it appears to commence with about three-fourths of the miscellaneous religious writings, found at the beginning of BK; and these are followed by the altered text of the Dâdîstân-î Dînik, as appears from the copies described below, but how the codex concludes is not stated. It may, however, be supposed that it contains as much of the third series of writings as is found in the manuscript J, a copy of this codex which ends in Ep. II, vi, 2.

This manuscript J belongs to the library of Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji in Bombay; it commenced originally at the same point as the codex just described, and, so far as it has been examined, it contains the same altered text of the Dâdîstân-î Dînik. There is, therefore little doubt that it was originally copied from that codex, but a considerable

¹ There is some doubt about this period. Dastûr Peshotanji mentions thirty or forty years, but in the MS. J, which appears to have been copied chiefly from this codex in Bombay, the date noted by the copyist of the older part of that MS. is 'the day Rashn of the month Khûrdâd, A. Y. 1188' (21st December 1818, according to the calendar of the Indian Parsis), showing that the codex must have been at least sixty-four years in Bombay.

portion of the additional matter at the beginning of BK has been prefixed to it at a later date. The oldest portion of this copy, extending to Ep. I, vii, 4, bears a date corresponding to 21st December 1818; the date of a further portion, extending to Ep. II, vi, 2, corresponds to 12th February 1841; and a third portion copied from BK, at the beginning of the manuscript, is still more recent.

Another copy of this codex, or of the *Dâdîstân-î Dînîk* contained in it, exists in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis in Bombay; and from this copy the text of the *Dâdîstân-î Dînîk* contained in M14 was transcribed.

This latter manuscript consists of two volumes, written in 1865 and 1868, respectively; the first volume containing Chaps. I, 1-XXXVII, 9, and the second volume Chaps. XXXVI, 1-XCIV, 15 of the altered text of the *Dâdîstân-î Dînîk*.

Other copies of the *Dâdîstân-î Dînîk*, which have not been examined, are to be found in India, but, unless descended from other manuscripts than K35 and the above-mentioned codex recently belonging to Mr. Dhanjibhâi Frâmjî, they would be of no further use for settling the text.

Of the manuscripts above described the following have been available for the translations in this volume:—K35 for the whole of the *Dâdîstân-î Dînîk* and the Epistles; M14 for the whole of the *Dâdîstân-î Dînîk* alone; BK for Dd. I, 1-VI, 3¹, X, 2-XIV, 3², LXXXVIII, 9-XCIV, 15, the whole of the Epistles, the legend about the soul of Keresâsp (see pp. 373-381), and the extracts from the Pahlavi Rivâyat in these codices relating to Khvêrôk-das (see pp. 415-423); and J for Dd. I, 1-XXXIX, 10³; LXXXVIII, 9-LXXXIX, 1⁴, XCI, 7-XCIV, 15, Ep. I, i, 1-II, ix, 7⁵, the

¹ The text of Chaps. VI, 3-X, 2 has been lost, and recently supplied from J.

² No copy of the intermediate chapters obtained by the present translator, and several of the original folios have been lost.

³ No copy of the intermediate chapters taken by the present translator.

⁴ Chaps. LXXXIX, 1-XCI, 7 omitted.

⁵ Ep. II, vi, 2-ix, 7 being copied from BK and wrongly inserted in Dd. XXXVII, 33 (see p. 89, note 5).

legend about Keresâsp, and the extracts relating to Khvétûk-das. Other manuscripts, used for the remaining extracts translated in the Appendix, will be mentioned in § 4 of this introduction.

The existence of two versions of the text of the *Dâdis-tân-i Dînik* would have been a source of much perplexity to the translator, had it not been soon apparent that the version represented by M14 was merely a revision of that in K35, attempted by some editor who had found much difficulty in understanding the involved phraseology of *Mânûskîhar*. There are, undoubtedly, some corrupt words and passages in K35, where the revised version may be followed with advantage, but nine-tenths of the alterations, introduced by the reviser, are wholly unnecessary, and in many cases they are quite inconsistent with the context.

Under these circumstances it has been the duty of the translator to follow the text given in K35, wherever it is not wholly unintelligible after prolonged study, to note all deviations of the translation from that text (which are usually small), and merely to mention the variations of the revised text, so far as they are intelligible, in the notes.

The writings of *Mânûskîhar* are certainly difficult to translate, not only from the involved and obscure style he affects, but also from the numerous compound epithets he uses, which are not easy either to understand with certainty, or to express clearly in English. The only other Pahlavi writings that approach them in difficulty are those of his brother, *Zâd-sparam*, and those of the author of the third book of the *Dînkard*, who seems to have also been a contemporary writer. To a certain extent, therefore, an involved style of writing may have been a failing of the age in which he lived; and his works, being of an epistolary and hortatory character, would naturally be more abstruse and idiomatic than simple narrative; but much of the obscurity of his style must still be attributed to his own want of clear arrangement of thought and inadequate, though wordy, expression of ideas, the usual sources of all obscure and rambling writing.

When to the difficulty of tracing the thread of an argument

through the involved obscurity of the text is added the perplexity occasioned by the ambiguity of many Pahlavi words, it can be readily understood that no translation is likely to be even approximately accurate, unless it be as literal as possible. The translator has to avoid enough pitfalls, in the shape of false constructions and incorrect readings, without risking the innumerable sources of error offered by the alluring by-paths of free translation. If, therefore, the reader should sometimes meet with strange idioms, or uncouth phrases, he must attribute them to a straining after correctness of translation, however little that correctness may be really attained.

For the purpose of more effectually keeping a curb upon the imagination of the translator, and indicating where he has been compelled to introduce his own ideas, all words not expressed or fully understood in the original text are italicised in the translation. Occasionally, also, the original word is appended to its translation, where either the reading or meaning adopted is unusual, or where a scholar might wish to know the particular Pahlavi word translated.

Some endeavour has likewise been made to introduce greater precision than has hitherto been attempted, in the transliteration of Pahlavi words and names, by taking advantage of the italic system, adopted for this series of Sacred Books of the East, not only for distinguishing variations of sound (as in the use of *g*, *k*, and *s* for the sounds of *j*, soft *ch*, and *sh*, respectively, in English), but also to indicate the use of particular Pahlavi letters, when there are more than one of nearly the same sound. Thus, *d* is used where its sound is represented by 𐭌 t; *l* and *r* where they are represented by 𐭎 n, v, ū, or by 𐭑 Av. o; *v* and *z* where they are represented by 𐭒 k; and *sl* where those letters are represented by 𐭓 ā. If, in addition to these particulars, the Pahlavi scholar will remember that the uncircumflexed vowels are not expressed in Pahlavi characters, and the vowel *ö* is expressed, he will find no particular difficulty in restoring any of the transliterated words to their original character, by merely following the

ordinary rules of Pahlavi writing. Without some such mode¹ of distinguishing the different Pahlavi letters used for the same sound, it would be practically impossible to restore the transliteration of any word, new to the reader, to its original Pahlavi form. And even the system here adopted requires the addition of *a* and *d* to represent the vowel *u* a, *â* when one of its turns is omitted in writing (as in *ap*, *d̄v*, used for *ap*, *af*; *adîn* used for *adîn*, &c.), and of *j* or *j̄* to represent *y* when it has the sound of *g* or English *j*, in order to distinguish it from *k*, *g*.

The general reader should, however, observe that these niceties of transliteration are merely matters of writing, as the exact pronunciation of Pahlavi cannot now be fully ascertained in all its details. There is every reason to suppose that the Semitic portion of the Pahlavi was never pronounced by the Persians as it was written (unless, indeed, in the earliest times); but to transliterate these Semitic words by their Persian equivalents, as the Persians certainly pronounced them, would produce a Pâzand text, instead of a Pahlavi one. If, therefore, we really want the transliteration to represent the Pahlavi text correctly, we must transliterate the Semitic words as they are written, without reference to the mode in which we suppose that the Persians used to read them. With regard to the Persian words, if we call to mind the fact that Pahlavi was the immediate parent of modern Persian, we shall naturally accept the modern Persian pronunciation (stripped of its Arabic corruptions) as a guide, so far as Pahlavi orthography permits, in preference to tracing the sounds of these words downwards from their remote ancestors in ancient Persian or the Avesta. But the pronunciation of words evidently derived directly from the Avesta, as is the case with many religious terms, must clearly depend upon the

¹ Dotted letters might be used, if available, instead of italics; but they are liable to the objection that, independent of the usual blunders due to the ordinary fallibility of human eyesight, it has been found by the translator that a dot, which was invisible on the proofs, will sometimes appear under a wrong letter in the course of printing.

Avesta orthography, so far as the alteration in spelling permits. These are the general rules here adopted, but many uncertainties arise in their practical application, which have to be settled in a somewhat arbitrary manner.

2. THE DĀDĪSTĀN-Ī DĪNĪK.

The term *Dādīstān-ī Dīnīk*, 'religious opinions or decisions,' is a comparatively modern name applied to ninety-two questions, on religious subjects, put to the high-priest *Mānūskīhar*, and his answers to the same. These questions appear to have been sent in an epistle from *Mitrō-khūrshêd*, son of *Ātūrō-mahân*, and other *Mazda*-worshippers (Dd. heading and I, 2), and were received by *Mānūskīhar*, who was the leader of the religion (Dd. I, 10, note), in the month of July or August (Dd. I, 17); but it was not till September or October, after he had returned to *Shirāz* from a tour in the provinces, that he found time to begin his reply which, when completed, was sent by a courier (Dd. I, 26) to his correspondents, but at what date is not recorded.

Regarding the residence of these correspondents, and the year in which these transactions took place, we have no positive information. The correspondents seem to have thanked *Mānūskīhar* for sending them one of his disciples (Dd. I, 3, 4) to act probably as their high-priest; and, from the mode in which the land of *Pārs* is mentioned in Dd. LXVI, 28, LXXXIX, 1, it seems likely that they were not inhabitants of that province; but this conclusion is hardly confirmed, though not altogether contradicted, by the further allusions to *Pārs* in Dd. LXVI, 3, 15, 21, LXXXVIII, 1. With regard to the date of this correspondence we may conclude, from the less authoritative tone assumed by *Mānūskīhar* in his reply (Dd. I, 5-7, 11), as compared with that adopted in his epistles (Ep. III, 17-19), that he was a younger man when he composed the *Dādīstān-ī Dīnīk* than when he wrote his epistles; we may, therefore, probably assume that the *Dādīstān-ī Dīnīk* was written several years before A. D. 881.

Although the subjects discussed in the *Dâdîstân-î Dînîk* cover a wide range of religious doctrines, legends, and duties, they cannot be expected to give a complete view of the *Mazda*-worshipping religion, as they are merely those matters on which *Mitrô-khûrshêd* and his friends entertained doubts, or wished for further information. It is also somewhat doubtful whether the whole of the questions have been preserved, on account of the abrupt transition from the last reply, at the end of Dd. XCIII, to the peroration in Dd. XCIV, and also from the fact that a chapter is alluded to, in Dd. XVII, 20, XVIII, 2, which is no longer extant in the text.

The questions, although very miscellaneous in their character, are arranged, to some extent, according to the subjects they refer to, which are taken in the following order:—The righteous and their characteristics; the temporal distress of the good; why mankind was created; good works and their effects; the account of sin and good works to be rendered; the exposure of corpses and reasons for it; the paths, destinations, and fate of departed souls, with the ceremonies to be performed after a death; the contributors to the renovation of the universe; the contest between the good and evil spirits from the creation till the resurrection; works of supererogation; the sacred shirt and thread-girdle; apostasy and its prevention; the use of fire at ceremonies, and other details; duties, payment, and position of priests; details regarding ceremonies; lawful and unlawful trading in corn, wine, and cattle, with a definition of drunkenness; adoption, guardianship, and inheritance; rights of foreigners and infidels; the origin of mankind and next-of-kin marriage; the cost of religious rites; the causes of the rainbow, phases of the moon, eclipses, and river-beds; things acquired through destiny and exertion; the sins of unnatural intercourse and adultery; imperfect prayer before drinking; ceremonies and payments for them; the seven immortal rulers before *Zaratûst*; the sky, the source of pure water, and the cause of rain and storms.

In his replies to these questions *Mânûskîhar* displays

much intelligence and wisdom, the morality he teaches is of a high standard for the age in which he lived, and, while anxious to uphold the power and privileges of the priesthood, he is widely tolerant of all deficiencies in the conduct of the laity that do not arise from wilful persistence in sin. The reader will search in vain for any confirmation of the foreign notion that *Mazda*-worship is decidedly more dualistic than Christianity is usually shown to be by orthodox writers, or for any allusion to the descent of the good and evil spirits from a personification of 'boundless time,' as asserted by strangers to the faith. No attempt is made to account for the origin of either spirit, but the temporary character of the power of the evil one, and of the punishment in hell, is distinctly asserted.

Although *Mânûskîhar* does not mention, in his writings, any of the lost Nasks or sacred books of the *Mazda*-worshippers, except the *Hûspârûm* (Dd. LXI, 3) and the *Sakâdûm* (Ep. I, viii, 1, 6, 7), he certainly had access to many Pahlavi books which are now no longer extant; hence he is able to give us more information than we find elsewhere regarding some of the legendary personages mentioned in Dd. II, 10, XXXVI, 4, 5, XLVIII, 33, XC, 3; he hints that the second month of the year (April-May) was called *Zaremaya* in the *Avesta* (Dd. XXXI, 14); and he mentions two places, instead of one, intermediate between heaven and hell, one for the souls of those not quite good enough for heaven, and one for those not quite bad enough for hell (Dd. XXIV, 6, XXXIII, 2).

The present translation of this work is not the first that has been attempted. Shortly before the late Professor Haug left India he delivered a lecture on the Parsi religion to a large assemblage of Parsis in Bombay, at their request, and at his desire the sum of 900 rûpîs, out of the net proceeds of the entrance-tickets sold, was offered as a prize for an edition of the Pahlavi text of the *Dâdistân-î Dînîk* with a *Gugarâti* translation and glossary. Some years afterwards this prize was awarded to Mr. Shehriarji Dadabhoy and Mr. Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria, for their joint *Gugarâti* translation of the work, which still, however, remains unpublished

for want of funds, and has, therefore, been inaccessible to the present translator.

3. THE EPISTLES OF MÂNÛSKÎHAR.

It has been already stated (see pp. xiii, xiv) that *Zâd-sparam*, a younger brother of Mânûskîhar, after having been at Sarakhs, in the extreme north-east of Khurâsân, where he seems to have associated with the heretical Tughazghuz, was appointed high-priest of Sîrkân, south or south-west of Kirmân¹. Shortly after his arrival there he issued a decree, regarding the ceremonies of purification and other matters, which was so unpalatable to the *Mazda*-worshippers of that place that they wrote an epistle to Mânûskîhar, complaining of the conduct of his brother (Ep. I, i, 2, ii, 1).

In reply to this complaint, which was sent by a special courier (Ep. I, i, 2), and after going to Shirâz and holding a general assembly of the priests and elders (Ep. II, i, 11), Mânûskîhar wrote his first epistle, completed on the 15th March 881 (Ep. I, xi, 12), in which he condemned the practices decreed by *Zâd-sparam*, to whom he sent a confidential agent, named *Yazdân-pânak* (Ep. I, xi, 1, 2, 6, 10, II, vii, 2), with a copy of this epistle and a further one to himself, which has not been preserved, for the purpose of inducing his brother to withdraw his decree and conform to the usual customs.

It would appear that *Yazdân-pânak* was not very successful in his mission, as we find Mânûskîhar writing a general epistle (Ep. III) to all the *Mazda*-worshippers in Irân, in the following June or July (Ep. III, 21), denouncing as heretical the mode of purification decreed by *Zâd-sparam*, and ordering an immediate return to former customs. At the same time (Ep. II, vii, 2, viii, 1) he wrote a second epistle (Ep. II) to his brother, as he had already

¹ The city of Kirmân was itself called *Sîrgân*, or *Sîrgân*, in the middle ages, and is evidently mentioned by that name in Ouseley's *Oriental Geography*, pp. 139, 143, though the *Sîrgân* of pp. 138, 141 of the same work was clearly further south. Which of these two towns was the Sîrkân of these epistles, may, therefore, be doubtful.

promised in Ep. I, xi, 2, and, after referring to an epistle (now lost) which he had received from Zâd-spâram in the previous November or December, he proceeded to enforce his views by a judicious intermingling of argument, entreaty, and threats. He also contemplated making preparations (Ep. I, xi, 4, II, vii, 3) for travelling himself to Sîrkân, notwithstanding his age (Ep. II, ix, 1), to arrange the matters in dispute upon a satisfactory basis. Whether he actually undertook this journey is unknown, but that his brother must have finally submitted to his authority appears from Zâd-spâram retaining his position in the south, as has been already noticed (p. xiv).

The matter in dispute between Zâd-spâram and the orthodox *Mazda*-worshippers may seem a trivial one to people of other religions, but, inasmuch as the ceremonial uncleanness of a person insufficiently purified after contact with the dead would contaminate every one he associated with, the sufficiency of the mode of purification was quite as important to the community, both priests and laity, as avoidance of breach of caste-rules is to the Hindû, or refraining from sacrifices to heathen gods was to the Jew, the early Christian, or the Muhammadan. And much more important than any disputes about sacraments, infallibility, apostolic succession, ritual, or observance of the Sabbath can possibly be to any modern Romanist or Protestant.

In his mode of dealing with this matter Mânûskîhar displays at once the moderation and tact of a statesman accustomed to responsibility, the learning and zeal of a well-informed priest, and the kindly affection of a brother. That he was not without rivals and enemies appears from his casual allusions to Zaratûst, the club-footed, and Âtûrô-pâd in Ep. II, i, 13, v, 14, ix, 11; but in all such allusions, as well as in his denunciation of heretical opinions, he refrains from coarse invective, and avoids the use of exaggerated language, such as too often disfigures and weakens the arguments in polemical discussions.

Indirectly these epistles throw some light upon the condition of the *Mazda*-worshippers after more than two

centuries of ceaseless struggle with the ever-advancing flood of Muhammadanism which was destined to submerge them. Shîrâz, Sîrkân, Kirmân, Râî, and Sarakhs are still mentioned as head-quarters of the old faith; and we are told of assemblies at Shîrâz and among the Tughazghuz, the former of which appears to have had the chief control of religious matters in Pârs, Kirmân, and the south, acting as a council to the high-priest of Pârs and Kirmân, who was recognised as the leader of the religion (Dd. XLV, 5). We also learn, from Ep. I, iii, 11, II, v, 14, that the leaders of the *Mazda*-worshippers, if not their high-priests, were still in the habit of maintaining troops; and, from Ep. II, i, 9, that when a high-priest became very old his worldly duties were performed by four of the most learned priests, forming a committee, which had full authority to deliberate and act for him in all worldly matters. *Mânûskîhar* even speaks of emigrating by sea to China, or by land to Asia Minor (Ep. II, viii, 5), in order to escape from the annoyances of his position.

But the statements which are most important to the Pahlavi scholar, in these epistles, are the date attached to the third epistle, corresponding to A.D. 881, and the mention of *Nîshahpûhar* in Ep. I, iv, 15, 17 as the supreme officiating priest and councillor of king *Khûsrô Nôshîrvân* (A.D. 531-579), engaged apparently in writing commentaries on the Avesta. The date of these epistles not only limits that of the *Dâdîstân-î Dînîk* to the latter half of the ninth century, but also fixes those of the larger recension of the *Bundahîs* and of the latest revision of the *Dinkard* within the same period, because it is stated in Bd. XXXIII, 10, 11 that the writer of that chapter was a contemporary of *Zâd-spâram*, son of *Yûdân-Yim*, and *Âtûr-pâd*, son of *Hêmiđ*, the former of whom was evidently the brother of *Mânûskîhar*, and the latter is mentioned in *Dinkard* III, ccccxiii as the latest editor of that work. The actual compiler of a great part of the *Dinkard* (especially of the fourth and fifth books) was, however, the somewhat earlier writer *Âtûr-frôbag*, son of *Farukhûzâd* (Dd. LXXXVIII, 8, Ep. I, iii, 9). The name of *Nîshahpûhar* is also mentioned as that

of a commentator in the Pahlavi Vendidâd and Nîrangistân, which works must, therefore, have been revised since the middle of the sixth century. And as we are informed in the book of Ardâ-Virâf (I, 35) that 'there are *some* who call *him* by the name of Nikhshahpûr,' we ought probably to refer that book to the same age. These epistles, therefore, enable us, for the first time, to fix the probable dates of the latest extensive revisions of six of the most important Pahlavi works that are still extant; and from the relationship of these to others we can readily arrive at safer conclusions, regarding the age of Pahlavi literature in general, than have been hitherto possible.

4. THE APPENDIX.

For the sake of elucidating certain matters, mentioned in the writings of Mânûskîhar, further information than could be given in the foot-notes has been added in the shape of an appendix.

To a brief summary of the Avesta legends, relating to the ancient hero Keresâsp, has been added a translation of a Pahlavi legend regarding the fate of his soul, in which several of his more famous exploits are detailed. This legend is found in the Pahlavi Rivâyât preceding the Dâdistân-i Dinîk in the manuscripts BK and J, and is evidently derived from the fourteenth fargard of the Sûdkar Nask, whose contents, as described in the ninth book of the Dinkard, are also given. It is likewise found in the later Persian Rivâyats, with several modifications which are duly noticed.

The Nîrang-i Kustî, or ceremony of tying the sacred thread-girdle, is also described in detail, with a translation of the ritual accompanying it, partly from actual observation, and partly from Gugarâti accounts of the rite.

It having become necessary to ascertain with certainty whether the term 'next-of-kin marriage' was a justifiable translation of khvêtûk-das, as used by Pahlavi writers, an extensive examination of all accessible passages, which throw any light upon the meaning of the word, has been

made. The result of this enquiry can be best understood from the details collected, but it may be stated in general terms that, though 'marriage among kinsfolk' might fairly represent the varying meaning of *khvêtk-das* in different ages, its usual signification in Pahlavi literature is more accurately indicated by 'next-of-kin marriage.'

Some apology is perhaps due to the Parsi community for directing attention to a subject which they consider disagreeable. But, by the publication of a portion of the *Dînkard*, they have themselves placed the most important passage, bearing on the subject, within the reach of every European Orientalist; thus rendering it easy for any prejudiced translator to represent the practice of such marriages as having been general, instead of their being so distasteful to the laity as to require a constant exertion of all the influence that the priesthood possessed, in order to recommend them, even in the darkest ages of the faith. To avoid such one-sided views of the matter, as well as to hinder them in others, has been the special aim of the present translator in trying to ascertain the exact meaning of the obscure texts he had to deal with.

The translations from the Pahlavi *Vendidâd*, regarding the *Bareshnûm* ceremony and the purifications requisite after finding a corpse in the wilderness, will be found necessary for explaining many allusions and assertions in the *Epistles of Mânûskîhar*.

The text followed in all passages translated from the *Dînkard* is that contained in the manuscript now in the library of *Dastûr Sohrâbji Rustamji*, the high-priest of the *Kadmi* sect of *Parsis* in *Bombay*. It was written A. D. 1669, and was brought from *Persia* to *Surat* by *Mullâ Bahman* in 1783. All other known copies of the *Dînkard* are descended from this manuscript, except a codex, brought from *Persia* by the late Professor *Westergaard* in 1843, which contains one-fifth of the *Dînkard* mostly written in 1574, and is now in the *University Library* at *Kopenhagen*.

For translations from the Pahlavi *Vendidâd* the text adopted, wherever available and not evidently defective, has been that of *L4*, a manuscript of the *Vendidâd* with

Pahlavi, Z. and P. IV, in the India Office Library in London. The date of this manuscript has been lost with its last folio, but its text is in the same handwriting as that of three others, in Kopenhagen and Bombay, which were written A. D. 1323-4. A considerable portion of the beginning of this manuscript has also been lost, and is replaced by modern folios of no particular value.

In conclusion, the translator must take the opportunity of thankfully acknowledging the kindness and readiness with which Dastūr Peshotanji Behrāmji Sanjānā, the high-priest of the Parsis in Bombay, and Dastūr Jāmāspji Mino-chiharji Jāmāsp-Āsā-nā, of the same city, have always furnished him with any information he applied for, not only on those matters specially mentioned in the foot-notes, but also on many other occasions.

E. W. WEST.

MUNICH,
September, 1882.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS VOLUME.

Acc. for accusative case; Âf. Zarat. for Âfringân-i Zaratûst; anc. Pers. for ancient Persian; App. for Appendix to this volume; Ar. for Arabic; AV. for the Book of Arđâ-Virâf, ed. Hoshangji and Haug; Av. for Avesta; B29 for Persian Rivâyât MS. No. 29 of the University Library in Bombay; Bd. and Byt. for Bundahis and Bahman Yast, as translated in vol. v of this series; BK for an old imperfect copy of K35 written in Kirmân, but now in Bombay; Chald. for Chaldee; comp. for compare; Dd. for Dâdîstân-î Dinîk, as translated in this volume; Dk. for Dînkard; Ep. for Epistles of Mânûskîhar, as translated in this volume; Farh. Okh. for Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk, ed. Hoshangji and Haug; Gen. for Genesis; Haug's Essays for Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis, by M. Haug, 2nd edition; Hn. for Hâdôkht Nask, as published with AV.; Huz. for Huzvâris; Intro. for Introduction; J. for Dd. MS. belonging to Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji in Bombay; K35 for Dd. MS. No. 35 of the University Library in Copenhagen; L4 for Vend. MS. No. 4 of the India Office Library in London; Lev. for Leviticus; M5, M7, M10, M14 for MSS. Nos. 5, 7, 10, 14 of the Haug Collection in the State Library in Munich; Mkh. for Mainyô-i-khard, ed. West; n. for foot-note; nom. for nominative case; p. for page; Pahl. for Pahlavi; Pâz. for Pâzand; Pers. for Persian; p. p. for past participle; Sir. for Sirozah, ed. Westergaard; Sls. for Shâyast-lâ-shâyast, as translated in vol. v of this series; TD for Bd. MS. belonging to Mr. Tehmuras Dinshawji in Bombay; TK for Dd. MS. belonging to the same; trans. D. for translated by Darmesteter, in vol. iv of this series; Vend., Visp., and Yas. for Vendidâd, Visparad, and Yasna, ed. Spiegel; Yt. for Yast, ed. Westergaard; Z.D.M.G. for Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft; Zs. for Selections of Zâd-spâram, as translated in vol. v of this series.

DÂDISTÂN-Î DÎNÎK
OR
THE RELIGIOUS OPINIONS
OF
MÂNÛSKÎHAR, SON OF YÛDÂN-YIM,
DASTÛR OF
PÂRS AND KIRMÂN,
A. D. 881.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. For all divisions into chapters and sections the translator is responsible, as the manuscripts merely indicate the beginning of each question and reply.

2. Italics are used for any English words which are not expressed, or fully understood, in the original text, but are added to complete the sense of the translation.

3. Italics occurring in Oriental words, or names, represent certain peculiar Oriental letters (see the 'Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets' at the end of this volume). The italic *d*, *l*, *n*, *r*, *v* may be pronounced as in English; but *g* should be sounded like *j*, *hv* like *wh*, *k* like *ch* in 'church,' *s* like *sh*, and *z* like French *j*.

4. In Pahlavi words the only vowels expressed in the original text are those circumflexed, initial *a*, and the letter *ö*; italic *d* is written like *t*, *r* and *l* like *n* or the Avesta *o*, *v* and *z* like *g*, and *zd* like *â* in the Pahlavi character (see the latter part of § 1 of the Introduction).

5. In the translation, words in parentheses are merely explanatory of those which precede them.

6. For the meaning of the abbreviations used in the notes, see the end of the Introduction.

7. The manuscripts mentioned are :—

BK, an old imperfect copy of K₃₅ written in Kirmân, but now in Bombay.

J (about 60 years old), belonging to Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji in Bombay.

K₃₅ (probably written A.D. 1572), No. 35 in the University Library at Kopenhagen; upon the text of which this translation is based.

M₅ (written A.D. 1723), a MS. of miscellaneous texts in Persian letters, No. 5 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich.

M₁₄ (a modern copy of a MS. in the library of the Parsi high-priest in Bombay), No. 14 in the same Collection.

TD, a MS. of the Bundahis belonging to Môbad Tehmuras Dinshawji in Bombay.

DÂDISTÂN-Î DÎNÎK.

SOME chapters of the enquiries which Mitrô-khûrshêd, son of Âtûrô-mahân¹, and others of the good religion made of the glorified (anoshakô-rûbân) Mânûskêthar², son of Yûdân-Yim, and the replies given by him in explanation.

CHAPTER I.

o. Through the name and power and assistance of the creator Aûharmazd *and* all good *beings*, all the heavenly and earthly angels, and every creature and creation that Aûharmazd set going for his own angels and all pertaining to the *celestial* spheres.

¹ The name Âtûr-mâhân occurs in a Pahlavi inscription, dated A.Y. 378 (A.D. 1009), in one of the Kanheri caves, near Bombay (see Indian Antiquary, vol. ix, pp. 266, 267), and Adharmâh is mentioned in Hoffmann's Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer (Leipzig, 1880), p. 203; so that this name must have been commonly used by Parsis in former times, though unknown now.

² He calls himself pontiff and director of the priests of Pârs and Kirmân in A.Y. 250=A.D. 881, and was, therefore, the leader of the religion (see Chaps. XLV, 5, XCIV, 13, and Ep. III, 21). Besides these titles of pêsûpâi, 'leader,' farmâdâr, 'director,' and rad, 'pontiff or executive high-priest,' he is also called aêrpat khûdâi, 'priestly lordship,' in the heading to Ep. III, and has the general title aêrpat, 'priest,' in those of Ep. I and II. The reading of the name of his father, Yûdân-Yim (Pers. Guvân-Gam, 'the youthful Gamshêd'), is merely a guess; the Parsis read either Gôshna-gam or Gôdân-dam; and, perhaps, Gûshna-dam, 'breathing virility,' is a likely alternative reading.

1. *To* those of the good religion, who are these enquirers owing to devout force of demeanour and strength of character, the type of wisdom and standard of ability—and of whom, moreover, the questions, seeking wisdom, contemplating good works, and investigating religion, are specified—the blessing *and* reply of Mânûskîhar, son of Yûdân-Yim, are these:—2. That is, forasmuch as with full affection, great dignity, and grandeur you *have* blessed me in this enquiring epistle¹, so much as you *have* blessed, *and* just as you *have* blessed, with full measure *and* perfect profusion, may it happen fully likewise unto you, in the first place, and *to your* connections, separately for yourselves and dependents; may it come upon *you* for a long period, and may it be connected with a happy end.

3. *As to* that which you ordered to write about wishes for an interview and conversation *with* me, and the friendliness and regard for religion of yourselves *and* our former *disciple*² (lanmanak kâdmôn)—who is a servant of the sacred beings (yazdânö)³ and a fellow-soldier in struggling with the fiend, alike persistent in reliance upon the good religion of Mazda-worship—I am equally desirous of that one path of righteousness when *its* extension is to a place in the best existence⁴, *and* equally hopeful

¹ Regarding this epistle, nothing further is known that can be gathered from the text of this reply to it, which gives the substance of the questions it contained.

² This disciple appears to have been previously sent by Mânûskîhar to the community he is addressing, most probably to serve as their high-priest.

³ The word is plural, like Elohîm in the book of Genesis, but it means 'God' in Pers an.

⁴ Another name for Garôdmân, the highest heaven, or dwelling of Aûharmazd (see Sls. VI, 3, 4).

of resurrection (âkhezisnō) at the renovation of the best existence¹. 4. *As to* the interview and important conversation of that *disciple* of ours (mānak), and his going, and that also which he expounded of the religion—that of him who is intimate in interview and conversation with him who is wise and righteous the stunted² good works are then more developing³—and *as to* the degree of praise which you ordered to write concerning me, much greater than reason, and the important statements full of the observations of friendship as to kind regards, my course about these is also *that* which *leads* to gratitude.

5. That which you ordered to write about the way of knowing and understanding not being for any one else but for *your* servant, *was* owing to your affection, and for the sake of kind regard; but on account of the importance of truth *it* is more expressly to be regarded *as* being proper to write also to other spiritual⁴ men, as to the learning which is more fully studied by them. 6. For even with the perplexing struggle of the fiend, *and* the grievous devastation and collapse (nizôrîh) which have happened to religious people, after all, through the persistence (khvâparîh) of the sacred beings even

¹ That is, when this transitory world is purified and made permanent, so as to form a part of heaven, which is expected to take place at the resurrection.

² Pahl. kazd, which may be compared with Pers. kaz, 'distorted,' or may be a miswriting of Pahl. kas, 'small.'

³ The modern MSS., M₁₄ and J, add 'and those which are great are more attainable.'

⁴ The word is maînôk (mînavad), but the omission of one stroke would make it magôg, 'priestly,' which was probably the original reading.

now *there are* pontiffs (radânö), priests, high-priests, judges, and also other religious leaders of those of the religion in various quarters. 7. Moreover, the other priests *and* spiritual¹ men *here* enumerated *have* well considered the commentary (zand) of the text (mânsar) which is muttered, are acquainted with opinions explaining the religion, *and* are, in many places, the cause of preferring good works; with whom also, on account of *their* understanding *and* knowing about such opinions, the sacred beings are pleased.

8. The desires expressed, and the good wishes as to what is mine and *has* happened *to me*, which you ordered to write, are likewise marks of friendship and kind regard, and owing to them a like measure of friendship and kind regard becomes your² own.

9. *As to* that which you ordered to write in much friendship *and* commendation and profusely about me—as regards the administration of the realm (kêshvar dastôbarîh), *of* the unity without counterpart (dadîgarîh), and the singleness co-extensive with any duality—if the writing of that, too, *were* owing to your friendship, even then it seemed *to* me disquieting, owing to this *being* so much praise. 10. If in these times and countries *there be* an understanding of the time and a boasting about any one, if *it be* graceful as regards him who is a leader of the religion (dînô pêsûpâî) of long-continued faith, I consider it not suitable for myself³. 11. Though

¹ See p. 5, note 4.

² All MSS. have 'thy.'

³ Although he was himself the 'director of the profession of priests' of Pârs (see Chap. XCIV, 13), an office which was then equivalent to that of 'leader of the religion' (see Chap. XLV, 5).

the praise of a leader (*sardâr*), raised by agreeable voices¹, is uttered about me, yet I am not pleased when they extol my greatness *more* than *that of* their own leader; for my wish is *for* that praise which is *due* to my own rank and similar limits, and seems suitable to me; and humility in oneself is as correct as grandeur among inferiors.

12. That which is about the lengthy writing of questions, *as to* your worldly circumstances (*stihânthâ*) and worldly affairs, *has* also shown this, that I should write a reply at a time in which I have leisure. 13. That is more important on account of your well-expressed questions *and* boldness about ambiguous answers, and *your* ardent desire for the setting aside of time; for the setting aside, or not beginning, of a reply is implied. 14. *But* owing to the perplexing² struggle on account of the fiend there is little leisure for quick *and* searching thought, and owing to that which is undecided³ *there is little* for indispensable (*frêzvântkô*) work.

15. As to a reply *at* a period of leisure time, the occurrence of the time appointed is manifested in everything, apart even from the kind regards of friendship, and the collection of information whereby, owing to my little leisure, it is declared unto you. 16. And I have, too, this confidence, that your questions are written with religious faith *and* desiring religious decision; *and* in the reply the statement of reasons from revelation (*dînô*) is manifold, for

¹ This translation of *mânô-advâzikô-âkhezakô* is somewhat doubtful.

² Or 'prodigious.'

³ That is, awaiting the high-priest's judicial and ecclesiastical decision.

guidance which is not destitute of wisdom and *which* is without risk from every kind of importunity¹.

17. And *this* same epistle² came in the month Tîr³, at such season as, owing to entreaties for three years from the country-folk (dêstîkânö), and the burden of troubles of the offspring (sarakö) of those of the good religion, the much importunity for arranging *what was* undecided among them—which, inasmuch as I had no power about investigating that trouble and suffering, *was* the more indispensable—the arrangements for the preservation and education of disciples⁴, and many private *matters* which had accumulated, I obtained no *opportunity* for properly looking *over these* same questions till the month Shatvatrô⁵, when I came to Shirâz⁶ and had *at* various times a little leisure.

18. And I looked *over these* same questions; and when I saw the compact writing (ham-dâdakhâyektîbûnisnîh) it then seemed to me more important to make each chapter of the questions separate and more explanatory. 19. And I gave the questions to a writer, in the same copy which you ordered to write, and instructed *him* to write the various chapters, every single question in one chapter; and the several opinions, both due to my acquaintance with the religion and my remembrance in perfection,

¹ Or 'over-persuasion.'

² See § 2.

³ The fourth month of the Parsi year, which corresponded to July–August in the time of Mânûskîhar.

⁴ That is, candidates for the priesthood and young priests.

⁵ The sixth month of the Parsi year, which then corresponded to September–October.

⁶ From this it would appear that the Dâdistân-î Dînîk was written at Shirâz which, being the principal city of Pârs, was probably the high-priest's usual residence.

both of the decisions (dastôbarth) of the ancients and as regards wisdom, are the replies I intend to write below the questions.

20. When there is nothing in such as you ask, concerning which I consider such otherwise, as I write, than what is like that which was once advisedly our different opinion from those high-priests of the ancients who *were* better and wiser, and have become our lord (ahvô), master (radô), and high-priest, I *have* written that¹, even though the *usual* decision on the same subject is such as our high-priests, who are of our family, *have* maintained in particular.

21. Afterwards, moreover, about the sayings of that high-priest whose custom is otherwise there is no difference of opinion *expressed*²; and if there be *any one* for whose opinion I *have* acquired perfect reverence, a priestly man acquainted with the religion, who understands *and* who manages intelligently, by holding in reverence the ancient treatises and truth, and the sayings of the high-priests, whatever *of his* is to the purpose, as regards the reply, this also is written as successful illustration.

22. If owing to such cause it be not fully perceived, or regarding the decision *it be not* clear, *it* is chiefly not owing to the incompleteness of the decision of revelation in clearness of demonstration and correctness of meaning, but owing to our incomplete attainment to understanding the authoritative decrees (nikêzak fragûtô)³ of the religion. 23. From the

¹ That is, his own different opinion apparently, but the writer's sentences are often so involved as to confuse the reader.

² Meaning, apparently, that he does not propose to mention the opinions of others unless he approves of them.

³ The MSS. have fragûtô, possibly Pers. fargûd, 'miracle.'

imperfection (avêhîh) of that also which is asked of us the hasty thinking, notably therein, owing to the grievousness of the times, is even till now devoid of a distinct knowledge, interpreting the texts *about* the compassion of the good spirits, and *regarding* a clearer demonstration of the exposition of revelation which is thereby¹ more fully declared, as regards religious practice, from two sources, one is from the treatises which are an exposition of the rules *and* wisdom of the leader of the religion, and one—which is more descriptively expressed (mâdî-gânötar hankhetûntô)—is the writings (vutakö) of various glorified ancients, those who *were* the great leaders of those of the primitive faith².

24. Owing to that³, as their writings (nipîkân) about the demonstration of reasons, on account of depth *and* minute wording, are not well known, even to minute observers *and* penetrative (vêhramakö) understandings, and through the little diffusion (frâgö-padîkhûîh), likewise, of difficult words, *there* may be doubts *among* the less intelligent, so, about the purport of *these* same questions, if there be *anything* which is wanted by you more clear and more plain in meaning, *or* a nearer way to a true interpretation, not without clearness, of *any* decision of a learned leader of the religion, I *will* give a reply, whenever you ask and I am able, so far as my knowledge and want of power *permit*.

25. When *one has* to observe the nature of the attributes (gôhârânö) of the sacred beings the

¹ That is, revelation is declared by the exposition.

² The true Mazda-worshipping religion in all ages, both before and after the time of Zaratûst (see Sls. I, 3).

³ Want of knowledge referred to in § 23.

investigator's great advantage is the perfection, peace, equipment with righteousness, and fiend-destroying power of his own people; *and* since you are made aware of the result of wishes and actions, and are directed by me, many new blessings also *arise* from you.

26. That which is written to you yourselves and unto all, in the beginning and even the end, is completely adapted to your own several wants; may it have an exalted end, with one courier (aê-barîdö) and continuously from beginning to end, and also perpetually!

27. A fair copy (bûrzišnîkô pakîno) of the questions, as well as the replies, is this; so that, when there is nothing in it which owing to that cause¹ is different, I am of opinion as is *here* written.

CHAPTER II.

1. First you ask thus: Why is a righteous man created better than the stars and moon *and* sun and fire of Aûharmazd, and is called in revelation greater and better than the spiritual creation, *and* also than that which is worldly?

2. The reply is this, that the greatness and goodness of advance in wisdom and just judgment over the creatures arise from proficiency (hûnar).

3. Justice is the one good proficiency over the creatures, the means of wisdom are great, and praise bestowed is the most effectual performance

¹ Owing to the copying. The sentence is equivalent to the modern phrase, 'errors excepted.'

of what is desirable (kâmisn-karîh). 4. For all three are mutually connected together; since the manifestation of justice is through wisdom, and its advantage is the performance of what is desirable for the creator; wisdom is the performance of what is desirable for the requirements of the creator, and its weapon (zênô) is justice; and the desire of the creator, which is progress, is in wisdom with justice. 5. All three are great among the creatures, and their lodgment in the superior beings and righteous men is spiritual, in the spirit which is the pure guardian angel¹, *in* the understanding for encountering, averting, smiting, and prostrating (khvâpâk) the fiend, *in* the army of angels, and *in* the sovereignty of the far-seeing (dûr-vênâkô)² spirit, Aûharmazd; and, materially, in the worldly equipment and mutual connection of body *and* life. 6. And their appliances are the wisdom and worldly efficacy of treatises on the wise adoption of good thoughts, good words, *and* good deeds, *and* the relinquishment *and* discontinuance of evil thoughts, evil words, *and* evil deeds. 7. And their acquirer is the worldly ruler who is providing for Aûharmazd, and approving and stimulating the pure religion, a praiser of the good and pure creator, and a director of persistence in destruction of the fiend. 8. And in the pro-

¹ The fravâhar or fravashi, which is the prototype or spiritual counterpart supposed to have been created in the beginning for each good creature and creation afterwards produced, whether material or immaterial, and whose duty is to represent the creature and watch over its interests in the spiritual world.

² This word is badly written in K35, so that it has become zôrînâk in later MSS., which might perhaps mean 'strength-exerting.'

mulgation (rûbâkô-dahisnîh) of the good and religious liturgy (mânsar), the coming of the good cause of the resurrection, and the production of the renovation *of the universe*¹ are *his* cöoperation and his own thanksgiving; and over the creatures of *this* prior world *he* is a guardian, defender, and manager.

9. And *such rulers* are great and pre-eminent; yet every man is not for that greatness, but it is mentioned as to superior beings *and* concerning righteous men, in whom it *has* arisen, and the best are the three who are the beginning, middle, *and* end of the creation. 10. One is the pure man, Gâyômarð, who was its first rational praiser; he in whose keeping *was* the whole creation of the sacred beings, from *its* beginning and immaturity unto the final completion of the worldly creatures, over which *was* the exercise of goodness of his well-destined progeny, such as Hôshâng, Tâkh-môrup, Yim, and Frêdûn², such as the apostles of the religion, like Zaratûst, Hûshêdar, and Hûshêdar-mâh³, and the producers of the renovation *of the universe*, like Sôshâns⁴, Rôshanô-kâshm, and

¹ Which is expected to take place about the time of the resurrection (see Bd. XXX, 32).

² The first four rulers of the world (omitting the usurper Dahâk) after Gâyômarð (see Bd. XXXI, 1-3, 7). The five names of these primeval sovereigns are corruptions of the Avesta names, Gaya-maretan, Haoshyangha, Takhmô-urupa, Yima, and Thraëtaona. The third name is always written Tâkhmôridô in Dd.

³ Corruptions of Av. Zarathustra, Ukhshyad-ereta, and Ukhshyad-nemangh. The last two are future apostles still expected by the Parsis to restore their religion to its original purity, in preparation for the resurrection (see Bd. XXXII, 2-10, Byt. III, 13, 43-48, 52, 53).

⁴ Av. Saoshyâs. The last of the future apostles, in whose

Khûr-kashm¹. 11. The approver² of the enterprises (rûbâk-dahisnîhâ) of cöoperators, the purely-praising and just worshipper of the sacred beings through the strength of the spirit, the disabler of the worldly activity of the fiend as regards worldly bodies, and the one of pure religion—which is his charge (spôr)³, the revelation of the place of the beneficent spirit and of the destruction of the depravity of the evil spirit⁴, the subjugation (khvâpîsnö) of the fiend, the completion of the triumph of the creator, and the unlimited progress of the creatures—is the upholder of Mazda-worship. 12. And likewise through the goodness of Gâyômarâd, which is the begetting of Zaratûst, *he* is also just; likewise through the goodness of Sôshâns, by which he is the progeny of Zaratûst, *he* is also progressive in every good thought, good word, *and* good deed, *more* than the creatures which are produced with a hope of the religion, and equally thankful. 13. And one is the producer of bodies⁵,

time the universe is expected to be renovated and the resurrection to take place (see Bd. XXX, 4-27, XXXII, 8, Byt. III, 62).

¹ These two names, which mean 'bright-eyed' and 'sunny-eyed,' are the Av. Rao~~kas~~-kaêshman and Hvare-kaêshman of Fravardîn Yt. 128 (see also Chap. XXXVI, 4).

² This is Zaratûst (see § 12), the righteous apostle of the middle portion of the history of creation referred to in § 9.

³ Or 'which is wholly his.'

⁴ These two spirits are supposed to be the authors of all the good and evil, respectively, that exists in creation. They appear, originally, to have been both supposed to spring from Aûhar~~masd~~, who speaks of 'the more beneficent of my two spirits' in Yas. XIX, 21; but in later times, and throughout the Pahlavi literature, the beneficent spirit is identified with Aûhar~~masd~~, and the origin of the evil spirit is left in obscurity.

⁵ The renovated bodies of the future existence which are prepared for mankind at the resurrection (see Bd. XXX, 4, 7, 25-27).

the renovator (frashagar) Sôshâns, who is the putter down, with complete subjugation from the world, of the glorification of fiends *and* demons, and of the contention with angels in apostasy and heterodoxy of various kinds and unatoned for; and the completer of the renovation through the full continuance of the glorification of the angels, and the perfect continuance of the pure religion.

14. And through that excellent, unblemished, brotherly work¹ *such a ruler* may be seen above the sun with swift horses, the primeval luminaries, and all removal of darkness, the advance of illumination which is the display (tôgisnô) of the days *and* nights of the world². 15. Regarding the same completion of the renovation *of the universe* it is said in the revelation of the Mazda-worshippers, that this great light is the vesture of the like righteous men.

CHAPTER III.

1. The second is that which you ask thus: For what purpose is a righteous man created for the world, and in what manner is it necessary for him to exist in the world?

2. The reply is this, that the creator created the creatures for progress, which is his wish; and ✓

¹ Mentioned in §§ 7, 8.

² MI₄ and J have '*such rulers*' own praise is above the sun with swift horses, the primeval luminaries, and all good creatures; for that, too, which may be seen when the light of the sun is owing to the removal of darkness, and the removal is the advance of illumination of the world, is the display of days *and* nights.'

it is necessary for us to promote whatever is his wish, so that we may obtain whatever is our wish.
3. And, since that persistent creator is powerful, whatever is our wish, and so far as we remain very faithful, such is as *it were* deserving of his wish, which is for our obtainment of whatever is our wish¹.

4. The miracle of these creatures was fully achieved (*âvôrtâdö*) not unequally, and the gain (*gûâftâkô*) also from the achievement of the same miracle is manifest; that is, achieving, and knowing² that his achievement is with design (*kîm*) and his desire is goodness, when the designed achievement, which is his creature, and also the goodness, which is his wish, are certain, and likewise, owing to the perfect ability which is due to the creator, the wish is achieved, *it* is manifest.
5. And, afterwards, it is decided by wisdom that *he has* achieved it, and the creatures, as perfected for the complete progress which is his wish, lapse into evil; and since when evil exists good becomes the subjugation of evil—for when evil is not complete, and after it is expressly said that his creatures are created for his own will, the progress due to subjugations of evil is on account of the good completed—it is similarly testified, *in accordance* with the will aforesaid, that it³ is achieved.

6. The creatures are for the performance of what is desirable for the creator, and the performance of what is desirable for the creator is necessary

¹ Reading *kâmakô* instead of the *dâmakô* of the MSS., which was, no doubt, originally *gâmakô*.

² M₁₄ has 'knowing perfectly.'

³ The subjugation of evil apparently.

for two *purposes*, which are the practice of worship *and* contention. 7. As the worship is that of the persistent creator, who is a friend to his own creatures, *and* the contention is that with the fiend—the contender who is an enemy to the creation of the creator—that great worship is a pledge, most intimate to one's self, of the utmost contention also, and a pledge for the prosperity owing to the friend subjugating by a look which is a contender with the enemy, the great endeavour of the acquirers of reliance upon any mortals whatever¹. 8. For when the persistent *one* accomplished that most perfect and wholly miraculous creation of the lord, and his unwavering look—which *was* upon the coming on of the wandering evil spirit, the erratic, unobservant spirit—*was* unmingled with the sight of an eye², he made a spirit of observant temperament, which *was* the necessary soul, the virtuous lord of the body moving into the world. 9. And the animating life, the preserving guardian spirit, the acquiring intellect, the protecting understanding, the deciding wisdom, the demeanour which is itself a physician, the impelling strength, the eye for *what* is seen, the ear for *what* is heard, the nose for *what* is smelt, the mouth for recognising flavour, the body for approaching the assembly (*pidrâm*) of the righteous, the heart for

¹ Referring probably to the strong influence of a steady eye upon all living creatures.

² This appears to be the meaning of *agûmêgisnô-î va/ vênâftâkô dîdag*; which phrase is followed by the conjunction 'and,' so that the original text means that when the creator had done as in §§ 8, 9, he proceeded to act as in § 10. This conjunction, for the sake of clearness, is here transferred to the beginning of § 10.

thinking, the tongue for speaking, the hand for working, the foot for walking, these which make life comfortable, these which are developments in creating, these which are to join the body, these which are to be considered perfected, are urged on by him continuously, and the means of industry of the original body are arranged advisedly. 10. *And* by proper regulation, and the recompense of good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, he announced and adorned conspicuous, patient, and virtuous conduct; *and* that procurer of the indispensable did not forget to keep men *in* his own true service and proper bounds, the supreme sovereignty of the creator.

11. And *man* became a pure glorifier and pure praiser of that all-good friend, through the progress which is his wish. 12. Because pure friendship is owing to sure meditation on every virtue, and from its existence no harm whatever arose; pure glorifying is owing to glorifying every goodness, and from its existence no vileness whatever arose; and pure praising is owing to all prosperity, and from its existence no distress whatever arose. 13. And pronouncing the benedictions he is steadfast *in* the same pure friendship, just glorifying, and expressive praising, *which* are performed even as though Vohûman were kept lodging in the thoughts, Srôsh in the words, and Ard in the actions¹. 14. That, moreover, which is owing to the lodgment of Vohûman in the thoughts is virtu-

¹ These three angels are personifications of the Avesta terms vohû-manô, 'good thought,' sraosha, 'listening, obedience,' and areta, 'righteous.' The coming of Vohûman ('the good spirit' of § 17) and of Srôsh is mentioned in the Gâthas (Yas. XLIII, 16, c d).

ously rushing unto true propitiation from the heart, and keeping selfishness away from the desires; the lodgment of Srôsh in the words is owing to him who is intelligent *being* a true speaker, *and* him who is unintelligent being a listener to *what* is true and *to* the high-priests; *and* the lodgment of Ard in the actions is declared to be owing to promoting that which is known *as* goodness, *and* abstaining *from* that which *one* does not know. 15. And these three benefits¹ which *have been* recited are sent down (farôstakô) in two ways that the ancients *have* mentioned, which are *that* deliberately taken and *that* they should deliberately leave², whose means are wisdom and proper exertion.

16. And his (man's) high-priest is he whose instigation is to keep him truly *in accordance* with the revelation (dînô) of the sacred beings, and is the origin of his pure meditation which is truly through goodness like Vohûman's. 17. As the religious of the ancients *have* religiously said, that of him who keeps the goodness of Vohûman lodging in the thoughts the true way is then that of the good spirit. 18. The Mazda-worshipper understands the will of the creator in the true way, and grows and acquires by performing what is desirable for the creator, which obtains the benefit of the renovation.

19. A more concise reply is this, that a righteous man is the creature by whom is accepted that occupation which is provided for him, and is fully

¹ The lodgments of the three angels.

² Meaning, probably, the deliberate adoption of good conduct and relinquishment of evil (compare Chap. VII, 7).

watchful in the world as to his not being deceived by the rapacious fiend. 20. And as a determiner, by wisdom, of the will of the creator—one who is himself a propitiator and understander, and a promoter of the understanding of goodness—and of whatever *pertains* to him (the creator), *he* is a giver of heed thereto; and it is necessary for him to be thus, so that such greatness *and* goodness may also be his more securely in the spiritual *existence*.

CHAPTER IV.

1. The third question is that you ask thus: For what reason does this greatness¹ of a righteous man exist?

2. The reply is this, that *it* is for the performance of what is desirable for the creator by the Mazda-worshipper; because he strives unhesitatingly that the way for the performance of what is desirable for the creator *may* be the propitiation² which is his desire, and that desired propitiation² becomes perfect through sound wisdom. 3. The wisdom by which he understands about the desire of the heavenly angels is not appointed (*vakht*), but is the true, pure religion which is knowledge of³ the spirits, the science of sciences, the teacher of the

¹ Referring to Chap. II, 1, and not to Chap. III, 20; otherwise it might be supposed that the questions were contrived to suit the replies.

² Or, perhaps, 'understanding.'

³ K35 has 'obedience to' by inserting a medial stroke in *dânisnô*, which converts it into *sinvisnô*, but is probably a mistake.

teaching of the angels, and the source of all knowledge.

4. And the progress, too, of the pure religion of the *Mazda*-worshippers is through the righteous man, as is shown of him in revelation thus: 'I created, O Zaratûst the Spîtamân! the righteous man who is very active¹, and I will guard his hands from evil deeds; I *will* also have him conveyed unto those who are afterwards righteous and more actively wise². 5. And *at* the same time the religion of me who created him is his desire, *and* it is the obtainment of a ruler which is to be changed by the well-organised renovation *of the universe*³.'

6. As through wisdom is created the world of righteousness, through wisdom is subjugated every evil, and through wisdom is perfected every good; and the best wisdom is the pure religion whose progress is that achieved by the upholders of religion, the greatness of the best men of the righteous, in whose destiny *it is*, such as that which *was* shown about Gâyômarð, Zaratûst, and Sôshâns⁴.

¹ M14 and J here insert 'I will guard his mind from evil thoughts, *his* tongue from evil-speaking.'

² In the future existence.

³ M14 and J have '*and* it is the obtainment of a ruler who is a wise upholder of religion, from time to time, even unto the change of the last existences by the well-organised renovation *of the universe*.' But the additional words appear to have been suggested by the word 'ruler' being taken literally, whereas it seems to have been figuratively applied to the religion which is to rule the righteous till the future existence.

⁴ In Chap. II, 9-13.

CHAPTER V.

1. The fourth question is that which you ask thus: Of this destruction (*zađam*) and terror which ever happen to us from the retribution¹ of the period, and are a cause of the other evils and defects of the good religion, what kind of opinion exists? And is there a good opinion of us among the spirits, or not?

2. The reply is this, that it is said in the revelation of the *Mazda*-worshippers that the impediments (*râs-bandîh*), through which *there* is vexation in righteousness, are because its doctrine is this, that, regarding the difficulty, anxiety, and discomfort which occur through good works set going, it is not desirable to account *them* as much difficulty, trouble, and discomfort. 3. Whereas it is not desirable to account *them* as anxiety and difficulty, it is then declared by it² thereof, that, as its recompense, so much comfort *and* pleasure will come to the soul, as that no one is to think of that difficulty and discomfort which came upon him through so many such good works, because he is steadfast to maintain the good religion, and utters thanksgivings (*va stâyedô*). 4. And as regards the discomfort³, which the same good religion of ours *has* had, it comes on from the opponents of the religion.

¹ Reading *pâđâsân*, but by a slight alteration M₁₄ and J have *pâđakhshahân*, 'monarchs,' which is equally suitable.

² By revelation.

³ M₁₄ and J have 'and he remains thereby certain that his good works are in the statement (*mâđigânô*) of good works, *and* as regards all that terror, anxiety (*vayâđô*), and discomfort,' &c.

5. Through the coming of religion we have full enjoyment (*barâ gûkârêm*), and owing to religion, unlike bondsmen (*abûrdögânvâr*), we do not become changeable among the angels; our spiritual life (*ahvôth*) of praise then arrives in readiness, and owing to the angels *there* are joyous salutation, spiritual life, and glory for the soul.

CHAPTER VI.

1. The fifth question is that you ask thus: Why does evil always happen more *to* the good than to the bad?

2. The reply is this, that not *at* every time and every place, *and* not *to* all the good; does evil happen more—for the spiritual welfare of the good is certainly more—but in the world it is very much more manifest¹. 3. And the reasons for it are many; one which is conclusive is even this, that the modes

¹ *Mi*₄ and *J* have 'but the worldly evil and bondage are incalculably more manifest about the good, much more in the season (*zêmânih*) of *Srôsh*.' The 'season of *Srôsh*' may perhaps mean the night-time, or the three nights after death, when the protection of the angel *Srôsh* is most wanted; but *Dastûr Peshotanji Behramji*, the high-priest of the Parsis in Bombay, prefers reading *zimânash* (with a double pronominal suffix), and has favoured me with the following free translation of the whole passage:—'At every time and every place much evil does not happen *to* all the good; for the good, after having been separated from this world, receive (as a reward for their suffering evil) much goodness in the next world, which goodness is (regarded as) of a very high degree in religious doctrines (*srôsh*).' Perhaps, after all, *Srôsh* is a miswriting of *saryâ*, 'bad, evil.'

and causes of *its* occurrence are more; for the occurrence of evil is more particularly appointed (vakhtô) by two modes, one by the demons, the appointers of evil, *and* one by the vile, the doers of evil; even to the vileness of creation and the vile they cause vexation. 4. Moreover, incalculable is the evil which happens to the vile from the demons, and that to the good from the demons and also from the vile, and the mode of its occurrence is in the same way without a demon.

5. This, too, is more particularly such as the ancients *have* said, that the labour and trouble of the good are much more in the world, and their reward *and* recompense are more certain in the spiritual *existence*; and the comfort and pleasure of the vile are more in the world, and their pain *and* punishment in the spiritual *existence* are more severe. 6. And this, too, is *the case*, that the good, through fear of the pain and punishment of hell, should forsake the comfort and ease in the world, and should not think, speak, *or* do anything improper whatever. 7. And through hope for the comfort and pleasure in heaven they should accept willingly, for the neck¹, much trouble *and* fear in the practice of virtue in thought, word, *and* deed.

8. The vile, through provision with temporary enjoyment²—even that enjoyment of improprieties for which eventually there is hell—then enjoy them-

¹ The word can be read either garêvan, 'collar,' or gardûn, 'neck,' and is the usual Pâz. of the Huz. *kavarman* (Chald. ܐܡܝܢ), 'the neck,' though 'neck' is often expressed by *gardûn*. The meaning is that the yoke of trouble and fear should be accepted.

² M14 and J have 'through provision with the enjoyment of improprieties which is temporarily theirs.'

selves therein temporarily, and lustfully on account of selfishness; those various actions also, through which *there* would be a way to heaven, they do not trouble themselves with.

9. And in this way, in the world, the comfort and pleasure of the vile are more, and the anxiety, vexation, despondency, and distress of the good *have* become more; the reason is revealed by the stars¹.

CHAPTER VII.

1. The sixth question is that which you ask thus: Why are we men produced for the world, and what is it necessary for us to do therein?

2. The reply is this, that even in the reply to an accompanying question² *it* is written that the creatures are achieved for³ justice and the performance of what is desirable for the creator; and to prepare thoroughly well that which is unlimited and the virtuous progress of the creatures, whose distress is like fear, there is the unparalleled (*abrâdarvatô*) renovation *of the universe*.

3. And that preparation arises from the complete predominance of the creator *and* the non-predominance of the fiend, as is said of it in revelation thus: 'In that time I become completely predominant, I who am *Aûharmazd*; in nothing whatever

¹ That is, it is dependent upon destiny.

² See Chap. III.

³ Reading *pavan* instead of *barâ*, two words which are often confounded by the copyists of MSS. because their Persian equivalents are nearly identical.

is the evil spirit predominant.' 4. And also about the good procedure of the creature-creation *it* is recounted thus: 'Happy *am* I when the creatures are so created by me, and according to any wish whatever of mine they give the sovereignty to me, and also come *to* the sovereignty when I have created *it* for the performance of what is desirable for the expression of what sovereignty is.'

5. And it is necessary for us to become so in the world as that the supreme sovereignty of the creator may be kept more friendly to us, its own true servants. 6. The way to that true service is known through wisdom, is believed (*vâvari-aftô*) through truth, *and* is utilized through goodness; and the path of excellence more particularly *leads to* it. 7. And to set the good spirit rightly in the place of thought *it is* deliberately taken *and* they should deliberately leave *it*¹, as it is said in revelation that *Aûharmazd* spoke out to *Zaratûst* thus: 'Thou shouldst assist *Vohûman* with thy pure spiritual faculties (*ahvô*), so that they may make him fully welcome; for when thou assistest *Vohûman* with thy pure spiritual faculties, so that they make him fully welcome, thou shalt thus fully understand the two ways, *that* which is good conduct, and *that* also which is bad conduct.'

CHAPTER VIII.

1. The seventh question is that you ask thus: When a man is passing *away*, *and* after the occurrence of his passing *away*, how does the good work

¹ Compare Chap. III, 15. The 'good spirit' is *Vohûman*.

then go to him *and* assist him, which any others may do for him who has gone out from the world, on the third night in the dawn¹, *at* which he goes out to the balance²? *And is its* greatness such as though it be done by his own hand, or otherwise?

2. The reply is this:—When any others do a good work for him who *has* passed away, after the passing away, and if he who *has* passed away did not order that good work in *his* lifetime, and did not bequeath it, nor *was its* originator, and it was not even his by design (dâdǝ), then it does not go and does not reach him out at the balance. 3. Even at the time for being proceeded with, when that good work does not assist it is not appropriated, for that which is appropriated as the design of some one is appropriated by acceptance from some one; when it is not his by design it is then not accepted *as* his.

4. If he who *has* passed *away* did not order that good work, and did not even bequeath *it*, but was consenting to it by design, that which shall be done in *his* lifetime then reaches out in the three *nights* (satûih) for the aggrandizement of his position; *but* that which shall be done after *his* passing *away* is not in the account of the three *nights* and the balance, but reaches out, at the time the good work is proceeded with, for the enjoyment of the soul.

5. And if he who *has* passed *away* ordered that

¹ The soul of a dead person is supposed to hover about the corpse for three nights, and not to depart for the other world till the dawn after the third night; that is, at dawn of the fourth day, including the day of death (see Chap. XX, 2, 3, Sls. XVII, 2-6).

² Where the soul's good works are balanced against its sins, to determine its fate till the resurrection.

good work in his own *lifetime*, or bequeathed it, or was the originator and cause of the soul's employment, although it is proceeded with after *his* passing away, it then reaches out to him for the happiness of his soul, since the origin of the thanksgiving (*sipâs*)¹, and the orderer and ownership of the good work are certain.

6. Any good work whatever which is proceeded with is clearly a like good work as regards those who account for *it as* with him who is the doer *of it*; also in the account of his soul the good work is as much with him who did *it*, but the soul of him by whom the good work is done by his own hand, is handsomer and stronger than of him by whom it is ordered. 7. And its similitude is such as when a man's handsome and seemly suit of clothes is his own, and he wears *it* on *his* body *and* is handsomer, more splendid, and more seemly *than* another man *who* wears a suit of clothes, *in* like manner, *which* is his own by theft.

CHAPTER IX.

1. The eighth question is that which you ask thus: Of him who, out of his *own* wealth, himself directed others thus: 'Let them act advantageously (*khangînakö*) for my soul,' is it so that what others may do for him out of that wealth *and that* done by his own toil are very different, one from the other, or not?

¹ The good works mentioned in this chapter would chiefly consist of prayers and ceremonies for which priests have to be remunerated, and gifts to holy men and the poor; such actions as are most highly appreciated by priests.

2. The reply is this, that *they* are very different, one from the other; for that which he orders out of his own wealth is more effectual than that which others may do for him without order. 3. And among the kinds of good work, that is more effectual which *one* practises himself and with his own toil; then that *which one* sets going out of whatever is his own by his own order, regarding which he¹ afterwards bequeaths *and* orders out of his own *property and* it comes into progress; and, lastly, that which others may do for him.

4. Since thus his own *and* that which is his by design, when any one manages for him and in his *lifetime*, aggrandize his position then, *and his* soul is preserved, when he manages for him thereafter the enjoyment then reaches unto his soul. 5. When not consenting as to the good work, and *it is* not his by design, even though others may do *it* for him it does not then come into his possession.

CHAPTER X.

1. The ninth question is that which you ask thus: How much does the growth² of his good works increase, from the *time* when the good works are done, so long as *he* is living?

2. The reply is this, that from the *time* when a good work comes into progress *its* growth remains on the increase so long as *he* is living; moreover,

¹ M14 and J make this an additional kind of good work by reading 'after which is that regarding which he himself,' &c.

² Reading *vakhsh* instead of the *vêš*, 'more,' of the MSS.

when he is distressed by that good work¹, while the increase does not desist *from* increase, it grows just as a child becomes enlarged in the womb of a mother.

CHAPTER XI.

1. The tenth question is that which you ask thus : Does the growth which increases become as commendable in the fourth night² as the original good work³ in *his* possession, or does it become otherwise?

2. The reply is this, that *it* is otherwise ; for the original good work stands up opposing sin, and the growing good work⁴ stands up opposed to the growth of sin.

CHAPTER XII.

1. The eleventh question is that you ask thus : Does the growth of a good work eradicate sin just like the original good work, or not?

2. The reply is this, that the growth does eradicate *it*, as happens *with* the good work which is for atonement for sin ; it shall be done as retribution for sin, *and* it eradicates the sin, which is specially mentioned in revelation⁵. 3. 'Then the place of his

¹ The good work being more meritorious when more troublesome.

² After death, when all the immediate ceremonies for the dead have been completed (see Sls. XVII, 5 note).

³ Literally 'the good work of the beginning.' That *bûn kirfakö* does not here stand for *bûn-î kirfakö*, 'the origin or root of the good work,' appears from Chap. XII, 1, where it is written *kirfakö-î bûn*.

⁴ Literally 'the good work of growth.'

⁵ See Pahl. Vend. VII, 136, where the matter is mentioned, but

other good work is evidently the soul; and, in order to be with the sin at *its* origin, it remains *and* is taken into account.' 4. 'Through good works and the growth of good works is the recompense of the soul, so that they should do those good works in atonement for sin.' 5. And concerning the sin eradicated it is said: 'An original good work eradicates original sin¹, and the growth of a good work *eradicates* the growth of a sin.'

CHAPTER XIII.

1. The twelfth question is that which you ask thus: In the fourth night do they score off (*barâ angârênd*) the sin by the good works, and does he go by the residue (*bôn*); or do they inflict punishment on him for the sin which *has* happened to him, and give reward *and* recompense for the good works which he *has* done?

2. The reply is this, that at dawn of the third night the account is prepared it is said, and about the sin which he *has* atoned for, *and* the good work which is its equivalent (*âvâr*) *there* is no need for account, since the account is about the good works which may be appropriated by him *as* his own, and about the sin which may remain *in* him as *its* origin. 3. Because the origin of it (the sin atoned for) remains distinct, and it is cancelled (*astardô*)

the passages which seem to be quoted here must be from some other source.

¹ Literally 'sinning of the beginning' (*bûn-vinâsîh*). It must mean the first commission of any particular sin, and has no connection with the 'original sin' of Christian writers.

by it (the good work), they balance it therewith; and they weigh the excess and deficiency, as it may be, of the *other* good works *and* sin.

4. Of those living, at the just, impartial (*aķafsišnō*) balance the *man* of proper habits (*dâdō*), whose good works are more, when sin *has* happened to him, undergoes a temporary (*vidanâik*) punishment and becomes eternally cleansed by the good works; and he of improper habits, of much sin and little good works, attains temporary enjoyment by those good works, *but* through the sin which they perceive *in* him he is suffering punishment unto the resurrection.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. The thirteenth question is that which you ask thus: Who should prepare the account of the soul as to sin and good works, and in what place should they make it up? *And* when punishment is inflicted by them, where is their place then?

2. The reply is this, that the account about the doers of actions, as to good works *and* sin, three times every day whilst the doer of the actions is living, Vohûman the archangel should prepare; because taking account of the thoughts, words, and deeds of all material existences is among his duties.

3. And about the sin which *affects* accusers¹, which

¹ Sins are divided into two classes, *hamêmâlân* or those which affect 'accusers,' and *rûbânîk* or those which affect only one's own soul. In the first class are included all evil actions which injure our fellow-creatures or any good animal or thing, and for which the injured party (the 'accuser') must receive satisfaction before the sinner can be pardoned (see Sls. VIII, 1).

is committed by (*val*) breakers of promises, even in the world Mitrô¹ is said *to be* over the bodies, words, and fortunes (*hû-bakhtakô*) of the promise-breakers; *and* as to the amount, and also as to *being* more than the stipulation when *there is* a period of time², Mitrô is the account-keeper. 4. In the three *nights' account* (*satûth*) Srôsh the righteous *and* Rashnû the just³ are over the estimate of the limits of the good works *and* sin of righteousness and wickedness. 5. In the future existence, on the completion of every account, the creator Aûharmazd himself takes account⁴, by whom both the former account of the three *nights* and all the thoughts, words, and deeds of the creatures are known through his omniscient wisdom.

6. The punishment for a soul of the sinners comes from that spirit⁵ with *whom* the sin, which *was* committed by it, is connected; fostered by the iniquity practised, that punishment comes upon the souls of the sinful and wicked, first on earth, afterwards in hell, *and* lastly at the organisation of the

¹ The angel of the sun's light; he is a personification of friendship and good faith, and is, therefore, specially aggrieved by breaches of promise and fraudulent debtors, but assists righteous souls in their passage to the other world (see AV. V, 3, Mkh. II, 118).

² Referring to debts and promises to pay.

³ The angels of obedience and justice; the duty of the former is to protect the righteous, and that of the latter is to weigh the good works and sins in his golden scales, when the soul's account is balanced after the third night after death (see AV. V, 2-5, Mkh. II, 115-122).

⁴ Referring, perhaps, to the future temporary separation of the wicked from the righteous, after the assembly of the *Sadvâstarân* (see Bd. XXX, 10-16).

⁵ The demon who is supposed to have occasioned the sin.

future existence¹. 7. When the punishment of the three *nights* is undergone² the soul of the righteous attains to heaven *and* the best existence, *and* the soul of the wicked to hell and the worst existence. 8. When they have undergone their punishment at the renovation *of the universe* they attain, by complete purification from every sin, unto the everlasting progress, happy progress, *and* perfect progress of the best *and* undisturbed existence.

CHAPTER XV.

1. The fourteenth question is that which you ask thus: Is the eradication of life the gnawing of dogs and birds upon the corpse? And does the sin of those who suppose *it*³ a sin proceed from *that* origin, or not?

2. The reply is this, that the decrease of sin and increase of good works, owing to good thoughts, good words, *and* good deeds, arise really from the effort and disquietude which come on by means of the religion the soul practises, *and* through the strength in effort, steadfastness of religion, and

¹ The three days and nights of final punishment, after the resurrection and before the final purification in melted metal (see Bd. XXX, 13, 16, 20), which is mentioned again in § 8.

² This does not refer to the final punishment of §§ 6 and 8, but to the previous three nights' tribulation just after death, and to the fate of the soul before the resurrection (see Chaps. XXIV, XXV).

³ The exposure of the dead, apparently; but the construction of this question and its relation to the reply are by no means clear at first sight. From §§ 2, 5, 6 we have to infer that the exposure is a meritorious action rather than a sin; and from §§ 3, 4 we have to gather that as loss of life occurs to every one, and exposure of the corpse only to some, the former cannot be caused by the latter.

protection of soul *which* the faithful possess. 3. That evil which *occurs* when doing good works, which is the one (*hanâ*) when doing iniquity, and when one strives *it* is the one when he does not strive, the one when content and the one when not content, and after *it is* undesired, and no cause of good works is with it, it occurs just as undesired, for the sake of favour and reward, is the certain eradication of life. 4. It happens once only (*aêtûm*) unto the righteous and the wicked, every one *who* may have received the reward—that reward is living until the time of passing *away*—but the gnawing of dogs and birds does not happen unto every one and every body. 5. It is necessary *for those* to act very differently¹ whose understanding of good works is owing to proper heed of dead matter; and, on account of the rapid change (*vardî-hastanö*) of that pollution, and a desire of atonement for sin, they should carry the body of *one* passed *away* out to a mountain-spur (*kôf vakhsh*), *or* a place of *that* description, enjoining unanimously that the dogs and birds may gnaw it, owing to the position of the appointed place². 6. Therefore, as owing to that fear³, the commands of religion, and progressive

¹ Differently from others.

² The dead must be deposited upon some dry and barren spot, remote from habitations and water, and, if possible, upon the summit of a hill (see Chap. XVII, 17, and Vend. VI, 93). From the mention of dogs gnawing the corpse it would appear that the depositories for the dead were less enclosed when this work was written than they are at present; and in ancient times both enclosed and unenclosed depositories seem to have been used (see Vend. VI, 92-106). For a description of the present form of such depositories see Sls. II, 6, note.

³ Fear of pollution from the dead.

desire *it* is accepted strenuously for the wicked himself, his own recompense is therein, and it happens to him in that way for the removal (narafsisnô) of sin *and* for the gratification of *his* soul.

CHAPTER XVI.

1. The fifteenth question is that which you ask thus: When the dogs and birds tear it (the corpse) does the soul know *it*, and does it occur uncomfortably *for* it, or how is it?

2. The reply is this, that the pain *occasioned* by the tearing and gnawing so galls (mâlêdô) the body of men that, though the soul *were* abiding with the body, such soul, which *one* knows is happy and immortal, *would* then depart from the body, *along* with the animating life, the informing (sinâyînâkô) consciousness, *and* the remaining resources of life.

3. The body is inert, unmoving, and not to be galled; and at last no pain whatever galls *it*, nor is it perceived; and the soul, with the life, is outside of the body, and is not unsafe as regards its gnawing, but through the spiritual perception¹ it sees *and* knows *it*.

4. That which is wicked is then again desirous of its bodily existence², when it sees them thus: the wonderfully-constructed body which was its

¹ Supposing that sinâsnô stands for sinâyîsnô; otherwise we must read 'in the spiritual places (dîvâgânô).'

² This section is made still more complicated in the Pahlavi text by the division of this first phrase; half of it being placed at the beginning, and the other half at the extreme end of the sentence.

vesture, *and* is dispersed, and that spiritual life (hûkǝ) which was with its heart, and is even on account of this—that is: ‘Because in my bodily existence and worldly progress *there was* no atonement for sin and no accumulation of righteousness’—also in mourning about it thus: ‘In the prosperity which this body of mine had, it would have been possible for me to atone for sin *and* to save the soul, *but* now I am separated from every one and *from* the joy of the world, which is great hope of spiritual *life*; and I have attained to the perplexing account and more serious danger.’ 5. And the gnawing becomes as grievous to it, on account of that body, as a closely-shut arsenal (afzâr bêtâ-f badtûm) and a concealed innermost garment are useless among those with limbs *provided* with weapons and accoutrements, and are destroyed.

6. And of that, too, which is righteous and *filled* with the great joy that *arises* from *being* really certain of the best existence, then also the spiritual life which was with its body, on account of the great righteousness, *fit* for the exalted (fîrâkhtagânîk), which *was* ever accumulated by it with the body, is well developed (madam hû-tâshîdǝ), *and* the wonderfully-constructed body is destroyed in the manner of a garment, particularly when its dispersion (apâsisnǝ) occurs thereby.

7. And the consciousness of men, as it sits three nights outside of the body, in the vicinity of the body, *has* to remember and expect that *which* is truly fear and trouble (khâr) unto the demons, *and* reward, peace, and glad tidings (nôvîk) unto the spirits of the good; and, on account of the dispersion and injuring of the body, it utters a cry spiritually,

thus: 'Why do the dogs and birds gnaw this organised body, when still at last the body and life unite together at the raising of the dead?' 8. And this is the reminding of the resurrection *and* liberation, and it becomes the happiness and hope of the spirit of the body *and* the other good spirits, and the fear *and* vexation of the demons and fiends.

CHAPTER XVII.

1. The sixteenth question is that which you ask thus: What is the purpose¹ of giving up a corpse to the birds?

2. The reply is this, that the construction of the body of those passed *away* is so wonderful that two co-existences have come together for *it*, one which is to occasion endurance (dêr padâyinîdanö) *and* one which is to cause conflict (nipôrdînîdanö), and their natures are these, for watching the angels *and* averting the demons. 3. After appertaining *to it* the life—so long as *it is* in the locality of the place of the body—and the demons of dull intellects, *who* are frightened by the body, are just like a sheep startled by wolves when they shall further frighten *it* by a wolf². 4. The spirit of the body, on account of being the spiritual life (hûkô) for the heart in the body, is indestructible; so is the will which resided therein, even when they shall release it from *its* abode.

5. In the same way the body of those who are

¹ Assuming that âhan stands for âhang.

² This last clause is a quotation, slightly altered, from Pahl. Vend. XIX, 108, 109.

passed *away* is so much the more innocently worthy of the rights (sânō) of *one* properly passed *away*, and *what it* is therein provided with, as it has uttered thanksgivings. 6. *For* those guardian spirits who keep watch over the body of Keresâsp¹ the Sâmân are also such praises from the life and body, for that reason, moreover, when they unite.

7. The injury of the destroyer to the body of those passed *away* is contaminating; the Nasûs ('corruption')² rushes on it and, owing to its violence when it becomes triumphant over the life of the righteous man, and frightens it from the place of the catastrophe (hankarâtkth), and puts itself into the place of the body, that body is then, for that reason, called Nasât ('dead matter'). 8. And, on account of the co-existence of rapid changing and the mode of attacking of the same Nasûs, even when it is necessary for the disintegration of the body, this is also then to lie and change sanatorily.

¹ An ancient hero, mentioned both in the Avesta and Shâhnâmah, who, owing to his disregard of religion, is said to be lying asleep on the plain of Pêsyânsai (probably the Pîsîn valley near Qandahâr), watched by a myriad guardian spirits of the righteous, until he shall be hereafter aroused by the angels to kill the revived usurper Az-i Dahâk (see Bd. XXIX, 7, 8, Byt. III, 59–61). Regarding his soul a legend is related in the Pahlavi tracts which precede Dd. in some MSS., of which a translation will be found in Appendix I.

² Supposed to be a fiend who enters and pervades every corpse immediately after death, except in certain cases of violent death, when its arrival is delayed till the next period of the day (see Sls. X, 32). This exception is made in Vend. VII, 5, 6, and was probably intended, in most cases, to prevent a person who had met with a serious accident being left to perish, through fear of his death contaminating any one coming to his relief; not from any idea of the fiend being taken unawares by the suddenness of the death. This fiend is the Av. *nasu* (nom. *nasus*).

9. Hence, as the body of men is formed out of hard bone and soft fat, that *which* is established is the expulsion of the bone from the fat. 10. For the bone through its hardness, when no damp fat is with it, and it does not become a holder of its damp, is itself essentially dry; and it becomes unconsumable and attaining durability, through dryness, out of the dead matter even for perpetuity. 11. And the sun is provided to make rotten, dispersed, *and* useless the fat that is around the bone, which on the decay of the animating life is to become increasingly damp, and, after the departure of life through terror and disgust (adôstîh), it comes to rottenness and stench; and the noxious creatures in *it* alike afflict it and the hard *part* such as bone.

12. As regards the shrinking away of those who are sinners, the nearer way to a remedy is the gnawer away from men¹; the fat becomes separate from the bone, and is seized and digested, as by the separation of the fat from the dead matter for digestion, moreover, the permanent matter (asarîh) and bone attain more fully unto their own nature (sânö), *and* the body (kâlpûdö) to emptiness. 13. Because there is no *other* way to consume that fat of men, since *it* is most grievous to them (the sinners), and the pollution and contamination are made a blessing unto it (the gnawer). 14. The dispersers (astârđögarân) completely disperse from it²; they are ap-

¹ That is, in the case of those who neglect the proper exposure of corpses, there is a natural remedy in the worms produced for consuming them. Perhaps the word khastâr, 'cutter or gnawer,' stands for khastar, 'noxious creature.'

² The consumers of the corpse disperse when their work is done, and carry contamination with them unless purified by the sun's heat, as described in § 15.

pointed and produced, a production not worthy, for its defilement of those purified *and* animals is contaminating, through contact again with men. 15. The crow (galâg) and such-like, through scorching away by the fire of the luminaries, become worthy; moreover, the affliction of that which is completely pure fire arises therefrom, as it is not able itself to come unto the scorched *one*, *for* then the defilement (darvâkh) of the scorcher by the most grievous gnawer *would* be possible.

16. But it is not proper to recount (angâstanô) the devouring of the noxious creatures, for the spirit of the body is troubled when it observes the alarmed (vazîd) spirituality which *was* in the body of those destroyed, the noxious creatures upon the goodly forms, and the mode and strangeness of *their* disintegration and spoliation. 17. And so it then becomes the more remedial way¹ when, as it is ordered in revelation², the body fraught with corruption is placed on the ground of a clear mountain-spur (kôf vakhsh); *and*, in order not to convey it to the water, plants, and men of the plain, it is fastened³ in the customary manner, so that the corpse-eating dogs and corpse-eating birds, which are not subject to the hand (dastô-âmûkô) of men, and are likewise not entertained as food, shall yet not drag *any* of it away for man's eating of dead matter.

18. For streams and waters go themselves⁴ *and*

¹ That is, it is better to adopt the customary mode of removing the corpse.

² See Vend. VI, 93-97.

³ This is ordered only when the corpse is not placed in any enclosure.

⁴ Or, as Vend. V, 49-62 describes it, the water is rained down by

consume that fat, and are digested by the vital fire¹ which is in the life of the creatures of Aûharmazd; and from fat the corpses and dead matter are reduced unto dregs of clay² and permanent matter, even with the dust they are mingled and become scattered about. 19. Likewise to those dogs, flying creatures, and birds they themselves (the waters) have given the corpse-eating quality and habit³, and on account of dull intellect they (the creatures) are not overwhelmed even by that sin.

20. From that fat which is mingled with the living body of a creature of Aûharmazd then arises also the assault⁴ of the demons, as is shown in the chapter⁵ on the reason for showing a dog to a dead person, so that the body of those passed away, when the gnawers away are mingled with the living body of a creature of Aûharmazd, exhibits a partial resurrection and the tokens of it, and thereby the demons keep in it (the living body), and give pain⁶ by the will of the sacred beings.

Aûharmazd, purified in the Pûtîk sea, and conveyed through the wide-formed ocean to the well-watered tree of all seeds, whence the falling seeds are brought back, with the misty clouds, and rained upon the earth, to grow there and yield food for cattle and men.

¹ The vital heat, or Vohu-fryân fire (see Bd. XVII, 1, 2).

² Reading gîl-valîgh (compare Pers. kalîz, 'sediment,' or galîz, 'saliva').

³ Which they have imbibed by contact with dead matter.

⁴ Or 'weapon.'

⁵ No such chapter is now extant in Dd., and, therefore, this remark favours the supposition that some chapters are lost between Chaps. XCIII and XCIV. A corpse must be shown to a dog in order that the demon, Nasûs, may be driven out of it by the look, or touch, of the dog (see Sls. II, 1-4, X, 33).

⁶ A recognition of the fact that the drinking of impure water, or eating of tainted food, is apt to produce disease.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. The seventeenth question is that you ask thus: Is it better when they give *it* to the birds, or what mode is better?

2. The reply is this, that after showing the dog—the reason of which is as declared¹ in its own chapter—they shall carry the corpse at once to the hills and rising ground (vakhsh bûm); and, for the reason that the dogs *and* birds should not bring that dead matter away to a watered, cultivated, *or* inhabited place, *one* is to fasten *it in* the manner of a thief². 3. When the corpse-eating birds have eaten the fat, that fat which, when it is not possible to eat *it*, becomes rotten, offensive, and fraught with noxious creatures, then *men* shall properly convey the bones away to the bone-receptacle (astôdânö), which³ *one* is to elevate so from the ground, *and* over which⁴ a roof (âskûpö) so stands, that in no way does the rain fall upon the dead matter, nor the water reach up to it therein, nor the damp make up to it therein, nor are the dog and fox able to go to it, and for the sake of light coming to it a hole is made therein.

4. More authoritatively (dastôbarîhâ) it is said that bone-receptacle is a vault (kadakö) of solid stone⁵, and its covering (nihûmbakö) *one* is to

¹ Literally 'as the reason of it is declared.' This is another allusion to the missing chapter mentioned in Chap. XVII, 20.

² Reading âhûn khadûîñö, but this is very likely a corruption of khadûîñö khadûîñö, 'in various modes.'

³ The MSS. have mûnam, 'which by me.'

⁴ The MSS. have min madam, 'from above.'

⁵ Whether khadûkö-sagakö means 'solid rock' or 'solid ashlar' is doubtful.

construct also of a single stone which is cut perforated (sûlâk-hômand), and around it *one* is to fill in with stone and mortar¹.

CHAPTER XIX.

1. The eighteenth question is that which you ask thus: When the souls of the righteous *and* the souls of the wicked go out to the spirits, will it then be possible for them to see Aûharmazd and Aharman², or not?

2. The reply is this, that concerning Aharman it is said that his is no material existence (stîs); *and* Aûharmazd, as a spirit among the spirits, is to be heard by those who are material and those also who are spiritual, *but his* form (kerpô) is not completely visible except through wisdom. 3. And a semblance of *his* power is seen, as *was* told unto Zarâtûst the Spîtamân when he saw the result (zah) of his handiwork, and he (Aûharmazd) spoke thus: 'Grasp the hand of a righteous man! for the kindly operation of my religion through³ thee thyself is as

¹ Perhaps the single stone is not to cover the whole space, but merely to contain the opening for light, and to be set in a vaulted roof of ashlar or rubble; otherwise it is not clear where the filling with stone and mortar is to be placed. This bone-receptacle was to be provided for the bones of those corpses which were deposited on the open ground. In the enclosed depositories, used in India, the bone-receptacle is a circular well in the centre, from which the rain does not appear to be excluded (see Sls. II, 6, note).

² The evil spirit (see Chap. II, 11), whose nature and powers differ very little from those ascribed to the devil by most Christian writers.

³ Or 'on;' or, perhaps, it 'is as much as he shall grasp at thee thyself.'

much as he shall grasp, and thou mayst see him whose reception (*mâhmânth*) of my wisdom and glory is the most.'

4. And about the souls of the righteous and wicked, in the spiritual places they see the throne (*gâs*), which they deem a sight of *Aûharmazd*. 5. And so also those who are domiciled with (*ham-nemân*) Aharman, through that wisdom with reference to whose creator they shall suffer, will understand minutely as regards *Aûharmazd* and the nature of Aharman (*Aharmanth*). 6. And he who is of the righteous is delighted at escaping from Aharman *and* coming to the existence pertaining to *Aûharmazd*; and they shall offer homage to the glory¹ of *Aûharmazd*. 7. And he who is wicked, through being deceived by Aharman, and turning from the direction (*pe lag*) of *Aûharmazd*, becomes more vexed *and* more penitent; the hope (*zahišnō*) and forgiveness which he possesses, and the retribution *and* manacling which are his among the fiends *and* spirits through his own handiwork, are *by* the permission which comes from the most persistent of the persistent² at the period of the resurrection.

¹ The word 'glory' is always to be understood in its material sense of 'radiance, effulgence.'

² That is, from *Aûharmazd*. The epithet *khvâpar*, here translated 'persistent,' appears to mean 'self-sustaining' in the Avesta (see Sls. XXII, 21); traditionally it is supposed to mean 'protecting, cherishing,' but this is merely a guess, though it seems related to Pers. *khapârah*, 'active,' and may, therefore, often mean 'persevering.'

CHAPTER XX.

1. The nineteenth question is that you ask thus :
To what place do the righteous and wicked¹ go ?

2. The reply is this, that it is thus said that the souls of those passed *away and* of the dead² are three nights on earth ; and the first night satisfaction comes to them from *their* good thoughts *and* vexation from *their* evil thoughts, the second night *come* pleasure from *their* good words *and* discomfort and punishment³ from *their* evil words, *and* the third night *come* exaltation from *their* good deeds *and* punishment from *their* evil deeds⁴. 3. And that third night, in the dawn, they go to the place of account *on* Albûrz⁵ ; the account *being* rendered they proceed to the bridge⁶, and he who is righteous

¹ As K35 inserts the relative *î* here, some such phrase as 'who are dead' has probably dropped out of the Pahlavi text.

² The Parsi books speak of the righteous dead as 'departed,' a term very rarely applied to the wicked (see Chap. XXXII, 4), who are nearly always said 'to die;' the latter verb is, however, occasionally used when speaking of the righteous. This distinction is made even in the Huzvâris logograms, which express the death of the righteous by forms allied to Chald. עָבַר 'he passed over,' and the death of the wicked by forms allied to Chald. מָיַת 'he died.'

³ So in all MSS., but the 'punishment' seems superfluous here.

⁴ The Avesta merely states that the soul remains three nights near the body, chanting a particular hymn, and experiencing as much pleasure or uneasiness as it had in the world (see Hn. II, 3-17, III, 3-16); and much the same account is given in AV. IV, 9-14, XVII, 2-9, Mkh. II, 114, 158-160.

⁵ The mountain chain which is supposed to surround the world (see Bd. XII, 3); the Av. Hara-berezaiti.

⁶ The *Kinvad* bridge (see Chap. XXI, 2-7), which is said to

passes over the bridge on the ascent (lâlâih), and if belonging to the ever-stationary (hamîstânîkō)¹ he goes thither where their place is, if *along* with an excess of good works *his* habits are correct (frârûn-dâd) *he goes* even unto heaven (vahistō), and if *along* with an excess of good works *and* correct habits *he has* chanted the sacred hymns (gâsânō) *he goes* even unto the supreme heaven (garôdmânō). 4. He who is of the wicked falls from the lower end (tîh) of the bridge, or from the middle of the bridge; he falls head-foremost to hell, *and* is precipitated (nikûnî-aitō) unto that grade² which is *suitable* for his wickedness.

CHAPTER XXI.

1. The twentieth question is that which you ask thus: How are the *Kînvad* bridge, the *Dâtîh* peak (*kakâd*), and the path of the righteous and wicked;

rest upon the *Dâtîh* ('judicial') peak, and to pass over to *Albûrz* (see Bd. XII, 7). According to the *Avesta* (Vend. XIX, 100, 101, trans. D.) his conscience, in the form of a maiden, 'makes the soul of the righteous one go up above the *Hara-berezaiti* (*Albûrz*); above the *Kînvad* bridge she places it in the presence of the heavenly gods (angels) themselves.' See also AV. V, 1, 2, Mkh. II, 115.

¹ The intermediate place for those not good enough for heaven and not bad enough for hell, where such souls remain in a passive, immovable state till the resurrection (see Sls. VI, 2). It is divided into two parts, according to the author, one for those nearly righteous (see Chap. XXIV, 6), and one for those nearly wicked (see Chap. XXXIII, 2).

² Four grades of heaven and four of hell are mentioned in AV. and Mkh. (see Sls. VI, 3, note).

how *are they* when *one* is righteous, and how when *one* is wicked?

2. The reply is this, that thus the high-priests *have* said, that the Dâitih peak¹ is in Atrân-vêg², in the middle of the world; reaching unto the vicinity of that peak is that beam-shaped (dâr-kerpô) spirit, the Kinvad bridge³, which is thrown *across* from the Albûrz enclosure (var) back to the Dâitih peak.

3. As *it were* that bridge is like a beam of many sides, of whose edges (pôstô) there are *some* which are broad, and there are *some* which are thin *and* sharp; its broad sides (sûkîhâ) are so large that its width is twenty-seven reeds (nâf), and its sharp sides are so contracted (tang) that in thinness *it* is just like the edge of a razor. 4. And when the souls of the righteous and wicked arrive it turns to that side which is *suitable* to their necessities, through the great glory of the creator and the command of him who *takes* the just account⁴.

5. Moreover, the bridge becomes a broad bridge for the righteous, as much as the height of nine spears (nîzakô)—and the length of those which they carry is each separately three reeds⁵—; and

¹ The Kâkâd-î Dâitîk of Bd. XII, 7.

² The primeval home of Mazda-worship (see Vend. I, 5, 6), which the Bundahis places 'in the direction of Âdarbigân;' it is also stated to contain the Dâitîk or Dâitih river (which must not be confounded with the Dâitih peak) and the Dâraga river (on whose bank Zaratûst's father is said to have dwelt), and to have been the scene of Zaratûst's first promulgation of the religion (Bd. XX, 13, 32, XXIX, 12, XXXII, 3). Its winter is likewise described as both long and cold (Vend. I, 8-12, Bd. XXV, 11, 16), which is the case in Âdarbigân.

³ See Chap. XX, 3.

⁴ The angel Rashnû.

⁵ The nine spears of three reeds each, in length, making up the

it becomes a narrow bridge *for* the wicked, even unto a resemblance to the edge of a razor. 6. And he who is of the righteous passes over the bridge, and a worldly similitude of the pleasantness of his path upon it is when thou shalt eagerly and unweariedly walk in the golden-coloured spring, and *with* the gallant (hû-kîr¹) body and sweet-scented blossom in the pleasant skin of that maiden² spirit, the price of goodness. 7. He who is of the wicked, as he places a footstep *on* to the bridge, on account of affliction (siparîh) and *its* sharpness, falls from the middle of the bridge, and rolls *over* head-foremost. 8. And the unpleasantness of his path to hell is in similitude such as the worldly *one* in the midst of that stinking *and* dying existence (hastân), there where numbers of the sharp-pointed darts (têzö mûk dûgö) are planted³ out inverted and point upwards, and they come unwillingly running; they shall not allow *them* to stay behind, *or* to make delay. 9. So much greater *than* the worldly similitude is that pleasantness and unpleasantness unto the souls, as such as is fit for the spirit is greater than *that* fit for the world.

twenty-seven reeds mentioned in § 3. As the reed appears to have been about 4 feet 8 inches (see Chap. XLIII, 5, note), the width of the bridge is supposed to be about 126 feet, and the length of a spear is taken as 14 feet.

¹ So in the MSS., but hû-kîhar, 'handsome,' is more probable.

² Reading kanîkô, instead of the kanâkô of the MSS., as there can be no allusion to the evil spirit here. The reference is to a good conscience, which is symbolised by the handsome maiden who is supposed to meet the righteous soul on its way to heaven (see Chap. XXIV, 5).

³ Assuming that âgzast is equivalent to Pers. âgast. The allusion seems to be to a form of torturing punishment (running upon ground studded with sharp points) well known to the author.

CHAPTER XXII.

1. The twenty-first question is that which you ask thus: When he who is righteous passes away, who has performed much worship of the sacred beings, and many duties and good works, do the spirit of creation, the spirit of the *sacred* ceremony (*yazisnō*) and religion of the *Mazda*-worshippers, the water, earth, plants, and animals, make complaint unto *Aûharmazd*, owing to the passing away of him who is righteous, and is it distressing to them when he goes out from the world, or how is it?

2. The reply is this, that *as to* him who is of the righteous, in *his* transit of worldly pain in passing away, and also after passing away to the passage onwards¹ which is his limit (*stâr*) still in the perplexing account, and, after the account, in his own joy, and in what *occurs* when his gossips (*ham-vâkân*) in the world—by whom the spiritual beings are also not unrecognised, *nor* his position unknown—are in worldly demeanour downcast and grieving, *on all these occasions*² *his* thoughts, procuring forgiveness, are about the sacred beings. 3. And the spirit of creation, *and* the good spirit of the religion of the *Mazda*-worshippers, which are in the worldly *existence*—of which³ also, in the world, that righteous *one* is a praiser, an employer, a manager, a protection, and a forbearing friend—shall make an outcry to

¹ The *Kinvað* bridge, near which the soul's account is rendered.

² The sentence is clear enough in Pahlavi, but too involved to be readily understood in English without these extra words.

³ The worldly existences which those spirits represent.

the creator about him who is righteous, who is *away* from worldly protection, *also* for the granting of a promoter of forbearance, and *for* a restorer (*âvôrdâr*) of *what* is extorted¹; *likewise* a petition about the compensatory concomitants as to his new protection and disposer.

4. And the almighty creator responds, *and* allots a teacher² for smiting the fiend, for the satisfaction of the righteous, *and* for the protection of the good creatures. 5. As it is said, that in every age a high-priest of the religion and *his* managing of the creatures are made manifest, in whom, in that age, the protection of the creatures and the will of the sacred beings are progressing.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1. The twenty-second question is that which you ask thus: When they shall snatch forth the life from the body of man how does it depart?

2. The reply is this, that *it* is said *to be* in resemblance such as when the redness is drawn up out of a fire; for when the inflammable *material* of a fire is burnt, *and has* remained without glowing³,

¹ These latter clauses of the outcry refer to their own wants, and the necessity of providing some one to take the place of the deceased; but the final petition seems to be for the deceased himself.

² The word may be either *farhakhtâkô*, 'preparing, educating,' or *firistâkô*, 'sending, deputing,' and must be used as a substantive.

³ Reading *abarîs* (compare Pers. *barz*, 'splendour'), or it may be *abarâkh*, 'sparkless,' if *barkh*, 'a spark,' be a pure Persian word, which is doubtful.

and when it does not obtain new inflammable *material*, or extinguishing *matter* (nizâyisnîk) comes upon *it*, its redness *and* heat then depart from it¹; the life, too, on the departure of the breath (vâdö vasakîh), does not stay in the body, *but in* like manner departs.

3. To a like purport the high-priests of the religion *have* also said this, that mortals *and* men by listening² perceive the time when the spirits shall put a noose (band) on the neck³; when his time *has* fully come *one* then conducts him with a companion (pavan ham-bar)⁴, and at his falling are the place of death⁵ and cause of death; and *having* made lethargy (bûshâsp) deliver him up, and terrified his fever (tapö), death (aôsh) seizes decrepitude (zarmân) *away* from him⁶.

4. The strength in those intrusted *with him*, and the good proceedings *and* pursuit of means which remain behind⁷, giving them strength, are the deter-

¹ M14 and J omit the remainder of the sentence.

² Reading *sinvisnö*, but by omitting a stroke we should have *dânisnö*, 'knowledge.'

³ Of a person at the point of death. The demon of death, *Astô-vidâz*, is supposed to cast a noose around the necks of the dead to drag them to hell, which only the righteous can throw off (see Bd. III, 21, 22).

⁴ That is, the dying man must be conveyed by more than one person, for fear of such contamination by the demon of corruption (at the time of death) as would require the tedious *Bareshnûm* ceremonial of purification (see Sls. II, 1, 6-8).

⁵ And, therefore, the place where his body will rise again at the resurrection (see Sls. XVII, 11-14).

⁶ Lethargy, fever, and decrepitude are considered as fiends, but are dispossessed by the mightier demon of death. M14 and J mention 'lethargy,' but omit the after part of the sentence.

⁷ Alluding probably to the ceremonies to be ordered and performed by the survivors (see Chap. XXVIII, 6, Sls. XVII, 2-6).

mination (*vikîr*) which is their own inward physician.
 5. And should it be a passing *away* (*vidarg*) which obtains no light, and on account of their disquietudes *they have* gone to the understanders of remedies for strength for the remedial duties, and the way is closed, he proceeds with insufficiency of means¹.
 6. And the soul of the body, which is the master of *its* house (*kadak khûdâi*), *along* with the animating life, *goes* out of the impotent body to the immortal souls², as a wise master of a house *goes* out of a foreign (*anîrânö*) house to a residence of the good worship.

7. *It was* also told to the ancient learned that life (*khayâ*) is where there is a living spirit within the soul's body, which is connected with the soul³, as much as a development (*sarîûtânö*) of the body, and is the life (*zîvandakîh*) of the soul of a body of *one* passed *away*.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1. The twenty-third question is that which you ask thus: When he who is righteous passes away, where is the place the soul sits the first night, the second, and the third; and what does it do?

2. The reply is this, that thus it is said, that the

¹ That is, when there are doubts about the fate of the soul, and the survivors can obtain no satisfactory assurances from the priesthood, the soul has to proceed to the other world without suitable provision for its happiness.

² The MSS. have 'soul.'

³ M₁₄ and J have 'which is the soul,' and omit the remainder of the sentence.

soul of man, itself the spirit of the body¹, after passing away, is three nights upon earth, doubtful about its own position (gâs)², and in fear of the account; and it experiences terror, distress (dah-yakö), and fear through anxiety about the *Kinvad* bridge³; and as it sits it notices about its own good works *and* sin. 3. And the soul, which in a manner *belongs* to *that* same spirit of the body which is alike experiencing and alike touching it, becomes acquainted by sight with the sin which it *has* committed, and the good works which it *has* scantily done.

4. And the first night from its own good thoughts, the second night from *its* good words, and the third night from *its* good deeds it obtains pleasure for the soul; and if also, with the righteousness, there be sin which remains *in it* as its origin, the first punishment in retribution for the evil deed occurs *that* same third night. 5. The same third night, on the fresh arrival of a dawn⁴, the treasurer of good works, like a handsome maiden (kanîkö)⁵, comes out to meet *it* with the store of its own good works; and, collected by witches (parîkö-kînd), the sin and crime unatoned for (atôkhtö) come on to the account *and* are justly accounted for⁶.

¹ The 'spirit of the body' which is to some extent distinguished from the 'soul,' both in this chapter and the next, is probably the life, as described in Chap. XXIII, 7.

² That is, its future position, or 'destination.'

³ See Chap. XXI, 2-7.

⁴ Reading *dên bâm-î nuk ayâftö*.

⁵ Fully described in Hn. II, 22-32, AV. IV, 18-35, Mkh. II, 125-139.

⁶ The author is more practical than most other writers on the same subject, as he assumes that the righteous soul is not absolutely righteous, nor the wicked soul absolutely wicked.

6. For the remaining (*ketrûnd*) sin it undergoes punishment *at* the bridge, and the evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds are atoned for; and with the good thoughts, good words, and good deeds of its own commendable and pleasing spirit it steps forward unto the supreme heaven (*garôdmânô*)¹, or to heaven (*vahistô*), or to the ever-stationary (*hamîstânagânô*) of the righteous², there where there is a place for it in righteousness.

CHAPTER XXV.

1. The twenty-fourth question is that which you ask thus: When he who is wicked shall die, where is the place the soul sits the first night, the second, and the third; and what does it say and do?

2. The reply is this, that those three nights the soul is upon earth, *and* notices about the thoughts, words, and deeds of its own body; *it* is doubtful about its own position, and experiences grievous fear of the account, great terror of the bridge, and perplexing fear on account of hell. 3. Thought is oppressive as an indicator of fear, and the soul, in a manner the spirit of the body, is a computer³ and acquirer of acquaintance by sight about the good works which it *has* not done, and the sin which it *has* committed.

4. And the first night *it* is hastening *away* from

¹ See Chap. XX, 3.

² There is another place for the ever-stationary of the wicked (see Chap. XXXIII, 2).

³ Assuming that *angrâtđâr* stands for *angâriđâr*.

its own evil thoughts, the second night from its own evil words, and the third night from its own evil deeds; but, owing to the good works which it has done in the world, the first night the spirit of *its* good thoughts, the second night the spirit of *its* good words, and the third night the spirit of *its* good deeds, come unto the soul, and become pleasing and commendable to it.

5. And the third night, on the fresh arrival of a dawn, its sin, in the frightful, polluted shape of a maiden (*karâtîk*) who is an injurer, comes to meet *it* with the store of its sin; and a stinking northerly¹ wind comes out to meet *it*, and it comes on shudderingly, quiveringly², and unwillingly running to the account. 6. And through being deceived and deceiving, heresy (*avârûn-dînôth*), unrelenting and false³ accusation of constant companions, and the wide-*spread* sinfulness of a fiend-like existence (*drûg-stihîh*) it is ruined, falls from the bridge, *and* is precipitated to hell.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1. The twenty-fifth question is that which you ask thus: How are the nature of heaven (*vahistô*), *and* the comfort and pleasure which are in heaven?

2. The reply is this, that *it is* lofty, exalted, and

¹ The demons are supposed to come from the north, where the gates of hell are situated (see Sls. X, 7).

² Reading *astô-sîstihâ nafô-gumdânihâ*, which may be, literally, 'with bones started *and* with shaking navel;' but the reading is doubtful.

³ Literally 'not allowing to hear and false-speaking.'

supreme, most brilliant, most fragrant, and most pure, most *supplied with* beautiful existences, most desirable, and most good, and the place *and* abode of the sacred beings (*yazdânö*). 3. And in it are all comfort, pleasure, joy, happiness (*vasdâgih*), and welfare, more *and* better even than the greatest *and* supremest welfare *and* pleasure in the world; and there is no want, pain, distress, *or* discomfort whatever *in* it; and its pleasantness and the welfare of the angels are from that constantly-beneficial place (*gâs*), the full *and* undiminishable space (*gûng*)¹, the good and boundless world.

4. And the freedom of the heavenly from danger from evil in heaven is like unto *their* freedom from disturbance, and the coming of the good angels is like unto *the heavenly ones'* own good works provided. 5. This prosperity (*freh-hastö*) and welfare of the spiritual *existence* is *more* than that of the world, as much as that which is unlimited *and* everlasting is *more* than that which is limited and demoniacal (*sêdântkö*).

CHAPTER XXVII.

1. The twenty-sixth question is that which you ask thus: How are the nature of hell, *and* the pain, discomfort², punishment, and stench of hell?

2. The reply is this, that *it is* sunken, deep, and descending, most dark, most stinking, and most terrible, most *supplied with* wretched existences (*anâzdântûm*), and most bad, the place and cave

¹ See Chap. XXXI, 24.

² Or 'ingloriousness.'

(grêstakö) of the demons and fiends. 3. And in it is no comfort, pleasantness, *or* joy whatever; *but* in it are all stench, filth, pain, punishment, distress, profound evil, and discomfort; and *there* is no resemblance of it whatever *to* worldly stench, filthiness, pain, and evil. 4. And since *there* is no resemblance of the mixed evil of the world to that which is its sole-indicating (aê-numâi) good, *there* is also a deviation (gumîsnö) of it from the origin and abode of evil¹.

5. And so much more grievous is the evil in hell than even the most grievous evil on earth, as the greatness of the spiritual *existence* is *more* than *that* of the world; and more grievous is the terror of the punishment on the soul than that of the vileness of the demons on the body. 6. And the punishment on the soul is from those whose abode *it has* become², from the demons and darkness—a likeness of that evil to hell—the head (kamârakö) of whom is Aharman the deadly.

7. And the words of the expressive utterance of the high-priests are these, that where *there* is a fear of every other thing *it* is more than the thing itself, *but* hell is a thing worse than the fear of *it*.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1. The twenty-seventh question is that which you ask thus: Why and what is *the ceremony of*

Meaning, probably, that the mixture of good and evil in the world is as far removed from heaven as it is from hell. But the words aê-numâi and gumîsnö are doubtful both in reading and meaning.

² That is, hell has become; reading mân gastö.

the three *nights* (satûlh), when during three days they order and perform the sacred-cake ceremony (yazisnô drônô) of Srôsh¹?

2. The reply is this, that the life and soul, when from the realm of the spirit of air² they attain unto worldly attire, and have passed into its pain and misfortune, are more sensitive (nâzûktar); owing to their nurture, birth, *and* mission, protection and defence are more desirable and more suitable for the discreet (hû-kîragânîktar); and milk food, and renewed (navagûnak) and constant attention to the fire are requisite³. 3. So also when they are ousted from bodily existence, and pain and the eradication of life have come upon them, *they* are *in* like manner more sensitive, and sending them protection and defence from spirits *and* worldly existences is more desirable. 4. And on account of their spiritual character the offering (firîstisnô) of gifts *for* the angels, fit for the ritual of a spirit (maînôk nîrangîk), is more presentable; and also a fire newly tended (nôgônd) is that which is more the custom in the *sacred* ceremony (yazisnô).

5. *For* the same reason *in* the three days when in connection with the soul the *sacred* ceremony, the burning of fire, *its* cleanly clearance (gôndisnô),

¹ See Chap. XIV, 4.

² Reading min maînôk vâyh, and assuming that 'the good Vâê' (the Vayô of the Râm Yt.), who is often called the angel Râm, is alluded to (see Chap. XXX, 4, Sls. XI, 4, XVII, 4). The life and soul are treated as one being in this chapter, as all the verbs and pronouns referring to them are in the singular number in the Pahlavi text.

³ Referring to the proper care of new-born infants, for whose protection from the demons a bright fire is to be kept constantly burning for three days (see Sls. XII, 11, 12).

and other religious *and* ritualistic defence, feeding on milk *and* eating with a spoon¹ are ordered, because—as the *sacred* ceremony, the defence and protection of the worldly existences, is, by order of the creator, the business of Srôsh the righteous², and *he* is also one of *those* taking the account in the three *nights*³—Srôsh the righteous gives the soul, *for* three days and nights, the place of the spirit of air in the world, and protection. 6. And because of the protectiveness of Srôsh, and *that one* is assisted likewise by Srôsh's taking the account, and for that purpose, are the manifest reasons for performing *and* ordering the ceremony of Srôsh *for* three days and nights⁴.

7. And the fourth day the ordering and performing the ceremony of the righteous guardian spirit (*ardâi fravardö*)⁵ are *for* the same soul and the remaining righteous guardian spirits of those who are *and* were *and will* be, from Gâyômarð the propitious to Sôshâns the triumphant⁶.

CHAPTER XXIX.

I. The twenty-eighth question is that you ask thus: For what reason is it not allowable to perform

¹ No meat is to be eaten by the survivors until the third night has passed away (see Sls. XVII, 2).

² The angel Srôsh is said to have been the first creature who performed the sacred ceremony (see Yas. LVI, i, 2-7, ii, 2-4, iii, 2-4), of which the spiritual counterpart was produced by Aûhar-mazd during the creation (see Bd. II, 9).

³ See Chap. XIV, 4.

⁴ See Sls. XVII, 3.

⁵ See Sls. XVII, 5.

⁶ That is, from the first man to the last; the phrase is quoted from Yas. XXVI, 33.

the ceremony of Srôsh, the living spirit (ahvô)¹, *along* with other propitiations (shnûmanô)², when they reverence him separately?

2. The reply is this, that the lord of all *things* is the creator who is persistent over his own creatures, and a precious work is his own true service³ which is given by him to Srôsh the righteous whom, for this reason, *one* is to reverence separately when even his name is not frequently mentioned, and *one* is not even to reverence the names of the archangels with him.

CHAPTER XXX.

1. The twenty-ninth question is that which you ask thus: The third night, in the light of dawn, what is the reason for consecrating separately the three sacred cakes⁴ with three dedications (shnûman)? •

2. The reply is this, that one sacred cake, whose dedication is *to* Rashnû *and* Âstâd⁵, is for⁶ satisfying

¹ Probably a miswriting of ashôk, 'righteous.'

² Short formulas of praise, reciting all the usual titles of the spirits intended to be propitiated by them, which are introduced into a particular part of the liturgy to dedicate the ceremony to the particular spirit in whose honour it is being performed (see Sls. VII, 8).

³ Reading bôndakîh; but it may be bûndakîh, 'completeness, perfection.'

⁴ The drôn, or sacred cake, is a small flexible pancake which is consecrated in the ceremonies, and dedicated to some particular spirit by means of the shnûman, or propitiatory dedication (see Sls. III, 32).

⁵ See Sls. XVII, 4. These two angels are supposed to be present when the soul renders its account; Rashnû weighs its actions in his golden balance, and Âstâd assists it (see AV. V, 3, 5).

⁶ Reading râi, instead of lâ, 'not.'

the light of dawn and the period of Aûshahî¹, because the mountain Aûshdâstâr² is mentioned in the propitiation of the angel Âstâd. 3. With Âstâd is the propitiation of the period of Aûshahî³, and *she* is the ruler of glory⁴ of that time when the account occurs; the souls are in the light of the dawn of Aûshahî when they go to the account; their passage (*vidâ*r) is through the bright dawn.

4. One sacred cake, which is in propitiation of the good Vâê⁵, is, moreover, on this account: whereas the bad Vâê⁶ is a despoiler and destroyer, even so the good Vâê is a resister (*kûkhshîdâ*r), and likewise encountering the bad Vâê; *he* is also a diminisher (*vizûdâ*r) of his abstraction of life,

¹ One of the five periods of the day and night, extending from midnight until the stars disappear in the dawn, or, as some say, until all the fixed stars disappear except four of the first magnitude (see Bd. XXV, 9, Sls. XIV, 4-6).

² Called Ushi-darena in the Avesta, and identified with some mountain in Sagastân in Bd. XII, 15. It is mentioned in the dedicatory formula of Âstâd (see Sir. 26), and its name is evidently here supposed to mean 'the holder of dawn,' an appropriate term for a lofty mountain to the eastward.

³ Both Rashnû and Âstâd are blessed in the prayers appointed for the Aûshahî period of the day.

⁴ The 'glory of the Aryans' is lauded in the Âstâd Yast.

⁵ The spirit of air, or angel Râm, who receives and protects the good soul on its way to the other world (see Chap. XXVIII, 2, 5).

⁶ Identified with Astô-vidâd, the demon of death, in Bd. XXVIII, 35, but Pahl. Vend. V, 25, 31 makes him a separate demon, who conveys away the bound soul, which would identify him with the demon Vîzarêsh of Vend. XIX, 94, Bd. XXVIII, 18. There is very little doubt, however, that the Pahlavi translator of Vend. V misunderstood the Avesta, which merely says that 'Astô-vidhōtu binds him, Vayō conveys him bound,' referring probably to the good Vâê who receives the parting soul; and Pahl. Vend. V, 31 admits that this was the opinion of some.

and a receiver and protection of life, on account of the sacred cake¹.

CHAPTER XXXI.

1. The thirtieth question is that which you ask thus: When a soul of the righteous goes on to heaven, in what manner does it go; also, who receives it, who leads² *it*, and who makes it a household attendant³ of *Aûharmazd*? Also, does any one of the righteous in heaven come out to meet it, and shall any thereof make enquiry of it, or how?
2. Shall they also make up an account as to its sin *and* good works, and how is the comfort and pleasantness in heaven shown to it; also, what is its food?
3. *Is it* also their assistance which

¹ Nothing is here said about the third sacred cake, but Sls. XVII, 4 states that this is to be dedicated to the righteous guardian spirit (see Chap. XXVIII, 7).

² It is doubtful whether the verb be *yezrûn* (a corruption of *yezderûn*) or *deztûn* (a corruption of *dedrûn*), but both forms are traceable to the same Semitic root (דבר), one with and the other without the prefix 'ye,' and both, therefore, have nearly the same meaning.

³ Reading *khavag-î-mân*, 'servant of the house' (see also §§ 5, 8, Chaps. XXXII, 7, XXXVII, 16, 17, 21, XLIII, 1, XLVIII, 41). This word occurs in Pahl. Vend. XIX, 102, in a compound which is doubtfully read *avîdamânkarânô*, 'those acting without time, eternal ones,' in Haug's Essays, p. 388 (it should be 'those acting as household attendants'). It also occurs in the Pâzand tract called *Aogemadaêkâ*, from its initial word (see Geiger's ed. p. 23, § 11), where it is read *añdimânî*, and translated by Sans. *pratîhâra*, 'doorkeeper;' but in a Pahlavi version of this tract (which seems to form part of the *Âfrîn-i Dahmân*, and differs considerably from the Pâzand text) this word is replaced by *bôndak mânîk-î*, 'a household servant,' which confirms the reading adopted here.

reaches unto the world, or not? And is the limit (sâmânö) of heaven manifest, or what way *is it*?

4. The reply is this, that a soul of the righteous steps forth unto heaven through the strength of the spirit of good works, *along* with the good spirit¹ which is the escort (parvânakö) of the soul, into *its* allotted station and the uppermost (tâyîkö) which is *for* its own good works; *along* with the spiritual good works, without *those* for the world, and a crown and coronet², a turban-sash and a fourfold fillet-pendant³, a decorated robe (gâmakö) and suitable equipments, spiritually flying unto heaven (vahistô), or to the supreme heaven (garôdmân), there where its place is. 5. And Vohûman⁴, the archangel, makes it a household attendant (khavag-i-mânî-nêdö) to Aûharmazd the creator, *and* by order of Aûharmazd announces *its* position (gâs) and reward; *and* it becomes glad to beg for the position of household attendant of Aûharmazd, through what it sees and knows.

6. Aûharmazd the creator of good producers

¹ Probably the good Vâê, the spirit of air (see Chaps. XXVIII, 2, 5, XXIX, 4).

² Reading rukhö vardîvanö, which words also occur in AV. XII, 16, XIV, 9. A most elaborate account of heaven and hell will be found in the Book of Ardâ Virâf with an English Translation, ed. Hôshangji and Haug, 1872.

³ Reading vâs va kahârakö bâlak.

⁴ Vend. XIX, 102-107 (trans. D.) states as follows: 'Up rises Vohu-manô from his golden seat; Vohu-manô exclaims: "How hast thou come to us, thou holy one, from that decaying world into this undecaying one?" Gladly pass the souls of the righteous to the golden seat of Ahura Mazda, to the golden seat of the Amesha-spentas, to the Garô-nmânem, the abode of Ahura Mazda, the abode of the Amesha-spentas, the abode of all the other holy beings.'

(dahâkân) is a spirit even among spirits, and spirits even *have* looked for a sight of him; which spirits are manifestly above worldly existences¹. 7. But when, through the majesty² of the creator, spirits put on worldly appearances (vênisnôihâ), or are attending (sinâyânîkô) to the world and spirit, and put away appearance (vênisnô apadôgênd), then he whose patron spirit (ahvô)³ is in the world is able to see the attending spirits, in such similitude as when they see bodies in which is a soul⁴, or when they see a fire in which is Varahrân⁵, or see water in which is its own spirit⁶. 8. Moreover, in that household attendance, *that* Aûharmazd *has* seen the soul is certain, for Aûharmazd sees all *things*; and many even of the fiend's souls⁷, who are put away from those of Aûharmazd in spiritual understanding, are delighted by the appearance (numûdanô) of those of Aûharmazd.

9. And the righteous in heaven, who have been

¹ Implying that Aûharmazd can hardly be considered visible, except by the eye of faith (see Chap. XIX, 2).

² Assuming that rabâ-vânagîh is equivalent to Pers. buzurgânagî, 'magnificence.'

³ The ahvô (Av. ahû) seems to be a spiritual protector, somewhat similar to a patron saint; as, according to the Ahunavar, the most sacred formula of the Parsis (see Bd. I, 21, Zs. I, 12-19), both an ahû and a ratu are to be chosen, that is, both a patron spirit and a high-priest.

⁴ That is, he sees the spirits by means of their material manifestations.

⁵ The old Pahl. form of Vâhrâm, the angel whose name is applied to the sacred fire (see Bd. XVII, 1, 2, 9); he is the Av. Verethraghna of the Bahrâm Yt.

⁶ The female angel of water is the Av. ardvî sûra Anâhita of the Âbân Yt.

⁷ The souls in hell.

his intimate friends, of the same religion and like goodness, speak to him *of* the display of affection, the courteous enquiry, and the suitable eminence from coming to heaven, and his everlasting well-being in heaven.

10. And the account as to sin and good works does not occur unto the heavenly *ones*; *it is* itself among the perplexing questions of this treatise, for the taking of the account and the atonement for the sins of a soul of those passed *away and* appointed unto heaven happen so¹, although its place (gâs) is there² until the renovation *of the universe*, and *it has* no need for a new account. 11. And that account is at the time the account occurs; *those* taking the account are Aûharmazd, Vohûman, Mitrô, Srôsh, and Rashnû, and they shall make up the account of all with justice, each one at his own time, as the reply is written in its own chapter³.

12. *As to* that which you ask concerning food, the meals of the world are *taken* in two ways: one is the distribution of water in haste, and one is with enjoyment (aûrvâzîsnô) to the end; *but* in heaven there is no haste as to water, and re-joicing with much delight *they* are like unto those who, as worldly beings, make an end of a meal of luxury (aûrvâzîsnîkîh). 13. To that also *which* is the spiritual completion of the soul's pleasure *it* is attaining in like proportion⁴, and in its appearance to worldly beings *it* is a butter of the name of Maîdyôk-zarem⁵. 14. And the reason of

¹ As in Chap. XXIV, 5, 6.

² In heaven.

³ See Chap. XIV, 2-5.

⁴ This sentence is rather ambiguous in the original.

⁵ Said to be the food of the souls in heaven (see Hn. II, 38,

that name of it is this, that of the material food in the world that which is the product of cattle is said *to be* the best (pâshûm), among the products of cattle *in use* as food is the butter of milk, and among butters that is extolled as to goodness which they shall make *in* the second month of the year¹, and when Mitrô² is in the constellation Taurus; as that month is scripturally (dînôtkö) called Zaremâyâ³, the explanation of the name to be accounted *for* is this, that its worldly representative (andâzakö) is the best food in the world.

15. And *there* is no giving out of assistance *by* the soul of the righteous from heaven and the supreme heaven⁴; for, *as to* that existence full

Mkh. II, 152); it is to be distinguished from the draught of immortality, called Hûsh, which is prepared from the fat of the ox Hadhayôš and the white Hôšm at the time of the resurrection (see Bd. XXX, 25).

¹ If the writer refers to the correct solar year of Bd. XXV, 21, beginning at the vernal equinox, the second month would be 19th April-19th May when the sun is in the conventional sign of Taurus; but the ordinary Parsi year in his time commenced in the middle of April, and its second month would be May-June when the sun (about A.D. 880) would be in the actual constellation of Taurus. So that the statements in the text afford no certain indication of the particular calendar used by the author.

² The angel of the sun's light, here used for the sun itself.

³ The fifteenth day of the second month of the Parsi year is the season festival called Maidhyô-zaremaya, 'mid-verdure,' in the Avesta; being also the middle of the second month, the author assumes that the name of that month was originally Zaremaya. The Pahl. word can also be read Zar-mâh, 'the month of gold, or the green month.'

⁴ That is, there is no intercession of saints for those still in the world. The only interceders are the angels and guardian spirits, and they go no further than to obtain strict justice for every one according to his worldly merits.

of joy, *there* is then no deserving of it for *any* one unless each one is fully worthy of it. 16. But the soul has a remembrance of the world and worldly people, *its* relations *and* gossips; and he who is unremembered and unexpecting (abarmarvad) is undisturbed, and enjoys in his own time all the pleasure of the world as it occurs in the renovation of *the universe*, and wishes to attain to it. 17. And, in like manner, of the comfort, pleasure, and joy of the soul, which, *being* attained in proportion, they cause to produce in heaven and the supreme heaven, its own good works of every kind are a comfort and pleasure such as *there* are in the world from a man who is a wise friend—he who is a reverent worshipper—and other educated men, to her who is a beautiful, modest, *and* husband-loving woman—she who is a manager (ârâstâr) under protection—and other women who are clever producers of advantage¹. 18. This², too, *which* arises from beasts of burden, cattle, wild beasts, birds, fish, and other species of animals; this, too, from luminaries, fires, streams (hû-tagisnân), winds, decorations, metals, and coloured earths; this, too, which is from the fences (pardakânö) of grounds, houses, *and* the primitive lands of the well-yielding *cattle*; this³, too, which is from rivers, fountains, wells, *and* the primary species of water; this, too, which is from trees and shrubs, fruits, grain, and fodder, salads, aromatic herbs, *and* other plants; this, too, which is

¹ Reading sūd âz kârânö, and identifying the second word with Pers. âz.

² That is, the pleasure.

³ This clause is omitted in M₁₄ and J.

the preparation of the land for these¹ creatures *and* primitive creations; this, too, from the species of pleasant tastes, smells, and colours of all natures, the producers of protections², the patron spirits (ahûân), and the appliances of the patron spirits, can come unto mortals.

19. And what the spirit of good works is in similitude is expressly a likeness of stars and males, females and cattle, fires and sacred fires, metals of every kind, dogs, lands, waters, *and* plants³.

20. The spiritual good works are attached (ava-yûkhtô) to the soul, and in the degree and proportion which are their strength, due to the advancement of good works by him who is righteous, *they* are suitable as enjoyment for him who is righteous. 21. He obtains durability thereby⁴ and necessarily preparation, conjointly *with* constant pleasure and without a single day's vexation (ayôm-aê-bêshîhâ).

22. There is also an abundant joyfulness, of which no example is appointed (vakhtô) in the world from the beginning, but it comes thus to those who are heavenly ones *and* those of the supreme heaven; and of which even the highest worldly happiness and pleasure are no similitude, except through the possession of knowledge which is said *to be* a sample *of it* for worldly beings.

¹ It is doubtful whether we should read le-denmanshânô, a rare plural form of denman, 'this,' or whether it should be le-denman yazdânô; in the latter case the translation would be 'for these creatures of the sacred beings.'

² Assuming that zinharânô stands for zinhârânô, otherwise we must read zôharânô, 'holy-waters.'

³ The chief objects benefited by good works.

⁴ Reading hangâmîh-ash, but the construction is unusual.

23. And of *its* indications by the world the limited with the unlimited, the imperishable with perishableness, the consumable with inconsumableness are then no equivalent similitudes of it¹. 24. And *it is* the limited, perishable, and consumable *things* of the world's existence which are the imperishable *and* inconsumable *ones* of the existence of endless light², the indestructible *ones* of the all-beneficial and ever-beneficial space (gûng)³, and the all-joyful *ones*—without a single day's vexation—of the radiant supreme heaven (garôdmânô). 25. And the throne (gâs) of the righteous in heaven and the supreme heaven is the reward he obtains first, and is his until the resurrection, when even the world becomes pure *and* undisturbed; *he* is himself unchangeable thereby, *but* through the resurrection he obtains what is great and good and perfect, *and* is eternally glorious.

CHAPTER XXXII.

1. The thirty-first question is that which you ask thus: When he who is wicked goes to hell, how

¹ Meaning that no adequate conception can be obtained of the enjoyments of heaven by contrasting the earthly objects which most resemble it with those most opposed to it.

² The place of Âûhar mazd, or heaven in general (see Bd. I, 2), where things which are perishable on earth become everlasting.

³ The 'constantly-beneficial place' of Pahl. Vend. XIX, 122, 'which is self-sustained, (its constant beneficialness is this, that, when it once became so, all of it became thereby ever-beneficial).' The Avesta version (trans. D.) merely calls it 'the sovereign place of eternal weal;' and it appears from Chap. XXXVII, 22, 24 that it is here understood as the unlimited space of heaven, contained in the 'endless light.'

does he go, *and in* what manner does he go; also, who comes to meet him, and who leads him¹ to hell; also, does any one of the infernal ones (dûsa-hûtkânö) come to meet him, or how is it?
 2. Shall they also inflict punishment upon him, for the sin which he *has* committed, at once, or is his punishment the same until the future existence?
 3. Also, what is their food in hell, and of what description are their pain *and* discomfort; *and* is the limit of hell manifest, or how is it?

4. The reply is this, that a soul of the wicked, the fourth night after passing away², *its* account *being* rendered, rolls head-foremost and totters (kaptnêdö) from the Kinvad bridge³; and Vîzarâsh⁴, the demon, conveys (nâyedö)⁵ him cruelly bound therefrom, and leads him unto hell. 5. And with him are the spirits *and* demons connected with the sin of that *soul*, watching in many guises, resembling the very producers of doubt (vîmandâdârân-îê), the wounders, slayers, destroyers, deadly ones, monsters (dûs-gerpânö), and criminals,

¹ M₁₄ and J omit the words from 'also' to 'leads him.'

² The term 'passing away' is here used with reference to the death of a wicked person, contrary to the general rule (see Chap. XX, 2).

³ See Chap. XX, 3.

⁴ 'Then the fiend, named Vîzaresha, carries off in bonds the souls of the wicked Daêva-worshippers who live in sin' (Vend. XIX, 94, trans. D.); see also Bd. XXVIII, 18, where the name is Vîzarêsh, but it is always Vîzarâsh in Dd. Here it has been first miswritten in K₃₅, and afterwards corrected, so that later copyists have read Vîrâsh, as in M₁₄ and J.

⁵ Identifying the verb with Av. nayêiti of Vend. V, 25, 31; or it may be read vâyedö, and identified with Av. vayêiti of Vend. XV, 17, or Av. vâdhayêiti of Vend. XIX, 94, without much change of meaning.

those *who* are unseemly, those, too, *who* are diseased *and* polluted, biters and tearers, noxious creatures, windy stench, glooms, fiery stench, thirsty ones, those of evil habits, disturbers of sleep (khvâp-khârân), and other special causers of sin and kinds of perverting, with whom, in worldly semblance, are the spiritual causers of distress. 6. And proportional *to* the strength *and* power which *have* become theirs, owing to his sin, they surround him uncomfortably, and make him experience vexation, even unto the time of the renovation *of the universe*. 7. And through the leading of Vizarâsh¹ he comes unwillingly unto hell, becomes a household attendant (khavag-i-mânôî-âitö) of the fiend and evil *one*, is repentant of the delusion of a desire for fables (vardakthâ), is a longer for *getting* away from hell to the world, and *has* a wonderful desire for good works.

8. And his food is as a sample of those which are among the most fetid, most putrid, most polluted, and most thoroughly unpleasant; and *there* is no enjoyment and completeness *in* his eating, but he shall devour (*galâd*) with a craving which keeps him hungry and thirsty, due to water *which* is hastily *sipped*². 9. Owing to that vicious habit *there* is no satisfaction therefrom, but it increases his haste and the punishment, rapidity, and tediousness of his anguish.

10. The locality³ in hell is not limited (sâmânt-

¹ See § 4.

² Referring to the fact that a person who is both hungry and thirsty cannot quench his thirst, for more than a few minutes, by drinking water without eating.

³ Or, perhaps, 'his position,' if we read divâk-as instead of

aft) before the resurrection, *and* until the time of the renovation *of the universe* he is in hell. 11. Also out of his sin is the punishment connected *with it*, and that punishment comes upon him, from the fiend *and* spirit of his own sin, in that manner and proportion with which he *has* harassed and vexed *others*¹, and *has* revered, praised, and served that which is vile.

12. And at the time of the renovation, when the fiend perishes, the souls of the wicked pass into melted metal (ayênô)² *for* three days; and all fiends and evil thoughts, which are owing to their sin, have anguish effectually, and are hurried *away* by the cutting and breaking *away* of the accumulation (ham-dâdākîh) of sin of the wicked souls. 13. And by that pre-eminent (avartûm) ablution in the melted metal they are thoroughly purified from guilt and infamy (dastô va raspakô), and through the perseverance (khvâparîh)³ and mercifulness of the pre-eminent persistent ones they are pardoned, and become most saintly (môgtûm) pure ones; as it is said in metaphor that the pure are *of* two kinds, one which is glorious (khvârvatô), *and* one which is metallic (ayênavatô)⁴.

dîvâkîh, but the former reading would be more of a modern Persian idiom than a Pahlavi one.

¹ Or, '*the good*;' the word is not expressed in the Pahlavi text.

² Bd. XXX, 20 states that both the righteous and wicked are finally purified by melted metal which is a torment to the latter, but only like a bath in warm milk to the former.

³ See Chap. XIX, 7 n.

⁴ This is probably a misapplication of a Pahlavi phrase which contained the word âsnavatô, 'indestructible,' and was the translation of an Avesta passage containing the words *hvâthravand*, 'brilliant, glorious,' and âsna, 'stony, indestructible, enduring' (often translated 'heavenly'), which words are sometimes used together,

14. And after that purification *there* are no demons, no punishment, *and* no hell as regards the wicked, and their disposal (vîrâstakô) also is just; they become righteous, painless, deathless, fearless, and free from harm. 15. And with them comes the spirit of the good works which were done *and* instigated by them in the world, and procures them pleasure and joy in the degree and proportion of those good works. 16. But the recompense of a soul of the righteous is a better formation (vêh-dâdîh) and more¹.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1. *As to* the thirty-second question and reply, that which you ask is thus: In which direction and which land is hell, and how is it?

2. The reply is this, that the place of a soul of the wicked, after the dying off² of the body, is in three districts (vîmand): one of them is called *that* of the ever-stationary³ of the wicked, and it is a

as in Yas. LIX, 14. As the Pahl. âsnavatô and ayênavatô are written alike they are easily confounded, but that 'metal' is meant here appears from Yas. L, 9, b, Bd. XXX, 20.

¹ M14 has 'and the position of more good works is better, the rank is greater, and the pleasure *and* delight more.'

² Literally 'dying down.'

³ Assuming that ham-hastakân, 'co-existences, associates,' is meant for hamîstakân (see the hamîstânîkô of Chap. XX, 3). From this it would appear that the place of the Hamistakân, intermediate between heaven and hell, was itself supposed by the author to be divided into two widely separated regions, one for the slightly righteous (see Chap. XXIV, 6), and one for the slightly wicked, as here described. No such separation is mentioned in AV. and Mkh., and the passage is omitted in M14.

chaos (gûmêzakö), but the evil is abundantly and considerably more than the good; and the place is terrible, dark, stinking, and grievous *with* evil. 3. And one is that which is called the worst existence, and it is there the first tormentors (vîkhruntgânö) and demons have *their* abode; it is full of evil and punishment, and there is no comfort and pleasure whatever. 4. And one is called Drûgâskân¹, and is at the bottom of the gloomy existence, where the head (kamârâkö) of the demons rushes; there is the populous abode of all darkness and all evil.

5. These three places, collectively, are called hell, *which* is northerly, descending, and underneath this earth, even unto the utmost declivity of the sky; and its gate is in the earth, a place of the northern quarter, and is called the Arezûr ridge², a mountain which, among its fellow mountains of the name of Arezûr³ that are amid the rugged (kôfik) mountains, is said in revelation⁴ *to have* a great fame with the demons, and the rushing together and assembly of the demons in the world are on the summit of that mountain, *or* as it is called 'the head of Arezûr.'

¹ The Av. drugaskanâm of Vend. XIX. 139, which is translated 'the slothful ones of the Drug' by Darmesteter, 'the servants of the Drug' by Harlez, and 'wizards' in Haug's Essays, p. 336. Drûgâskân is said to be a son of the evil spirit in Bd. XXXI, 6.

² See Bd. XII, 8.

³ Bd. XII, 16 mentions another Arezûr 'in the direction of Arûm.'

⁴ Vend. XIX, 142 (trans. D.) says 'they run away casting the evil eye, the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas: "Let us gather together at the head of Arezûra!"'

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1. *As to* the thirty-third question and reply, that which you ask is thus: In what manner is there one way of the righteous from the Dâitih peak¹ to heaven, and one of the wicked to hell; and *what is* their nature?

2. The reply is this, that one is for ascent, and one for descent; and on account of both being of one appearance I write thus much for understanding and full explanation, that is to say:—3. The righteous souls pass over on the *Kinvad* bridge² by spiritual flight and the power of good works; *and* they step forth up to the star, or to the moon, or to the sun station, or to the endless light³. 4. The soul of the wicked, owing to *its* falling *from* the bridge, its lying demon, and the pollution collected by its sin, they shall lead therefrom to the descent into the earth, as both ways *lead* from that bridge on the Dâitih peak.

CHAPTER XXXV.

1. The thirty-fourth question is that which you ask thus: Does this world become quite without men⁴, so that *there* is no bodily existence in *it* what-

¹ See Chap. XXI, 2.

² See Chap. XXI, 2-7.

³ These are the four grades of heaven, as described in AV. VII-X, Mkh. VII, 9-11.

⁴ Reading *avîk* (or *avih*) *anshûtâ*, but it may possibly be *avî-î anshûtâ*, 'without a single man.'

ever, and then shall they produce the resurrection, or how is it?

2. The reply is this, that this world, continuously from *its* immaturity even unto *its* pure renovation, *has* never been, and also *will* not be, without men; and *in* the evil spirit, the worthless (*asaptr*), no stirring desire of this arises. 3. And near to the time of the renovation the bodily existences desist from eating, and live without food (*pavan akhûris-nih*)¹; and the offspring who are born from them are those of an immortal, for they possess durable and blood-exhausted (*khûn-girât*) bodies. 4. Such are *they* who are the bodily-existing men that are in the world when there are men, passed *away*, who rise again and live again.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1. The thirty-fifth question is that which you ask thus: Who are they who are requisite in producing the renovation *of the universe*, who were they, *and* how are they?

2. The reply is this, that of those assignable for that most perfect work the statements recited are lengthy, for even Gâyômarâd, Yim the splendid, Zaratûst the Spîtamân², the *spiritual* chief (*radô*) of the righteous, and many great thanksgivers *were*

¹ Bd. XXX, 3 states that men first abstain from meat, afterwards from vegetables and milk, and, finally, from water.

² See Chap. II, 10. His title, which is nearly always written Spîtamân in K35 (rarely Spîtâmân), is Av. *spitama* or *spîtâma*, but is usually understood to mean 'descendant of Spitama,' his ancestor in the ninth generation (see Bd. XXXII, 1).

appointed for completing the appliances of the renovation; and their great miracles and successful (*avakîragânîk*) management *have* moved on, which works for the production of the renovation¹. 3. Likewise, on the approach of the renovation, Keresâsp² the Sâmân who smites Dahâk, Kai-Khûsrôî³ who *was* made to pass *away* by Vâê the long-continuing lord⁴, Tûs and Vêvan⁵ the allies (*avâkânô*), and many other mighty doers are aiding the production of the renovation.

4. But those who are the producers of the renovation more *renowned* throughout the spheres (*vâs-pôharakânîktar*) are said *to be* seven, whose names are Rôshanô-*kashm*⁶, Khûr-*kashm*, Frâdad-gadman,

¹ That is, even these ancient rulers and legislators have contributed to the final renovation of the universe by their wise actions and laws.

² See Chap. XVII, 6.

³ Av. Kavi Husravangh, the third king of the Kayânian dynasty (see Bd. XXXI, 25, XXXIV, 7), whose mysterious disappearance, as related in the Shâhnâmah, is evidently alluded to here.

⁴ The Av. *vayâm dareghô-hvadhâtîm* of Khûrshêd Nyâyish, 1, that seems to be identified here with the good Vâê (see Chap. XXX, 4), who conducts the soul to the other world.

⁵ The Tûs and Gîw of Bd. XXIX, 6 and the Shâhnâmah, where they are said to have been frozen in the mountain snow, with other warriors, after the disappearance of Kai-Khûsrôî. They are the Av. Tusa of Âbân Yt. 53, 58, and, perhaps, Gaêvani of Fravardîn Yt. 115, but the Pahlavi form Vêvan (or Vîvô) of our text is inconsistent with the latter identification; the form Gîw of Bd. XXIX, 6 is merely Pâzand.

⁶ These names are the Av. *Raǒkas-kæshman*, *Hvare-kæshman*, *Frâdad-hvarenô*, *Varedad-hvarenô*, *Vouru-nemô*, *Vouru-savô*, and *Saoshyâs* of Fravardîn Yt. 128, 129, partly transcribed, partly translated, and partly corrupted into Pahlavi. The corruptions are easily explained thus: Av. *vouru*, 'wide,' when written in Pahlavi is often identical with *varen*, 'desire,' and has been so read by a later copyist and then translated by its synonym *kâmak*; Av.

Vâredad-gadman, Kâmak-vakhshisn, Kâmak-sûd, and Sôshâns. 5. As it is said that in the fifty-seven years¹, which are the period of the raising of the dead, Rôshanô-kashm in Arzâh², Khûr-kashm in Savâh, Frâdad-gadman in Fradaðâfsh, Vâredad-gadman in Vîdadâfsh, Kâmak - vakhshisn in Vôrûbarst, and Kâmak-sûd in Vôrûgarst, while Sôshâns in the illustrious and pure Khvanîras is connected with them, are immortal. 6. The completely good sense, perfect hearing, and full glory of those seven producers of the renovation are so miraculous that they converse from region unto region, every one together with the six *others*, just as now men at an interview utter words of conference and co-operation with the tongue, one to the other, and can hold a conversation³.

7. The same perfect deeds for six⁴ years in the six *other* regions, and for fifty years in the illustrious Khvanîras⁵, prepare immortality, and set going ever-

nemô is translated by Pahl. nîyâyišn, 'homage, praise,' which is written very much like vakhshisn, 'increase,' and has been so read by a later copyist. For the first two names and the last see Chap. II, 10.

¹ The same period is mentioned in Bd. XXX, 7.

² That is, there is one of the seven producers of the renovation in each of the seven Kêshvars, or regions of the earth, of which Arzâh is the western, Savâh the eastern, Fradaðâfsh and Vîdadâfsh the two southern, Vôrûbarst and Vôrûgarst the two northern, and Khvanîras the central one (see Bd. V, 8, 9, XI, 2-4).

³ If this passage were found in the Christian scriptures, it would very probably be considered as a prophetic allusion to the electric telegraph and telephone.

⁴ So in all MSS., but one would expect it to be 'seven,' so as to complete the fifty-seven years of § 5. The number being written in ciphers the difference between 'six' and 'seven' is very slight.

⁵ This central region of the earth is that which contains Irân and all lands well known to the Irânians.

lasting life and everlasting weal (sûdîh) through the help and power and glory of the omniscient *and* beneficent spirit, the creator Aûharmazd.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1. *As to* the thirty-sixth question and reply, that which you ask is thus: How shall they produce the resurrection, how do they prepare the dead, and when the dead are prepared by them, how are they?

2. When it is produced by them, is an increase in the brilliance of the stars, moon, and sun necessary, *and* does it arise, or not? are *there* seas, rivers, *and* mountains, or not? and is the world just as large as this, or does it become more *so* and wider?

3. The reply is this, that the preparation and production of the resurrection are an achievement *connected* with miracle, a sublimity (rabâth), and, afterwards, also a wondrous appearance unto the creatures who are uninformed. 4. The secrets and affairs of the persistent creator are like every mystery and secret; excepting himself—he who is *capable* of all knowledge, the fully-informed, and all in all (vispânö vispô)—no one of the worldly beings and imperfect spirits *has* known them.

5. A true proverb (gôbîsnö-gô) of the intelligent *and* worldly, which is obvious, is that as it is easier in teaching to teach again learning *already* taught *and* forgotten than that which *was* untaught, and easier to repair again a well-built house, given gratuitously, than that *which* is not *so* given, *so* also the formation *again* of that which *was* formed is more excellent (hunîrtar), and the wonder is

less, than the creation of creatures. 6. And through the wisdom and glory *of* the omniscient and omnipotent creator, by whom the saddened (âlikhtō) creatures *were* created, that which *was* to perish is produced again anew, *and that which was* not to perish, except a little, is produced handsome even for a creation of the creator¹.

7. He who is a pure, spiritual creature is made unblemished; he, also, who is a worldly creature is immortal and undecaying, hungerless and thirstless, undistressed and painless; while, though he moves (gundêdō) in a gloomy, evil existence, the fiend is rightly judging from *its* arrangement (min nivârdō) *that it* is not the place of a beneficent *being*, but the place of an existence *which* is deadly, ignorant, deceiving, full of malice, seducing, destroying, causing disgrace, making unobservant (aûbêngar), and full of envy. 8. And his existence is so full of malice, deceit, seductiveness, unobservance, destructiveness, and destruction that *he has* no voice except for accomplices (ham-bûdîkân) and antagonists, except also for his own *creatures and* gossips when *their* hearts are desirous of evil, seducing, destroying, making unobservant, causing malice, *and* bearing envy. 9. And *he* is disclosed (vishâd) from his own origin and abyss full of darkness, unto the limits of darkness *and* confines of the luminaries; and in his terribleness and demoniacal deliberation he gazes at the unblemished light and creatures of the beneficent Aûharmazd. 10. And through abundant envy and complete maliciousness is his lying; and he mounts (sûbârêdō) to seize, destroy,

¹ This last clause is omitted in M14 and J.

render unobservant, and cause to perish *these* same well-formed creatures of the sacred beings. 11. And owing to his observance of falsehood he directed falsehood *and* lies with avidity (varenô), which were necessary for obtaining his success in his own rendering *others* unobservant (a ûbênô); even in the nine thousand winters (hazangrôk zîm)¹ of falsehood that which is disregarded therein is his own falsity.

12. He who is the most lordly of the lords of the pre-eminent luminaries, and the most spiritual of spirits, and all *the beings* of Aûharmazd the creator—who was himself capable of an effectual (tûbânô) gain for every scheme of his²—do not allow that fiend into the interior, into the radiance (farôgîd) of the luminaries. 13. And *they*³ understood through *their* own universal wisdom that fiend's thoughts⁴ of vileness, *and* meditation of falsehood

¹ The interval between the first appearance and the final disappearance of the evil spirit. Twelve thousand years are supposed to elapse between the first creation and the resurrection; during the first three (about B.C. 8400–5400) the creation remains undisturbed in a spiritual state, during the next three (B.C. 5400–2400) the evil spirit appears, but flies back to hell in confusion, during the next three (B.C. 2400–A.D. 600) he attacks the creation and keeps it in a constant state of tribulation, and during the last three (A.D. 600–3600) his power, having attained its maximum, is gradually weakened till it is finally destroyed at the resurrection (see Bd. I, 8, 18, 20, 22, III, 1, XXXIV, 1–9, Byt. III, 11, 44, 52, 61, 62).

² Probably 'the fiend,' but the sentence is by no means clear.

³ As the verbs 'allow' in § 12 and 'accept' in § 13 are both plural we must understand that the opposition to the fiend arises from the spiritual creatures of Aûharmazd, and not from Aûharmazd alone.

⁴ Reading mînishnô instead of maînôgânô, 'spirits;' the difference between these words in Pahlavi being only a single stroke.

and lies, and became aware of *them* by themselves and through their own intuition, and shall not accept the perdition (aôshîh) of the fiend, *but* are to be rightly listening to the commands of him¹ who is worthy. 14. For his² is not the nature of him who is good, *nor* the wisdom of him who is propitious; and he does not turn from the confines of the shining ones, and the developments pertaining to those of the good *being*³, until he arrives at the creatures; and he struggles in an attempt (aûzmânö), spreads forth into the sky, is mobbed (garôhagî-ait) in combats, is completely surrounded, *and* is tested *with* perfect appliances. 15. His resources, also, are destroyed, *his* internal⁴ vigour is subdued, *his* weapons of falsehood are disregarded, and *his* means of deceiving shall perish; and with completeness of experience, thorough painfulness, routed troops, broken battle-array, and disarranged means he enjoys on the outside the radiance of the luminaries with the impotence (anaîyyâragîh) of a desire which again returns to him.

16. And the same well-shining light of all kinds of the creator, when they shall not let in him who is Aharman, shall remain an unlimited time, *while* the fiend is in household attendance on those of the frontier through not being let in, *and* constantly troubled at the everlasting creatures. 17. The household attendance of the fiend seemed to it⁵ perpetually afflicting; and also the previous struggle

¹ Aûharmazd.

² The fiend's.

³ Reading vêhikânakö vakhshisnö.

⁴ Assuming that andarmûnîh is a form analogous to pîrâ-mûnîh, and with the meaning of andarûnîh.

⁵ The light.

of the fiend when the celestial spirit (ahvô) *pertain-
ing* to the luminaries *was* not contended *with* by
him, *his* defeat (makhitûntanö) when the lumi-
naries *were* not defeated by him, *his* infliction of
punishment before sin, and *his* causing hatred before
hatred *exists* are all recounted by it to the justice
and judiciousness whose unchangeableness, will, per-
sistence, and freedom from hatred—which is the
character of its faithful ones—are not so¹, to him
who is the primeval (pêsakö) creator.

18. The fiend, after *his* falsity, the struggle—on
account of the fighting of the shining ones *and* the
decreed keeping *him* away which *was* due to the fighter
for the luminaries—*and* the ill-success of the struggle
of himself and army, ordered the beating back of
the worthy fighter *against* destruction, the malicious
avenging again of the causer of hatred, *and* the de-
stroyer's internal vileness and disorganisation anew of
his own place. 19. He saw the beneficent actions by
which, through the wisdom of Aûharmazd, the spiri-
tual wisdom², within the allotted (burîn-hômônd)
time, the limited space, the restricted conflict, the
moderate trouble, *and* the definite (fargâm-hômând)
labour *existing*, struggles against the fiend, who is the
unlawful establisher *of* the wizard; and he returned
inside to fall disarmed (asâmânö) *and* alive, *and*
until he shall be fully tormented (pûr-dardag-hâe)
and shall be thoroughly experienced, they shall not³
let *him* out again in the allotted time that the fiend
ordered *for* the success of falsehood *and* lies. 20.

¹ That is, they are altogether different from the faults of the
fiend, just recounted.

² Perhaps the same as 'the spirit of wisdom' of Mkh.

³ Reading lâ, 'not,' instead of râi, 'on account of.'

And the same fiend *and* the primeval (kâdmôn) demons are cast out confusedly, irreverently, sorrowfully, disconcertedly, fully afflicting *their* friends, thoroughly experienced, even with their falsehoods and not inordinate means¹, with lengthy slumbers, with broken-down (*avastst*) deceits and dissipated resources, confounded and impotent, into the perdition of Aharman, the disappearance of the fiend, the annihilation of the demons, and the non-existence of antagonism.

21. To make the good creatures again fresh and pure, *and* to keep *them* constant and forward in pure and virtuous conduct is to render *them* immortal; and the not letting in of the co-existent *one*², owing to the many new assaults (*padgastōh*) that *occur* in his perpetual household attendance³ of falsity—through which *there* would have been a constant terror of light for the creatures of the sacred beings—is to maintain a greater advantage. 22. And his (Aûharmazd's) means are not the not letting in *of the fiend*, but the triumph arranged for *himself* in the end—the endless⁴, unlimited light *being* also produced by him, and the constantly-beneficial space⁵

¹ The words *va avigâftō afzârihâ* are omitted in M14 and J.

² The evil spirit. As the co-existent spirits of good and evil are antagonistic the word *ham-budikō*, 'co-existent,' is often supposed to mean 'antagonistic.'

³ See § 16. M14 and J have only 'that *occur* through his falsity *and* the constant terror of light *which* would have arisen from him.'

⁴ That the term *asar* has only its etymological meaning 'endless,' and not the wider sense of 'eternal,' is clear from this phrase. The 'endless light' is the phrase used in Pahlavi to express Av. *anaghra raokau*, a term implying 'the fixed stars,' so the passage in the text is very suggestive of the phrase, '*he made* the stars also' (Gen. i. 16).

⁵ Instead of *gung*, 'space,' we might read *gang*, 'treasury,'

that is self-sustained—which (triumph) is the resource of all natures, races, characters, powers, *and* duties from the beginning and maturing of those of the good religion and the rushing of the liar and destroyer on to the creatures, which are requisite *for* the final, legitimate triumph of the well-directing creator, and *for* the termination of the struggles of all by the protection and recompense of the praises and propitiation performed, which are the healing of the righteous *and* the restoration of the wicked *at* the renovation. 23. Even these developments, even these established habits (*dad-sânîhâ*), even these emissions of strength, even these births, even these races, even these townspeople (*dihîkôîhâ*), even these characters, even these sciences¹, even these manageable and managing ones², and even these other, many, special species and manners which at various periods (*anbânô*) of time are in the hope that the quantity and nature of their auxiliaries *may be* complete, and their coming accomplished and not deficient in success (*vakhtô*), are distributed and made happy by him.

24. The sky is in three thirds, of which the one at the top is joined to the endless light, in which is the constantly-beneficial space; the one at the

but it is written *gûng* in Chap. XXXI, 24, according to K35, and the meaning 'space' is more appropriate to the *gâtus hvadhâtô*, 'self-sustained place,' of Vend. XIX, 122. The epithet 'constantly-beneficial' is a Pahl. translation of Av. *misvâna*, and is evidently applied here to the unlimited heavenly space contained in the 'endless light' (see § 24) and including the supreme heaven, as appears from the order in which these three existences (the earliest creations of *Aûhar Mazda*) are mentioned in Chap. XXXI, 24.

¹ M14 and J have 'separate doers.'

² M14 and J have 'doers at different times.'

bottom reached to the gloomy abyss, in which is the fiend full of evil; and one is between those two thirds *which are* below and above. 25. And the uppermost third, *which* is called 'the rampart of the supreme heaven' (garôdmânô drupûstô)¹, was made by him with purity, all splendour, and every pleasure, and no access to it for the fiend. 26. And he provided that third for undisturbedly convoking the pure, the archangels, *and* the righteous *that have* offered praises who, as *it were* unarmed (azenâvar), struggle unprepared *and* thoroughly in contest *with* the champions of the co-existent *one*, and they smite the co-existent *one* and his own progeny (gôhârakô) *already* described, and afford support to the imperishable state², through the help of the archangels and the glory of the creator. 27. And, again also, in their³ fearlessness they seek for the destruction of the demons and for the perfection of the creatures of the good *beings*; as *one* who is fearless, owing to some rampart which is inaccessible *to* arrows and blows, and shoots arrows at the expanse below, is troubled (bakhsêdô) for friends below.

28. And he made a distinction in the prescribed splendour and glory for the lowermost third of the sky; and the difference is *that* it is liable to injury (pavan resh), so that the fiend, who is void of goodness, comes *and* makes that third full of darkness and full of demons, *and* shall be able to perplex in that difficulty when the thousand winters occur, and the five detested (lakhsîdakô) kinds of the

¹ Bd. III, 26 says that 'the rampart of the sky was formed so that the adversary should not be able to mingle with it.'

² Reading âgûrasênd va/ aseḡ gûn.

³ Assuming that va/ stands for valman or valmansân.

demons of life¹ have also overwhelmed with sin those of the wicked who are deceived by the demons and *have* fled from the contest. 29. *But* they shall not let the fiend fully in, owing to the luminaries of the resplendent *one*, during the allotted time when the demons' punishing and the repentance of the wicked are accomplished.

30. And he appointed for the middle third the creatures of the world separated² from the world and the spiritual *existence*; and among those creatures³ *were* produced for them the managing man *as* a guardian of the creatures, and the deciding wisdom *as* an appliance of man; *and* the true religion, the best of knowledge *was* prepared by him. 31. And that third is for the place of combat and the contest of the two different natures⁴; and in the uppermost part of the same third is stationed by him the light *of* the brilliant sun and moon and glorious stars, and *they* are provided by him that they may watch⁵ the coming of the adversary, and revolve around the creatures. 32. All the *sacred* ceremonies of the distant earth (bûm), the light, the abundant rains, and the good angels vanquish

¹ Probably referring to the five fiends, or demonesses, which are the special embodiments of each man's evil passions, and are thus detailed in Mkh. XLI, 9-11:—'That man is the stronger who is able to contend with his own fiends, and who keeps these five fiends, in particular, far from *his* body, which are such as avarice, wrath, lust, disgrace, and discontent.'

² Reading *fîsarâkô*, but the word is doubtful. This central region of the sky would seem to be the place of the 'ever-stationary,' if it do not include the earth itself, which is not quite clear, owing to the obscure style of the author.

³ While in the world.

⁴ The beneficent and evil spirits.

⁵ Reading *venâpênd*, but the word is doubtful.

and smite the wizards *and* witches who rush *about* below them¹, *and* struggle to perplex by injury to the creatures; they make all such assailants become fugitives². 33. And through their revolution the ascents and descents, the increase and diminution (narafsisnō), of the creatures³ shall occur, the flow and ebb of the seas, and the increase of the dye-like⁴ blood of the inferior creatures⁵; also owing to them *and* through *them* have elapsed the divisions of the days, nights, months, years, periods, *and* all the millenniums (hazagrôk zîmân) of time.

34. He also appointed unto *our* forefathers the equipment which is their own, a material vesture, a sturdy bravery, and the guardian spirits of the righteous; and he provided that they *should* remain *at* various times in their own nature⁶, and come into worldly vesture. 35. And those for great hosts *and* many slaves are born, for the duties of the period, into *some* tribe; he who has plenty of offspring is like Fravâk⁷, he who is of the early law

¹ Below the sun, moon, and stars which protect the creatures.

² Literally 'springers back.'

³ Reading dâmikō, but the word is unusual; it might be read dahmikō, 'of the holy man,' or be considered a corruption of damikō, 'earth.'

⁴ Reading rangmânō, but the word is doubtful.

⁵ Five folios of text are here interpolated in J, of which four contain the passage (Ep. II, vi, 4—ix, 7) omitted at the end of that MS., and the fifth contains a passage on the same subject as Ep. III, and which may possibly be part of the text missing in Ep. III, 11.

⁶ Meaning that the unembodied spirits of men should enter upon their worldly existence.

⁷ The great-grandson of the primeval man, Gâyômarz, and the forefather of the fifteen races of undeformed human beings (see Bd. XV, 25-31, XXXI, 1).

(pêsdâdö) like Hôshâng¹, he who is a smiter of the demon like Tâkhmôrup², he who is full of glory like Yim³, he who is full of healing like Frêdûn, he who has both wisdoms⁴ like the righteous Mânûskêihar⁵, he who is full of strength like Keresâsp⁶, he who is of a glorious race like Kaî-Kavâd⁷, he who is full of wisdom like Aôshânar⁸. 36. He who is noble is like Styâvash⁹, he who is an eminent doer (avarkâr) like Kaî-Khûsrôî¹⁰, he who is exalted like Kaî-Vistâsp¹¹, he who is completely good like the righteous Zaratûst¹², he who arranges the world like Peshyôtanû¹³, he who is over the religion (dînô-

¹ See Chap. II, 10 for this and the following three names.

² He is said to have kept the evil spirit thirty years as a steed (see Râm Yt. 12, Zamyâd Yt. 29, Mkh. XXVII, 22).

³ Here written Gîm.

⁴ Instinctive wisdom and that acquired by experience (see Chap. XL, 3).

⁵ Av. Manusêithra; the descendant of Frêdûn, in the eleventh generation, who overthrew the usurpation of the collateral branches of his family, and restored the Irânian line of the Pêrdâdian dynasty in his own person (see Bd. XXXI, 12-14, XXXIV, 6).

⁶ See Chap. XVII, 6.

⁷ Av. Kavi Kavâta; the first king of the Kayânian dynasty (see Bd. XXXI, 24, 25, XXXIV, 7).

⁸ Probably the Av. Aoshnara, mentioned in Âf. Zarat., along with several of the other names, in a passage somewhat similar to that in our text. The name here can also be read Aôsh-khûr.

⁹ Av. Kavi Syâvarshân; the son of king Kaî-Kâûs and father of king Kaî-Khûsrôî, but he did not reign himself. He is said to have formed the settlement of Kangdez (see Chap. XC, 5, Bd. XXXI, 25, Byt. III, 25, 26).

¹⁰ See Chap. XXXVI, 3.

¹¹ Av. Kavi Vistâspa, Pers. Gustâsp; the fifth king of the Kayânian dynasty, who received the religion from Zaratûst. His father, the fourth king, was of collateral descent from the first king (see Bd. XXXI, 28, 29, XXXIV, 7).

¹² The great apostle of the Parsis (see Chap. II, 10).

¹³ Av. Peshôtanu; a son of Kaî-Vistâsp, who is said to be

avarag) like Âtûrö-pâd¹, he who is liturgical like Hûshêdar², he who is legal like Hûshêdar-mâh, and he who is metrical and concluding like Sôshâns.
 37. Among them are many illustrious ones, glorious doers, supporters of the religion, and good managers, who are completely (âpûr) for the smiting of the fiend and the will of the creator.

38. He also produced the creatures as contenders, and granted assistance (vêdvarîh), through the great, in the struggle for the perfect happiness from heaven at the renovation³ of the universe; and he made *them* universally (vâspôharakânîhâ) contented.
 39. A vitiated thought of a living, well-disposed *being* is a stumble (nistvô) which is owing to evil; and these are even those⁴ contented with death, because they know their limit, *and* it shall be definite (burînô-hômônd) and terminable; the evil of the world, in life, is definite, and they shall not make *one* exist unlimitedly *and* indefinitely in the evil of the world, through an eternal life with pain.

40. And through a great mystery, wholly miraculous, he produced a durable immortality for the living; a perplexity so long as the best and utmost of it is such an immortality of adversity, for *it* is

immortal and to live in Kangdez, whence he is to come to restore the religion in the millennium of Hûshêdar (see Chap. XC, 3, 5, Bd. XXIX, 5, Byt. III, 25-32, 36-38, 41, 42).

¹ Probably the supreme high-priest and prime minister of the ninth Sasanian king, Shâpûr II (A.D. 309-379; see Bd. XXXIII, 3).

² See Chap. II, 10 for these last three names. The terms mânsarîk, 'liturgical,' dâdîk, 'legal,' and gâsânîk, 'metrical,' are those applied to the three divisions of the twenty-one Nasks, or books of the complete literature of the Mazda-worshippers.

³ M₁₄ and J have merely 'granted assistance in the struggle at the renovation.'

⁴ Assuming that gha/ stands for valman, as it sometimes does.

ever living molested and eternally suffering. 41. And their development, the strength of lineage obtained, is ever young in succession, and the tender, well-destined *ones*, who are good, are in adversity and perpetuity of life, so that there is a succession of life through their own well-destined offspring¹. 42. They become eternally famous, so that they obtain, every one, an old age which is renewed, *free* from sickness and decay, visibly in their own offspring and family (*gôharakô*) whenever they become complete; and any one of the combative, whose struggle is through the smiting that his fellow-combatant obtains, is of a comfortable disposition at the balance². 43. This *one*, too, is for stepping forth to heaven, even as that pre-eminent *one* of the righteous, the greatest of the apostles and the most fortunate of those born, the chief of worldly beings, the righteous Zaratûst the Spîtamân, when the omniscient wisdom, *as* a trance (*gîp*), came upon him from Aûharmazd, and he saw him who *was* immortal *and* childless, and also him *who was* mortal *and provided* with children; that perpetual life of the childless then seemed to him terrible, and that succession of mortals *seemed* commendable³; so that

¹ M₁₄ and J have merely: 'are a succession in adversity and perpetuity of life.'

² Assuming that *tarâz* stands for *tarâzûk*. The meaning is that any one who has successfully struggled with sin in the world, and leaves offspring behind him, goes to his account, at the balance of the angel Rashnû, with cheerfulness.

³ This seems to be a variation of the statement in Byt. II, 13, where Zaratûst, after asking for immortality, and having had the omniscient wisdom infused into him for a week, describes what he had seen, and amongst other things says: 'I saw a wealthy *man* without children, and it did not seem to me commendable; and I

the coming of *his* assured offspring¹, Hûshêdar, Hûshêdar-mâh, *and* Sôshâns², became more longed for and more desired, *and* death *more* than the perpetual life of his own body.

44. And when he³ who is all-watchful and all-knowing had arranged the means of opposing the fiend, *there* came for destroying, like a general leader (vispvar), that fiend of deceiving nature, the harassing, rushing, evil-wishing, primeval (pêš) contender, *together* with the demons Akômanô ('evil thought')⁴, Aêshm ('wrath'), Zarmân ('decrepitude'), Bûshasp ('lethargy'), craving distress, bygone luck⁵, Vâê⁶, Varenô ('lust')⁷, Astô-vidâd⁸, and Vîzarâsh⁹, and the original, innumerable demons and fiends of Mâzendarân¹⁰. 45. And his darkness *and* gloom, scorpions (kadzûnô), porcupines, and vermin, poison

saw a pauper with many children, and it seemed to me commendable.'

¹ The Av. âsna frazai̯ntis, 'inherent or natural offspring,' of Yas. LIX, 14, &c. The Pahl. equivalents âsnûdak and âsnîdak can hardly be mere transliterations of âsna, but are more probably translations, formed of â + sunûdak and sinîdak, with some such meaning as 'assured.'

² These three future apostles (see Chap. II, 10) are considered to be sons of Zaratûst (see Bd. XXXII, 8).

³ Aûharmazd.

⁴ These first four demons are described in Bd. XXVIII, 7, 15-17, 23, 26.

⁵ The words nîyâzinâkô tangih bûdô bakhtô, here translated, may possibly be a miswriting of five names of demons.

⁶ The bad Vâê (see Chap. XXX, 4).

⁷ See Bd. XXVIII, 25.

⁸ A demon of death (see Chap. XXIII, 3, note, Bd. XXVIII, 35).

⁹ Another demon of death (see Chap. XXXII, 4, 7).

¹⁰ The mountainous country south of the Caspian, said to be full of demons, the Mâzainya daêva of the Avesta (see Bd. III, 20, XV, 28). These demons were, no doubt, merely idolators.

and venom, and the mischief originally in the lower-most third of the sky¹, issue upwards, astute in evil, into the middle third, in which are the agreeable² creatures which Aûharmazd created.

46. And he smote the ox³, he made Gâyômarð mortal, and he shook the earth; and the land was shattered, creation became dark, and the demons rushed below, above, and on all sides, and they mounted even to the uppermost third of the sky⁴.

47. And there the barricade (band) and rampart fortifying (vakhshîkô) the spiritual world is approached, for which the safeguard (nigâs) of all barricades⁵, that is itself the great glory of the pure religion, solving doubts—which is the safeguard of all barricades—is arrayed. 48. And the splendid, belt-bearing Pleiades⁶, like the star-studded girdle of the spirit-fashioned, good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, are so arrayed as luminaries of the fully-glorious ones. 49. And there was no possibility (aitôkîh) of any demon or fiend, nor yet even of

¹ See § 28.

² By omitting a stroke nôs, 'agreeable,' would become vêh, 'good.'

³ The sole-created, or primeval ox, whence all animals are said to have sprung. For an account of this incursion of the fiend, see Bd. III, 12–20, VIII, 1, Zs. II, 1–11.

⁴ M14 and J have 'even to the upper sky of the middle third,' which means the same thing, as the author's words imply that the demons did not enter the upper third, but only reached its borders (see § 49).

⁵ M14 and J conclude the sentence as follows: 'the pure religion, solving doubts, is arrayed.'

⁶ Reading vandvar Pêrvakô. The author seems to have been thinking of Yas. IX, 81: 'Mazda brought to thee the star-studded, spirit-fashioned girdle (the belt of Orion) leading the Pleiades; the good Mazda-worshipping religion' (Haug's Essays, p. 182).

the demon of demons, the mightiest (*mazvantûm*) in valour, rushing up across that boundary; they are beaten back now, when *they have* not reached *it* from the gloom, at once *and* finally (*yak-vayô akhar*).

50. And the fiend *of* gloomy race, accustomed to destruction (*aôsh-âyin*), changed into causes of death the position (*gâs*) of the brilliant, supreme heaven of the pure, heavenly angels—which he ordained through the power *of*¹ *Mitôkht* ('falsehood')—and the triumph of the glory of the world's creatures, *as ordained* through two decrees (*zîkô*):—one, the destruction of the living by the power² of death; and one causing the manacling of souls by a course of wickedness. 51. And he made *as* leaders therein that *one* astute in evil who is *already* named³, and *Astô-vtdâd*⁴ *who* is explained *as* 'the disintegration of material beings'; he also intrusted the demon *Bûshasp* ('lethargy')⁴ with the weakening of the breath, the demon *Tap* ('fever')⁵ with stupefying and disordering the understanding, and the demon *Âz* ('greediness')⁶ with suggesting cravings and causing drinking before *having* the thirst of a dog⁷. 52. Also the demon *Zarmân* ('decrepitude')⁸ for injuring the body and abstract-

¹ Or, *zôharakô* may mean 'venomous.' *Mitôkht* was the first demon produced by the evil spirit (see Bd. I, 24, XXVIII, 14, 16) who is supposed to be as much 'the father of lies' as his counterpart, the devil of the Christians.

² Or, *zôhar* may mean 'venom.'

³ *Mitôkht*.

⁴ See § 44.

⁵ See Chap. XXIII, 3.

⁶ See Bd. XXVIII, 27.

⁷ Reading *pêr tîsnô-î sagak nôsânînfânô*, but we might read *pêr tîsnôg sedkûnisnînfânô*, 'causing gnawing before *being* thirsty.'

⁸ See § 44 for this demon and the next two.

ing the strength; the bad Vâê's tearing away the life by stupefying the body; the demon Aêshm ('wrath') for occasioning trouble by contests, *and* causing an increase of slaughter; the noxious creatures of gloomy *places* for producing stinging and causing injury; the demon Zâîrîk¹ for poisoning eatables and producing causes of death; with Nîyâz ('want')² the stealthily-moving and dreading the light³, the fearfulness of Nihîv ('terror') chilling the warmth, and many injurious powers and demons of the destroyers *were* made by him constant assistants of Astô-vidâd in causing death.

53. Also, for rendering wicked *and* making *fit* for hell those whose souls are under the sway of⁴ falsehood (kadbâ), which in religious language is called Mîtôkht—since it is said in revelation that that is as much an evil as all the demons with the demons of demons—*there* is Akômanô ('evil thought')⁵, who is with the evil spirit owing to the speaking of Mîtôkht ('falsehood')⁶. 54. And for his doctrine (dînôih) of falsehood, and winning the creatures, slander the deceiver, lust the selfish, hatred, and envy, besides the overpowering progress of disgrace (nang), the improper desires of the creatures, indolence in seeking wisdom, quarrelling about that

¹ One of the seven arch-fiends, the Av. Zairîka, which probably means 'decay,' but from the resemblance of his name to zâhar, 'poison,' he is called 'the maker of poison' (see Bd. I, 27, XXVIII, 11).

² See Bd. XXVIII, 26.

³ Reading gadman bîm, but it may be yadman bîm, 'dreading the hand;' and it is doubtful whether the epithet be applied to Niyâz, or to Nihîv.

⁴ Reading î instead of the va, 'and,' of the MSS.

⁵ See § 44.

⁶ See § 50.

which is no indication of learning, disputing (*sitôg*) about the nature of a righteous *one*, and many other seductive powers *and* demons helping to win, *were* made auxiliary to the doctrine of falsehood in deceiving the creatures.

55. Also, to turn his disturbance¹ to creatures of even other kinds, *there* are demons *and* fiends of further descriptions (*freh-altân*); and for the assistance of those combatants he established also *those* afflictions (*nîvakân*) of many, the witches of natures for gloomy *places*, whose vesture is the radiance of the lights² that fall, *and* rush, and turn below the luminaries which have to soar (*vâzisnî-kânô*) in stopping the way of *any* little concealment of the spirits *and* worldly *beings*³. 56. And they (the witches) overspread the light and glory of those *luminaries*, of whose bestowal of glory and their own diminution *of it*, moreover, for seizing the creatures, consist the pain, death, and original evil of the abode for the demon of demons⁴.

57. And those demons *and* original fiends, who are the heads and mighty *ones* of the demons, injudiciously, prematurely moving, prematurely speaking, not for their own disciplined advantage,

¹ Reading *paîttyâarakô*, but K35 and J have *paîtâzâarakô*, which, if it be a real word, would have nearly the same meaning.

² Shooting stars, meteors, and comets, the last of which are apparently intended by the term *Mûspar* (Av. *Mûs pairika*, 'the *Mûs* witch') of Bd. V, 1, XXVIII, 44.

³ That is, the luminaries which have to prevent these beings from becoming obscured by the darkness produced by the evil spirits.

⁴ By the omission of one loop the MSS. have *yazdânô*, 'angels,' instead of *shêdânô*, 'demons;' the difference between the two words being very slight in Pahlavi characters.

but with unbecoming hatred, lawless manner¹, envy, *and* spears exposing the body², undesirably struggle together—a perplexing contention of troublers—about the destruction of the luminaries. 58. The army of angels, judiciously and leisurely fighting for the good creatures of the sacred beings, not with premature hatred and forward spears (pêš-nîzahîh), but by keeping harm away *from* themselves—the champions' customary mode³ of wounding—valiantly, strongly, properly, and completely triumphantly struggle *for* a victory triumphantly fought. 59. For Aharman the demons are procurers (vashîkânö) of success *in* the contests till the end, when the fiend becomes invisible *and* the creatures become pure.

60. Since worldly *beings* observe, explain, *and* declare among worldly *beings* the work of the spirits and knowledge of customs (rîstakö), by true observation, through wisdom, *that* that life (zîk) is proper when *it is* in the similitude of the true power of wisdom, *and* the visible life is undiscerning of that which is to come *and* that which is provided, so also the evidence of a knowledge of the end of the contention is certain *and* clearly visible. 61. And tokens are discernible and signs apparent which, to the wisdom of the ancients—if it extended, indeed, to a knowledge about this pre-eminent subject—*were* hidden by the fiends, who are concealers *of them* from the perception (hâzîsnö) of worldly *beings*, and also from *their* coming to the perception of worldly *beings*.

¹ Reading an-âyin gun, but this is uncertain.

² Reading kîhar-tanû nîzah; the last word is usually spelt nîzak, but occurs in § 58 in the same form as here.

³ Reading nivikân mank gûn, but this is uncertain.

62. The learned high-priests who *were* founders (pâyînkânö) *of the religion* knew it (*the evidence*), and those portions of it *were* transmitted by them to the ancients which the successive realisers of it, for the ages before me (levînam), *have* possessed.

63. The deceivers¹ of the transmitters, who have existed *at* various times, even among those who are blessed², *have* remained a mass of knowledge for me, by *being* my reminder of the mature *and* proper duty of those truly wise (hû-kîragânkö), through the directions issuable by even worldly decision, and of so many of which I have a remembrance³, for the writing of which *there would be* no end.

64. Then the manifest power of the fiend among us below, and the way provided by the creator for *his* becoming invisible *and his* impotence are clear; so also the full power of the creator of the army of angels, assuredly the procurers of success *in* the end, and⁴ the accomplishment all-powerfully—which is his own advantage—of the completely-happy progress, for ever, of all creations which are his creatures, are thereby visible *and* manifest; *and* many tokens and signs *thereof* are manifestly clear.

65. One is this, that the creator is *in* his own predestined (bagdâdakö) abode, and the fiend is

¹ The unorthodox, or those holding erroneous views regarding the traditions handed down by them.

² Reading âfrîndö, which K 35 has converted into afgônêdö, 'casts,' by inverting the order of the two central characters.

³ M14 and J omit the words from 'through' to 'remembrance.' The author means that he has acquired much information on the subject even from the opinions of the unorthodox judiciously studied.

⁴ M14 has merely the words: 'and the completely-happy progress,' &c.

advancing *and has* rushed in, and his advancing is for the subjugation of the creation¹.

66. One, that the creatures of Aûharmazd are spiritual *and* also worldly, and that is no world of the fiend, but he gathers an evil spiritual state into the world; *and* as among so many the greed of success is *only* in one², so the triumph is manifest of the good spirits *and* worldly beings over the evil spirits.

67. One is this, that *his* defeat in the end is manifest from his contention and aggression (pêš-zadârîh); for the fiend is an aggressor *in* an unlawful struggle, and leaving the army of Aûharmazd—subsequently the lawful defender (lakhvâr-zadâr)—the fiend of violence is a cause of power among those wholly unrequiting the creator *in* the world³. 68. If, also, every time that he smites the creatures he is equally *and* lawfully beaten once again, it is assuredly evident therefrom that, when their beating *and* being beaten are *on* an equality together, *at* first he whose hand *was* foremost *was* the smiter, and the backward fighter was beaten; *but at* last that backward fighter is the smiter, and the foremost fighter becomes beaten⁴; for when he is

¹ K35 has altered dakhshakō, 'token,' into dahisnō, 'creation,' by changing one letter, and M14 and J have adopted the wrong reading.

² Reading kīgûn dên hâvandîh kîr âs dên khadûkō. The drift of these two first reasons seems to be that the fiend, being an invader and outnumbered, must be vanquished in the end.

³ Reading zak-î zôr drûgō dên-î dâdâr barâ-atôgîgânō-î stîs vahânō-î nîrûkō-hômandîh. This phrase seems to have been generally misunderstood by copyists, as both M14 and J have altered it into something like: 'when the violence of the fiend is in the hand of the creator, yet even if the motive of the army is so much power.'

⁴ M14 and J omit this clause, from '*but*' to '*beaten*.'

beaten *in* the former combat, *there* is then a combat again, and his enemy is beaten.

69. One is this, that when the supply of weapons¹, the fighting, and the ability of the contenders are equal, the supply of weapons of him who is the beginner (*pêstâdâr*) has always sooner disappeared, and, *at* last, he is unarmed and his opponent remains armed; *and* an armed *man* is known *to be*² victorious over him *who is* unarmed, just as *one* fighting is triumphant over *one* not fighting³. 70. And a similitude of it, which is *derived* from the world, is even such as when each one of two furious *ones* (*ârdô*) of equal strength, in a fight together, has an arrow, and each one is in fear of the other's possession of an arrow; *and* one of them alone shoots *his* arrow, and makes *it* reach *his* opponent; then he is without an arrow, and his opponent, fully mindful *of it*, has an arrow, and becomes fearless through possession of the arrow, his own intrepidity, *and* the lack of arrows and complete terror of that earlier shooter. 71. And as regards mighty deeds he is successful; *and* though *there be* as much strength for the earlier fighter a successful termination is undiscoverable *for him*; despoiled of possession *by* him who is later, *and* ruined in that which is all-powerful, *his* end *and* disappearance are undoubted, clear, *and* manifest⁴.

¹ The term *zênô afzâr* evidently refers here to the warrior's stock of arrows and other missiles which were to be expended in battle, so that it is analogous to the modern term 'ammunition.'

² M14 has *yehevûnêd*, 'becomes,' instead of *dânôstô*, 'known.'

³ M14 and J omit these last four words.

⁴ The argument, both in this case and the preceding one, is that even when two combatants are equal in power and resources the hasty aggressor is likely to be beaten in the end, and, therefore,

72. One is this, that owing to the previous non-appearance of the fiend, the coming forward of sickness and death unto the creatures of the sacred beings *occurred* when the fiend rushed *in*, and he rendered the existence of men sickly; he also destroyed *and* put to death the progeny of animals. 73. Afterwards, through lawfully driving *him* away, sickness and death *come* in turn (bârikîhâ) unto the demons, *and* the healthiness¹ of the righteous *and* perfect life unto the creatures of the sacred beings, as its counterpart is the great healthiness *which* comes, more rightly rising, unto the creatures advised by the sacred beings, through united arrangement². 74. And, in the end, a worldly similitude of the sickness and grievous, complete death for the fiends³, and of the healthiness *and* intrinsic (benafsman-*ki*gûnîh) life for the creatures of the sacred beings, is that which *occurs* when one of two litigants (ham-patkâr), prematurely revengeful, gives to *his* fellow-litigant an irritating poison, *and* himself eats wholesome flour before the later litigant gives a poison, as an antidote, to the earlier litigant, *and* himself eats the poison-subduing flour; after which he is cured *by* the poison, and his enemy is dead through the poison of the later flour⁴.

the inferiority of the fiend is still more likely to lead to his final defeat.

¹ M14 begins a fresh argument here, owing to some misunderstanding of the meaning of the sentence.

² That is, the advantage of driving away the fiend in this life is a counterpart of the blessings attained at the resurrection.

³ The word drûgânö, 'fiends,' is omitted in K35, but is evidently necessary to complete the sentence.

⁴ This appears to be a description of ordeal by poison and the two usual modes of evading its operation. The hasty evader relies upon deceitfully substituting a wholesome powder for the

75. One is this, that Aûharmazd, the creator, is a manager with omniscient wisdom, *and* the contention of the fiend of scornful looks (tar nigîrîšn) is through lust of defilement; of united power is the management of that creator, as existing with (ham-zîk)¹ all the vigilance in the wisdom which is in everything; and that united power is the strength of the management of heaven. 76. And of much power is the contention of the fiend, as *his* manifold changing of will—which is hostile to the will of even his own creatures, and is through the weakness and exhausted² strength of an evil nature—is the contending power which forms his visible strength³.

77. One is this, that is, on account of the fiend's contending ill-advisedly, however strongly the contest is adapted for the damage of his own fiendishness, and regret and bad consequences therefrom are perceptible. 78. Such as the very paralyzing⁴ affliction which *was* appointed (nîhâdô) by him

poison he has to take; while the more cautious evader trusts to recognising his adversary's poison by its taste, and selecting another poison as an antidote for both to take, so that the hasty evader suffers through his own deceit in not taking the first poison. Similarly, the fiend is supposed to suffer in the end from the death and destruction which he was the first to introduce into the world.

¹ By omitting a phrase M14 and J have: 'and the management of the fiend of scornful looks is as *it were* existing with,' &c.

² This is little more than a guess at the meaning of a word which can be read vashakîdô (compare Pers. gas and kasîdan). The whole sentence is rather uncertain.

³ The argument is that this unstable power of the fiend cannot permanently stand against the consolidated strength of the creator.

⁴ Adopting J's reading samakgûntar, but K35 has vasmakgûntar, which may be 'very troublesome,' and M14 has samkîntar, probably for sahmîntar, 'very terrible.'

for the creatures of the world in putting the living to death, which he ordered with violence and the hope that it *would* be *his* greatest triumph. 79. Even that is what is so self-damaging to the same fiend that, when he puts to death him who is wicked, and he who is wicked, who is performing what is desirable for him (the fiend)—that performance of what is desirable *being* the practice of sin—is useless *and* goes thither where he is penitent of that seduction, the spirit¹ of the owner (shah) of the sin, whose soul is wicked², is righteous, in whose worldly body exist the fetters of pain and darkness; and owing to the unfettering of *its* hands *from* that pain it (the spirit) is far *away*, and goes to heaven, which is the most fortified of fortresses. 80. Fearlessly it fights for it, even as the guardian spirit of Yim the splendid³ kept away all trouble (vêsam), the guardian spirit of Frêdûn kept away even those active in vexing⁴, *and* other guardian spirits of those passed *away* are enumerated as *engaged* in the defeat of many fiends.

¹ That is, the guardian spirit (see Chap. II, 5) which is not rendered wicked by the sin of the soul.

² The phrase mûn rûbân-î zak darvand is ambiguous, as it might mean 'which is the soul of that wicked one,' but this is not reconcileable with the context.

³ See Chap. II, 10. Yim-î shêdô is the Yimô khshaêtô of Vend. II, 43, 45, the Jamshêd of the Shâhnâmâh. The legends here referred to are mentioned in Fravarân Yt. 130-138, where the guardian spirit of Yima is said to withstand the misfortune brought on by the demons, while that of Thraêtaona (Frêdûn) withstands various diseases, and those of other heroes withstand various other evils and demons.

⁴ Reading pavan bêsh-îk kardârân, but for *îk* we ought probably to read *az*, so as to make the phrase correspond to the Av. azi-karstahê dâbaêshanghê of Fravarân Yt. 131.

81. One is this, that the most grievous severance that is owing to him (the fiend)¹ is the production of the mortality of the creatures, in which the afflicting (nîzgûn) demon Astô-vidâd² is the head of the many Mâzînikân *demons*³. 82. And the propitious creator's developers *were* thus unprovoked (anârgônd) when the only person, who is called Gâyômarđ⁴, *was* destroyed by him, and came back to the world *as* a man and a woman whose names were Marhayâ and Marhîyôih⁵; and the propagation *and* connection of races *were* through their next-of-kin marriage of a sister⁶. 83. The unlucky⁷ fiend, while he

¹ Instead of zîs madam, 'that is owing to him,' we ought probably to read zîs bar, 'that is his production;' the Huz. madam, which is the proper equivalent of the preposition bar, 'on, according to,' being wrongly used for the noun bar, 'produce.'

² See § 44.

³ The Mâzainya daêva of the Avesta (see § 44, note).

⁴ The sole-created, or primeval, man from whom the whole human race is said to have sprung (see Chap. II, 10, Bd. III, 14, 17, 19-23, XV, 1, 31).

⁵ The progenitors of the undeformed human race, who are said to have grown up, in the manner of a plant, from the seed of the dead Gâyômarđ (see Bd. XV, 2-5). Their names are derived from Av. mashya mashyôih, 'the man and woman,' but the latter form is no longer extant in the Avesta. From Av. mashya we have the Mashya of Bd. XV, 6, and the Mâshya of Bd. XV, 11, 19, 20, 30. From its dialectical variant martiya in ancient Pers., which would be marethya in the Avesta (compare Av. mareta, Pers. mard), we have the Marhayâ of our text. And by transposition of the letters rt=reth=rha in these latter forms, we have the Matrô of Bd. XV, 2 and the Maharîh or Maharyâ of Bd. XV, 22, note. Other forms of these names also occur (see Chaps. LXIV, 2, LXV, 2, LXXVII, 4).

⁶ M14 has 'of brother and sister,' but the insertion of the extra word is unnecessary. Regarding khvêtudâd, or next-of-kin marriage, see Chap. LXV.

⁷ Reading lâ-khâgastô; the fiend is certainly 'unlucky' here,

increased offspring and fortune for them through death, so uplifted *his* voice in *their* presence, about the death of the living *ones* of their offspring and lineage, that *together* with the unmeasured destructiveness of the deadly evil spirit, and the unjust contention of his through death and the conveyer of death¹, the sting also of birth *was* owing to death. 84. The repetitions of the cry *were* many, so that the issue (bâr) of thousands and thousands *of* myriads from those two persons, and the multitude passed *away*, from a number *which* is limited and a counterpart (aêdûnôth) of the living people in the world, are apparent; and for the annihilation of many fiends, through death, the propitiousness of the contending power of the creator is clear *and* manifest.

85. One is this, that the most steadfast quality of the demon himself is darkness, the evil of which is so complete that they shall call the demons also those of a gloomy race. 86. *But* such is the power in the arms *and* resources of the angels, that even the first gloomy darkness in the world is perpetually subdued by the one power really originating with the sun *and* suitable *thereto*, *and* the world is illuminated².

87. One is this, that the most mischievous weapon of the demons is the habit of self-deception which,

as by introducing death into the world he merely increases the number of beings who pass into the other world to join his opponents in the end; but the text probably means that he is 'inauspicious' and wishes to bring misfortune on mankind.

¹ Astô-vidâd (see § 81).

² The argument is that, as the sun is able to subdue darkness, the most constant quality of the fiend, every day, it is probable that the fiend himself will be entirely subdued in the end.

on account of rendering the soul wicked thereby, seemed to them as the greatest triumph for themselves, *and* a complete disaster for the angels. 88. In the great glory of the pure, true religion of the sacred beings is as much strength as is adapted to the full power of the lawlessness and much opposition of falsehood, *and* also to the fully accurate (*arstlđö*) speaking which is in itself an evidence of the true speaking of every proper truth; and no truth whatever is perverted by it. 89. And the false sayings are many, and good sayings—*their* opponents through good statement—do not escape from their imperfect truth¹; since a similitude of them is that which *occurs* when, concerning that which is white-coloured, the whole of the truthful speak about *its* white colour, *but as to* the liars there are *some* who *speak of* its black colour, some of *its* mud colour, some of *its* blue colour, some of *its* bran² colour, some of *its* red colour, and some of *its* yellow colour. 90. And every single statement of each of the truthful is as much evidence, about those several colours of those who are liars, as even the compiled sayings of the Abraham of the Christians³, which are the word of *him* who is also called their Messiah⁴, about the

¹ Assuming that *apûrâstîh* stands for *apûr râstîh*; it may, however, be intended for *avî-râstîh*, 'want of truth.' The meaning is that even true statements become perverted by inaccurate speakers.

² Perhaps *sapûsag*, 'bran,' may have originally been *sapzag*, 'green.'

³ Written *Abrêhâm-î Tarsâkîgân*.

⁴ The letter *s* in *Masîkhâ* is here written like *âî*, but the word is correctly written in § 91.

Son of the *Supreme* Being¹; thus, they recount that the Son, who is not less than the Father, is himself He, the Being whom they consider undying. 91. One falsehood they tell about the same Messiah is that he died, and one falsehood they tell is that he did not die; it is a falsehood for those who say he did not die, *and* for those who say he did die; wherefore did he not die, when *he is* not dead? *and* wherefore is it said he did not die, when he is mentioned as dead²? 92. Even the compilation itself is an opponent to its own words, for, though it said *he* is dead, it spoke unto *one* not dead; and though *he* is not dead, it spoke unto *one* dead. 93. The proper office (gâs) of a compiler and mutilator³—through whose complete attainments the demons of like power as to the force of truth are strengthened, *and* the pure, good religion of the Mazda-worshippers is itself dissipated and rendered useless for itself—is a habit (dâdō) growing with

¹ The phrase is *barmanō-î dâd*, literally 'son of the created one,' unless we assume that *dâd* is taken as a name of God. It is, however, quite conceivable that a priest would be reluctant to admit that a strange god could be anything better than a created being. That *dâd* is here used as a noun, and not with the meaning of 'gift' or 'law,' appears from the subsequent phrase *dâdō-î amîrâkō yakhsenund*, 'the created *one* whom they consider undying.'

² Owing to the frequent repetitions of the same words in these phrases they are specially liable to corruption by copyists, but as they stand in K35 they can hardly be translated otherwise than as questions. M14 and J have an altered text which may be translated as follows:—'for whomever he did not die, when dead, *he is* as dead; for whomever it is said he died, *he is so* when he is mentioned as dead;' but this seems no improvement of the text.

³ Referring to those who compile commentaries and mutilate texts to suit their own views.

the fiend; and, as he is seen *to be* victorious who overturns reliance on changeableness and similar powers, the final disruption of forces is a disruption of peculiarities (khûdth vishôpisnô)¹.

94. One is this, that is, even that prodigious devastation *of* which it is declared that it happens through the rain of Malkôs², when, through snow, immoderate cold, *and* the unproductiveness of the world, most mortals die; *and* even the *things* attainable by mortals are *attended* with threatenings of scarcity. 95. Afterwards—*as* among the all-wise, preconcerted remedies (pês kêrth) of the beneficent spirit³ such a remedy *was* established (and nihâd kêr) that *there is* one of the species of lands, that is called 'the enclosure formed by

¹ The argument is that even heterodoxy, 'the most mischievous weapon' of the fiend (see § 87), must fail in the end, because, like other revolutions, it relies on constant change, which implies want of permanency.

² Malkôsânô, 'of Malkôs,' is a denominative adjective derived from Chald. ܡܠܟܝܐ 'autumnal rain.' The deluging rain of Malkôs is supposed to usher in the dreadful winter foretold to Yima in Vend. II, 46-56, when all, or nearly all, living creatures were to perish, a truly glacial epoch. In a Persian paraphrase of the Bahman Yast (see Byt. Introd. p. lix) this period of Malkôs is described as follows:—'As three hundred years have elapsed from the time of Hûshêdar (Byt. III, 44-49), the period of Malkôs comes on; and the winter of Malkôs is such that, owing to the cold and snow which occur, out of a myriad of men in the world only one will remain, and the trees and shrubs all become withered, and the quadrupeds, whether carrying, walking, leaping, or grazing, will all utterly die. Then, by command of God, they will come from the enclosure formed by Yim, and the men and quadrupeds from that place spread over Irân, and make the world populous a second time, and it is the beginning of the millennium of Hûshêdar(-mâh).'

³ The formation of the enclosure was ordered, as a precaution, by Aûharmazd (see Vend. II, 61-92).

Yim¹, through which, by orders issued by Yim the splendid *and* rich in flocks, the son of Vivangha², the world is again filled—men of the best races, animals of good breeds, the loftiest trees, *and* most savoury (kharegīstānō) foods, *in* that manner came back miraculously *for* the restoration of the world; which new men are *substituted* for the former created beings, which is an upraising of the dead³. 96. Likewise from that miracle is manifested the non-attainment of the evil spirit to the universal control of the glory of the creator for every purpose.

97. One is this, that—when the heterodox (dūs-dīnō) Dahāk⁴, on whom most powerful demons and fiends in the shape of serpents are winged⁵, escapes from the fetters of Frēdūn, and, through witchcraft, remains a demon even to the demons⁶ *and*

¹ Reading Yim-kard var, but these words are corrupted in three different ways in the three MSS. consulted. This enclosure is said to have been in the middle of Pārs in Bd. XXIX, 14.

² Av. Vivanghau (see Bd. XXXI, 2).

³ That is, a type of the resurrection.

⁴ The Av. Azi Dahâka, 'destructive serpent,' slain by Thraëtaona. In later times he was converted into a usurping king, or dynasty, the Dha'h'hâk of the Shâhnâmah, who conquered Yim (Jamshêd) and, after a reign of a thousand years, was defeated by Frēdūn (Thraëtaona) and fettered under Mount Dimâvand; whence he is to escape during the millennium of Hūshêdar-mâh to devastate the world, till he is finally slain by the hero Keresâsp, who is revived for the purpose (see Bd. XXIX, 8, 9, XXXI, 6, Byt. III, 56-61).

⁵ That is, attached to the shoulders like wings; referring to the serpents said to have grown from the shoulders of Dahâk.

⁶ M14 alters shêdân, 'demons,' into gêhân, 'world,' so as to read 'through the demon of witchcraft remains a destroyer unto the world.' The alteration in the Pahlavi text is small, but seems unnecessary.

a destroyer—a mighty man *who* is roused¹ up beforehand from the dead, *and* is called Keresâsp the Sâ mân², crushes that fiendishness with a club *consisting* of a cypress tree, *and* brings that Dahâk through wholesome fear to the just law of the sacred beings³.

98. One is this, that these, which are *distinct* from those born *and* the men who have laboured together, Astô-vidâd⁴ *has* not obtained, nor even *will* obtain, for death; and through the power of immortals, and the action of the good discourses (hû-sakhunagânîh)⁵, they urge on to the sacred beings *those* who are inquiring (kâv-hômand), even to the immortality which is the renovation of the other creatures. 99. One, *which* is where the mingled conflict of the meeting of good and evil occurs⁶, is the glorious good-yielding *one* of the creator which is guarded by purity, so that the fiend *has* not attained to injuring *it*, since it is pronounced *to be* the uninjured ox which is called Hadhayâs⁷. 100. Also the long life which

¹ Reading angêzôî-aitô, instead of the unintelligible angîdî-aitô.

² See Chap. XVII, 6.

³ Dahâk and all other heinous offenders are said to undergo a special punishment for three nights at the resurrection, and are then finally purified by passing through molten metal like the rest of mankind (see Bd. XXX, 16, 20).

⁴ See § 44.

⁵ Perhaps referring to the liturgical recitations.

⁶ In the atmosphere apparently (see Bd. I, 4).

⁷ Written Hadhayâs here, but Hadhayâs in § 119, Chaps. XLVIII, 34, XC, 4, and Hadhayôš or Hadhayâvs in Bd. XIX, 13, XXX, 25, though always in Pâzand. It is also called Sar-saok, or Srisaok, in Bd. XV, 27, XVII, 4, XIX, 13, always in Pâzand, and this name is converted into Pahl. Srôvô in Zs. XI, 10.

is through its all-controlling power¹ until they cause the end to occur, and the devourers of fires are subdued by it—*besides* the whole strength of the unboasting (akûm) creatures of the beneficent spirit, after they live even without eating²—is because of the Hôh that is white³ and the promoter (frâshm) of perfect glory, which possesses the wholesomeness of the elixir of immortality, and through it the living become ever-living. 101. And also as many more specially pure glorious *ones* whose enumeration *would* be tedious⁴.

102. One is this, that the struggle of the evil *one* and the demons *with* the creatures is not precisely the existence of *various* kinds of contest, but

It is said to be an ox which never dies till it is slaughtered at the resurrection, so that its fat may form one of the ingredients of the elixir of immortality which all men have then to taste; it is also said that mankind, in ancient times, crossed the ocean on its back, when going to settle in the other regions of the earth. From what is stated in the text it may be supposed to be some form of cloud myth, but it is not mentioned in the extant portion of the Avesta, unless 'the ox Hadhayôh' be taken as a corruption of gâus hudhau, 'the well-yielding ox,' and Sarsaok as connected with Pers. srisk, 'a drop,' and referring to showers of rain; but this is very uncertain.

¹ The power of the white Hôh mentioned below.

² As, it is said, they will do for ten years before Sôshâns, the last apostle, appears to prepare for the resurrection (see Chap. XXXV, 3, Bd. XXX, 3).

³ A tree said to grow in the ocean, the juice of which is the other ingredient of the elixir of immortality; it is also called Gôkarn, or Gôkard, Av. gaokerena, and is guarded by ten enormous fish (see Bd. XVIII, 1-3, XXVII, 4, XXX, 25).

⁴ The existence of such immortal creatures, said to be intended for special use at the resurrection, is here taken as a proof of the reality of the resurrection itself. Whether the seven immortals described in Chap. XC are to be included among them is uncertain.

by natural operation and through desire of deceit¹. 103. And the demon of slander (spazg), whose nature it is to make the indignation (zôhar) of the creatures pour out, one upon the other, about nothing, as he does not succeed in making *it* pour out among the righteous², he makes the wicked even pour *it* out upon the wicked; *and* as he does not succeed even in making *it* pour out among the wicked, he makes a demon pour *it* out upon a demon. 104. The impetuous assailant, Wrath (Aeshm), as he does not succeed in causing strife *among* the righteous, flings discord *and* strife amid the wicked; *and* when he does not succeed *as* to the strife even of the wicked, he makes the demons *and* fiends fight together. 105. So also the demon of greediness (âzô), when he does not attain, in devouring, to that of the good, mounts³ by his own nature unto devouring that of the demons. 106. So also the deadly Astô-vidâd⁴ is ever an antagonistic operator; when *there* is no righteous *one* who is mortal, nor any creatures in the world, the wicked dying *one* (mîrâk) rides to the fiends through a death which is an antagonism of himself⁵.

¹ That is, the demons do not come into personal conflict with material creatures, but are supposed to influence their evil passions and to pervert the original laws of nature.

² M14 omits the passage from this word to the same word in § 104.

³ The word sôbârêdô, 'rides, mounts,' both here and in § 106, is possibly only a miswriting of the very similar word dûbârêdô, 'runs, rushes.' Several words in this sentence are accidentally omitted in M14.

⁴ See § 44.

⁵ As it is uncertain whether the 'dying *one*' is a human being or the demon himself, it is doubtful which of them is here supposed to commit suicide. M14 and J have merely: 'nor even among the

107. The means of the united forces¹ are means such as the wise and the high-priests *have* proclaimed, that is, at the time of the renovation of the universe² *being* nigh, when completion *has* come to generation—those who *were* provided *being* born—and after they occasion freedom from generation (azerkhûnisnîh), they cause men *and* animals to exist, though passed *away and* dead. 108. All men, righteous and wicked, who continue in the world *become* immortal, the men are righteous whom Astôvidâd does not obtain for death by evil noosing (dûs-vadisnô)³ from behind, and *who have* completely attained to the rules of the sacred beings (yang-î yazdân); *and* the soul of the wicked, which is repentant of deceit, turns back upon the demons and fiends themselves all that previous violence of destruction and perversion, contention and blinding⁴ which is natural to a demon, and they fight, and strike, and tear, and cause to tear, and destroy among themselves (benafsman va/

creatures of the sacred beings those which are an antagonism of himself;’ apparently connecting this section with the next. This final argument is that, as the demons by their very nature must injure their friends if they fail with their enemies, they contain within themselves the source of their own final destruction. In other words: ‘if Satan rise up against himself, and be divided, he cannot stand, but hath an end’ (Mark iii. 26).

¹ The army of angels of §§ 58, 64. The author, having exhausted his arguments in favour of the final triumph of the good creation, now returns to his description of the issue of the contest, which he was about to commence in § 64.

² M14 and J omit the following words as far as ‘provided.’

³ See Chap. XXIII, 3.

⁴ Or, perhaps, ‘concealment,’ as there is some doubt whether aûbênîdârîh means ‘making unseeing, or making unseen.’

benefitsman) so long as they are in hell and numerous.

109. The wicked who are penitent become courageous anew as to the demon who perverts, the living occasion strength¹, *and* the retribution of the hellish existence of the wicked is completed, because the increase of sins², owing to the sin which they committed, ceases. 110. They are let out from hell, though their sins are thus accumulated by the demons; they have also prepared³ the spirit of sin by the three days *in* molten metal⁴, which drives away tears, as its name is owing to the lessening of tears⁵, which is all⁶ in that which *occurs* when all the doers of actions for the demon of falsehood⁷ pass through that preparation. 111. And *he* who, *for* three days, thus bathes (vushakêdö) his sins which are owing to the fiend, and *has* destroyed the filth (kakhû) of the accumulated sins, is like *those who* have passed off *and* turned over a burden.

112. And the impotence of sin is owing to the destroyer *of* the fiend by the perception of light,

¹ That is, the wicked who are still living, being penitent, reinforce the host of the righteous.

² Referring probably to the 'growth of sin' mentioned in Chaps. XI, 2, XII, 5.

³ That is, 'purified.'

⁴ All men are said to be purified, at the time of the resurrection, by passing through melted metal, which seems like warm milk to the righteous, but is a final torment to the wicked (see Chap. XXXII, 12, 13, Bd. XXX, 19, 20).

⁵ This would seem to allude to some Avesta name of this molten metal, which is no longer extant.

⁶ We should probably read hamât, 'ever,' instead of hamâk, 'all.'

⁷ Reading zûr, but it may be zôr, 'violence.'

who was their creator¹; they (men) all see all, they all forgive, and they all are powerful as regards all *things* for the creator. 113. And, moreover, after the three days, when they occur, all the creatures of the good creator are purified *and* pure by the perfect washing passed through, by the most amazing preparation ordained (bakhtö), *and* by the most complete account they render complete. 114. And they are triumphant *over* the fiend through their own weapons, through their own driving away *of* their own littleness (kâsvîdârîh), and the glory of the creator and that of the angels; and since he becomes exhausted in resources (dên kâr) they make *him* become extinct.

115. *But* previously² they are attacked, and dispersed, and subdued, and this even fully painfully and with complete experience; and they aid, through backward goodness, in the antagonism of means which are separated divergently, through scattered resources and subdued strength, like the life from the body of worldly mortals, and this, moreover, confusedly, uselessly, and unmovingly. 116. *But* the abode³ for the essential material existence (stî-î kîharîkö), about which *there* is a seeking for interment⁴, is not powerless, and on enquiring the wishes of such numbers⁵ they have

¹ That is, the destroyer of the fiend was the creator of the men mentioned in § 108. The reading sinâsnö, 'perception,' is uncertain; perhaps we ought to read 'in the regions (dîvâgânö) of light.'

² That is, before the purification in molten metal.

³ The 'body,' apparently, but this section is by no means clear.

⁴ This must be on the part of the fiend, as burial is unlawful.

⁵ Perhaps the meaning is that the fiend is at length overcome by the constantly accumulating numbers of the penitent wicked.

cast *him* out; and no share whatever, *nor* fragment of a share, of fiendishness, *nor* even so much as some morsel of unpardonableness sent by fiendishness, remains in this light.

117. Those who are righteous, intelligent through their own glory of religion—which is a spirit¹ in the form of light—are scattered (*parvandag-aftō*) equally around the sky of skies, when from every single side of it *there* arises, for the sake of margin, three *times* as much *space* as the earth created by Aûharmazd, in the preparation of the creatures which *were* created by him. 118. Through his own will he again constructs the bodies of the evil creation, unlaboriously, easily, and full-gloriously, though their construction is even from the clay of Aûshdâstâr², and their moisture is from the purified water of Arekdvisûr³ the undefiled. 119. And from that which is a good protector *through* him, and which is also connected *with*

¹ The handsome maiden who is supposed to meet the departed soul, and whose form is an embodiment of its own deeds and religion (see Chaps. XXIV, 5, XLIV, 20). Or, perhaps, the angel of religion (Dîn) itself, which is revered for its radiance and glory in Dîn Yt. 4.

² A mythical mountain (see Chap. XXX, 2).

³ The mythical source of pure water which is said to flow from Mount Albûr into Lake Urvis on the summit of Mount Hûgar, and thence to Mount Aûsindôm in the wide-formed ocean, whence it partly flows into the ocean, and partly rains upon the earth (see Bd. XIII, 1, 3-5). Much the same account of it is given in Chap. XCII, 5, only the lake is said to be on the summit of Mount Aûsindôm. It is the Av. Ardvî sûra of the Âbân Yt., and the Pahl. form Arekdvisûr = Aregdvisûr may be explained as a transposition of Aredgvisûr, an ordinary mispronunciation of Ardvî sûra. Modern Parsis, who consider the Pahl. k as silent (or merely a soft aspirate) after a vowel, would pronounce Aredvisûr.

him, even from the Hadhayâs ox¹, is the strength of everlasting welfare (vêhgarîh) *and* immortality; and the living are again produced for the body, they have immortal life, *and* they become hungerless *and* thirstless, undecaying *and* undying, undistressed and undiseased, ever-living *and* ever-beneficial.

120. After the renovation *of the universe there* is no demon, because *there* is no deceit; and no fiend, because there is no falsity; *there* is no evil spirit (angraminô), because there is no destruction; *there* is no hell, because there is no wickedness; *there* is no strife, because there is no anger; *there* is no hatred, because there is no ill-temper (dazîh); *there* is no pain, because there is no disease.

121. *There* is also no Dahâk², because there is no fear; *there* is no want, because there is no greediness; *there* is no shame, because there is no deformity; *there* is no falsehood³, because there is no desire of falsehood; *there* is no heterodoxy, because there are no false statements; and *there* is no tardiness, because *it speaks* of a dilatory (sustô) race in that which is said thus: '*They are* all those of evil thoughts, of evil words, of evil deeds, a race of all evils to be made to tear by the evil spirit.'

122. And on his (the demon's) disappearance every evil has disappeared, on the disappearance of evil every good is perfected, and in the time of complete goodness it is not possible to occasion (andâkhtanô) any pain *or* distress whatever, by any means, to any creature. 123. Those who are present (nunak) sufferers⁴, when *there* is a blow of

¹ See § 99.

² See § 97.

³ M14 and J omit what follows, as far as 'heterodoxy.'

⁴ Literally 'attainers to endurance.'

a fist on the body, or the point of a nail (têkh bûrâk) is driven into a limb, are pained on account of the combination (ham-dâdakîh) of a different nature for the purposes of the fiend in the body.

124. *But* at that time of no complication (aham-yâkhtîh), when a limb is struck upon a limb, or even such a *thing* as a knife, or sword, or club, or stone, or arrow reaches the body, *there* is no pain or discomfort whatever corresponding to that present pain. 125. And at that time one consideration (vusîd-aê) occurs, for now the pain from that beating *and* striking is always owing to that different nature, and on account of *their being* suitable to it, but at that time everything *being* of like nature and like formation *there* is never *any* distress.

126. And in that most happy time they let the sun, moon, and luminaries exist, but *there* is no need for a return of the day and a removal of *its going* forth (frâshm)¹, for the world is a dispenser (vakhtâr) of all light, and all creatures, too, are brilliant; those luminaries also become as it were perfectly splendid *for* them. 127. And every creature, too, is of like will and like power; which-ever *were* mortals, unenvious of the welfare of all creatures, are alike joyous, and that *share* of their position and pleasure rejoices *them* which has come to them from the glory of all *the existences and* capabilities of him, the all-good, who is aware of all of everything through his own perfect persistence *and* complete resources.

128. And he allots, to the doers of good works

¹ The 'going forth' of the day or the sun means its disappearance or going away, and is an Avesta phrase. The sun is supposed to be 'forth' when it is absent, not when it appears.

and the suitable ranks, the power of a judge (daḍakō), wealthiness, goodness, and the directorship (radīh) of *what* is intended. 129. *He* is the designer of *what* is intended, as it is said about his creatures and capability that fire is producing wind, fire is producing water, and fire is producing earth; wind is producing fire, wind is producing water, and wind is producing earth; water is producing fire, water is producing wind, and water is producing earth; earth is producing fire, earth is producing wind, and earth is producing water. 130. The spirit is both the cause of spirit and the cause of matter (stīś); and the cause of matter, too, is also the cause of spirit, through that perpetual capability.

131. And, moreover, all the angels, the souls, and the guardian spirits are attending to the wishes of the glory of the creator and the commands of the creator, without trouble *and* fully rejoicing, in likeness unto the forms of seas, rivers, mountains, trees, and waters¹; and they have comforted and decorated the creation. 132. And the angels, souls, and guardian spirits, themselves also the constituted spirits of a former contact with life, are thereby pleased *and* rejoiced; eternal *and* thoroughly prepared they are naturalised in that complete joy.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1. *As to* the thirty-seventh question and reply, that which you ask is thus: The measure that they

¹ All objects being supposed to be represented by guardian spirits in the other world.

measure good works *with being* revealed¹, how is it then *when* there is more, or not, done by us?

2. The reply is this, that every thought, word, and deed whose result is joy, happiness, and commendable recompense—when a happy result is obtainable, and the exuberance (afzûn) of thought, word, and deed is important—is well-thought, well-said, and well-done². 3. And for him the result of whose wish for good works is conclusively joy and exaltation of soul—which are his attainment of recompense from the constantly-beneficial space³, the immortal *and* unlimited, which shall never perish—there is no measure of the multitude of good works. 4. For every one by whom many are performed, and *who* engages in still more, appropriates the result more fully, and is more worthy; *but* it is not obtained for the completion of that which is a *definite* measure, therefore he does not obtain still more, and it is not necessary *he should*; and it is, moreover, not obtained even for the completion of a limit of unlimitedness⁴.

¹ They are balanced against the sins committed (see Chaps. XIII, 2–4, XXIV, 5, 6); if the good works exceed the sins by a very small quantity the soul is supposed to go to the ordinary heaven (vahistô), but if by a quantity sufficient to balance one unatonable sin it goes to the best existence, or supreme heaven (garôdmânô, see Sls. VI, 3, 4). M14 and J have merely: ‘The measure for good works *being* revealed.’

² The three characteristics of good works.

³ See Chaps. XXVI, 3, XXXI, 24, XXXVII, 22.

⁴ The good works in excess of the quantity necessary for admitting the soul into the supreme heaven cannot affect the destination of the soul, but they add to its future enjoyment (see Chap. VIII, 4), and no limit can be assigned to the quantity that can be thus absorbed.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1. *As to* the thirty-eighth question and reply, that which you ask is thus: What are the reason and cause of tying *on* the *sacred thread-girdle* (kûstîkô)¹ which, when they shall tie *it* on is said *to be* so greatly valuable, and when they shall not tie *it* the sin is so grievous?

2. The reply is this, that the all-good, most spiritual of spirits, and most ruling of rulers is the creator, and there is no need of troubles for men of the poor as to any wealth *or* anything, for all are his own. 3. And through his will *as* ruler, and all-powerful, he demands this of men, to remain properly

¹ The Kûstîk (Pers. kustî) consists of a string, about the size of a stay-lace, which is first passed twice round the waist very loosely, over the sacred shirt (see Chap. XL, 2), and tied in front with a loose double knot (right-handed and left-handed), and the long ends are then passed a third time round the waist and tied again behind with a similar double knot. This string contains six strands, each consisting of twelve very fine, white, woollen threads twisted together, or seventy-two threads in all. Near each end the six strands are braided together, instead of being twisted, and for the last inch they are braided into three separate string-ends of two strands each; these string-ends, therefore, contain twenty-four threads each, and form a kind of fringed end to the string. This fringe is a sort of remembrancer, as its six strands are supposed to symbolize the six Gâhanbârs or season-festivals, the twelve threads in each strand symbolize the twelve months, the twenty-four threads in each string-end symbolize the twenty-four kardaks or sections of the Visparad, and the seventy-two threads in the whole string symbolize the seventy-two hâs or chapters of the Yasna. The girdle has to be re-tied every time the hands have been washed, which, in order to comply with the ceremonial laws, occurs many times in the day; and each time it has to be done with ceremony and a particular formula of prayer (see § 27).

skirted¹ as a true servant not even bound—which is due to that service, and also the indication of a servant—as is seen *and* clearly declared in the ever-fixed (hamât-dâdö) religion and belief.

4. Formerly men paid homage through the will and worship, as *it were* more effectually, more essentially, *and* more suitably for the discreet; and every day *spent* in worship offered and homage paid they account as *of* the greatest use, particularly for observing the world, and understanding *its* character.

5. And *as to him* of whose offering of homage no worldly advantage whatever is apparent—as fruit is apparent from trees, flavour from foods, fragrance from aromatic herbs, tint (bâm) from colours, the good quality of spears from the forest, health from the patient (môlvarakân), and decision from words—but, audibly speaking, *his* head is lowered in sign of humility—as though the head, which is uppermost in the body and in the most pre-eminent *position*, and is lowered as far even as the sole of the foot, which is lowermost in the body, salutes² *and* is placed on the ground in thought about worship *and* desire of paying homage—and the appearance which exists as regards himself through *that* lowliest (kt-hastö) servitude is *in accordance* with that which is apparent from trees, food, and the many other worldly advantages *before* recited—whoever *has* offered homage and such advantageous (vêsisnakö) appearance

¹ That is, fully clad, as going about uncovered is a sin (see Chap. XL, 4). On occasions of ceremony, and for the purpose of showing extraordinary respect, the Parsis wear an extra long-skirted robe.

² Reading *drûdöêd*, but the orthography is unusual and the word, therefore, uncertain.

is manifest—even then that sign of humility *and* servitude is *what* great multitudes consider the offering of homage of a man more essential for hypocrisy (shêdö)¹.

6. *But* owing to that which *happens* when they plant a tree in the name of a sacred being² and eat the produce, and practise other worldly labour of worldly advantage, owing also to work of this kind through the doing of which they preserve all the growing *crops* of the whole world, and through tillage and multitudinous cultivated plots (khûstakîhâ) *it* is manifest that they should meditate inwardly (dên mînyên)³. 7. A token *and* sign of worship is of great use, and a great assistance (bangîsnö) therein is this belt (band), which is called the Kûstik, that is tied on the middle of the body.

8. The reasons of the assistance are numerous; and its first assistance is this, that *as to* him who—*as* a worshipper of the sacred beings, owing to the undeceitful (akadbâ) religion whose indication is sagaciously propitiating with the *purifying* cup⁴—wears upon the body that spiritual, customary, and

¹ The author is here adopting his most involved style of writing, which, in the original Pahlavi, is often hardly intelligible, and particularly apt to be misunderstood; but the object of this section seems to be to deprecate the Muhammadan practice of frequent prostrations during prayer, which are in marked contrast to the slight obeisances made by the Parsis.

² Whether yêdatô means 'an angel,' or 'God,' is here uncertain.

³ The argument is that the growth of plants is so obviously occasioned by some unseen power that it naturally leads to meditation, and then to prayer.

⁴ The words dânisnikô levatman-tâstik-shnâyîn seem to refer to the Bareshnûm ceremony of purification, described in Vend. IX, 1-145 (see App. IV), which is a rite eminently characteristic of Mazda-worship.

doctrinal indication of the sacred beings with a wisdom which is truly religion, *his* steadfastness and religious service of the sacred beings are audibly spoken thereby; even for the religious *it* is commanded, because *it* is an assisting motive of beneficial high-priests and such-like submitters *to* the commands of the religion of the sacred beings.

9. One is this, that, as the lowliest servant and greatest lord are steadily agreed, and *it is* beneficial¹ when they (the servants) wear a belt upon the body *as* a sign of service—because *it* is not the custom to grant that little at any time without guardianship—the lapse of which service is also not a beneficial lapse, then those unbound are without a token of the lord's service.

10. One is this, that it is commanded in revelation to keep thought, word, and deed confined from sin by a belt, and just like a servant; for the sake of confinement of sins from purity of thought, whose dwelling is the heart, *one* is to wear the same belt, which is the token of a servant, *on* the middle of the body and before the heart; and the periodical (hangâmîkânö) sight of the token and sign of confined sins, and of the constant reminder for *one's* own mind, is the necessity of wearing *it* as a belt which is very restraining from the sin in thought, word, and deed that is manifest even in experience; which wearing of the same belt is as a reason and cause of much remembrance of much sin, that in the same way is therefore a restraint of it.

11. One is this, that the ancients acquainted with religion *have* communicated these tidings (srôbö)

¹ Reading *spenâk*, but it may be *sazôâk*, 'seemly.'

unto our ancestors *and* to us :—‘ When the destroyer came upon the creatures, the demons and witches (parîkō) especially rushed up in the earth and atmosphere, and even to *just* below the position of the stars; and they saw multitudes of luminaries, and also the barricade *and* rampart¹ of the glory of the religion, and the girdle (parvand)² of the wishes *and* good works of all, when³ it is arrayed like a brilliant *thread*-girdle (kûstîk), and all its luminaries are girded (parvastō) by the girdle as the girdle of the omniscient wisdom has girded the all-intelligent angels.’ 12. That great glory of the pure religion, solving doubts, became as beautiful and far-adorning as is stated in the liturgy (mânsar) thus: ‘ The star-studded girdle (ayîvyahângânō) of the spirit-fashioned, good religion of the Mazda-worshippers⁴.’ 13. All the demons and fiends *were* terrified by the great glory of the religion, *and it is* said that, by the recital, practice, *and* promulgation of the whole routine of the enlightened religion, all those fiends are subdued, *and* the renovation of the universe is produced by the will of the patron spirits (ahvân). 14. Likewise, on account of that terror, none of the demons and fiends, who are the mightiest of the demons, rushed upon the creatures of that uppermost third of the sky⁵, who are in purity and inde-

¹ See Chap. XXXVII, 47.

² It is not certain that parvand signifies ‘a girdle,’ or that parvastânō means ‘to gird,’ but they seem to be used in that sense here. The former word translates Av. paurnvânîm, ‘leading the Pleiades’ (Haug’s Essays, p. 182), in Yas. IX, 81, an epithet applied to the belt of Orion.

³ M14 has ‘which.’

⁴ Quoted from Pahl. Yas. IX, 81 (see Chap. XXXVII, 48).

⁵ See Chap. XXXVII, 24-27.

structibility. 15. And it (the girdle) is commanded in revelation for men, more particularly for upholders of the religion¹, *to be* within the middle third *and* near to the uppermost third of the body².

16. *One* is this, that Yim the splendid, *son* of Vivangha³, who in *his* worldly career was most prosperous in worldly affairs, a keeper away of all agitations of temper⁴ *and* all death, *and* a provider of freedom from decay *and* exemption from death, when he was deceived by the fiend *was* thereby made eager for supreme sovereignty instead of the service of Aûharmazd. 17. And about his administration (dâdârîh) of the creatures *it* is said he himself became cut⁵ away from radiant glory by that fiendishness⁶, and their cause of wandering

¹ M14 continues as follows:—‘through that girdle (parvand) of the religion, *and* a *thread*-girdle (kûstîkô), from the region of the world and religious *in character*, is put on within the middle third,’ &c.

² Some words are evidently here missing in the Pahl. text, including the first word of the next section. The reason here given for the girdle being worn round the waist, just below the uppermost third of the body, is that the impregnable barrier of heaven (of which the girdle is a counterpart) is said to be just below the uppermost third of the sky.

³ See Chap. XXXVII, 80, 95.

⁴ Reading vispô khôî-sôrân, but we might perhaps read vispôân sahôrân, ‘all oppressors,’ assuming that sahôr stands for Av. sâthra, a term applied to some particular tribe of another religion which was under the rule of Yim and his two predecessors (see Zamyâd Yt. 26, 28, 31). Another possible reading is vispôân yêkhvarân, ‘all frosts.’

⁵ Assuming that khvûđakô stands for khûđakô, but the word is uncertain.

⁶ The particular kind of fiendishness that led Yim astray in his old age (like Solomon) was lying, that is, denial of the truth of his religion. In consequence of this apostasy the royal glory departed from him, and he allied himself to the demons in the

(garînisnô) is the demon, and mankind perishes in that wandering from plain and hill-side¹. 18. And his pardon originated from the fully-persistent creator; therefore he spoke *and* gave advice unto his successors as to the retribution of those *who* shall abandon the service of the creator; and therein is explained about the fortress of the angels², with the many proper actions which are the strength of the fortress, and about the proportional way it is strengthened when a belt worn on the waist is ordered for men *by* him—the fully glorious ruler who *was* lord of the world, and also in gloriousness well-betokening the good creation—*and* they³ likewise order *it*.

19. One is this, that just as through that reason⁴, which is an appointment (padô-dahîsnô) that the sacred beings decreed, the *sacred thread-girdle was* worn even before the coming of Zaratûst the Spîtmân, *so after the coming of* that messenger (vakhşvar) of the sacred beings, the righteous Zaratûst—who enjoined the commands of the good spirits *and* the exposition of the religion, with discourse praising the sacred beings and scriptures (avîstâkô) about steadfastness in the good religion—the same religious girdle is put on, with a religious formula⁵, around

617th year of his reign, and remained in their power for most of the remaining century of his life (see Zamyâd Yt. 31–38, Bd. XXIII, 1, XXXIV, 4).

¹ Assuming that dastô stands for Pers. dast, and varîvakô for Pers. garîvah; otherwise, we may read ‘from dignity and the hovel (varîkâkô),’ meaning that they perish from all ranks, instead of all places.

² The rampart of heaven (see § 11).

³ His successors.

⁴ As detailed in § 18.

⁵ The Nirang-i Kustî (see § 27).

the body, over the garment of Vohûman¹. 20. Because the same intimation, relative to girding (parvandisnîk) is wisdom for which the race of the religion is so justly famed that innumerable people, with the same customs *and* equally proper girding, wear the *sacred thread-girdle*, the ceremonial belt of the religion *and* indication of the creator, on the middle of the body; *and* it becomes more destructive of the power of destruction², more obstructive of the way to sin, and more contesting (kastaktar) the will of the demons.

21. One is this, that *he* is unwise that *has* not worn *it* when that *man has* arrived in whose law no belting and no girdling³ are ordered, and more perplexing and more grievous destruction is so manifested at the time, that *it* is similar evidence to that exposition of revelation, the purport (a êvâz) of *whose* question *and* reply is spoken thus⁴:—"O creator! in whom is the manifestation of secretly-progressing destruction, that is, in whom is its progress⁵?" And Aûharmazd spoke thus: "In him who is the guide of a vile religion; whoever it is who puts on a girdle

¹ The sacred shirt (see Chap. XL, 2). The garment of a purified man is called Vohûman in Vend. XIX, 76-78, 81-83 (trans. D.).

² The term *seg* or *sêg*, used for 'destruction' here and in §§ 21-23, is the name of 'the fiend who causes annihilation' (see Bd. XXVIII, 26).

³ It is possible that an-aylvyâgânîh may mean 'no garmenting,' and refer to the sacred shirt, as the previous term avîbandîh, 'no belting,' refers to the sacred thread-girdle.

⁴ In Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 21-23, with some variations (see Haug's Essays, p. 367).

⁵ Instead of rûbâkîh, 'progress,' K₃₅ has rûbânîh, which might mean 'soul-state,' but is probably a clerical blunder.

at most thrice (3-tûmak) in a year¹, that is, he does not wear a *sacred* shirt and *thread-girdle*, and his law also is this, that it is not necessary to wear *them*'''—and when the law of no belting is so grievous that, when that law shall be accepted, it is observed *that* destruction is strengthened.

22. The same belt, kept on after the command of Yim, *was* the first token as regards which an annihilator of destruction is mentioned *and* established by law; *and on* both occasions² destruction is more grievously manifest. 23. That which is more particularly important is such as the destroyer of destruction, Yim the splendid, advised, which the high-priest of the good, Zaratûst the Spitamân, mentioned thus:—‘The *sacred thread-girdle* is as a sign of the service of the sacred beings, a token of sin ended, and a presage of beneficence; *and one is* to put *it* on *and* to gird *it*, in the neighbourhood of the heart and *on* the middle of the body, with the religious formula accompanying the glorious scripture.’ 24. That is also betokened by *its* equally-dividing (ham-bûr) position and determining fashion; for, as a wise man becomes a discriminator between benefit *and* injury, between good and evil, so also the place of the *sacred thread-girdle* is between below and above. 25. With a low *sacred* girdle there is a passage for one’s want of openness (avîshôdanö) and secret ruin, and also a shutting up³ of life; with a high *sacred*

¹ In the Vendidad it is he who does not put one on for three years.

² Both when ordered by Yim and when confirmed by Zaratûst.

³ Reading *avar-vadîsnöih* (the first nasal in *bandîsn* = *vandîsn* being often omitted); it can hardly be *afrandîsnöih*, ‘magnificence,’ because the latter abstract suffix, *-ih*, would be

girdle there is a way *for* thought, word, and deed, and no confinement (agîrisnôkârîh) of life; and tying the *sacred* girdle with a religious rite (ham-dînô) is like a glory amid the glories *of* the angels, for it is itself through the aid of the patron spirit (ahvô). 26. And from the heart, which is the place of thought and dwelling of life, on the upper side (lâlâîh) are the eye, ear, tongue, *and* brain, which are the dwellings of sight, hearing, speech, understanding, and intellect; and on its lower side (frôdîh)¹ is the abode of a father's generativeness.

27. When this *sacred thread-girdle*, whose token, sign, and presage are such², is tied, it is girded on with this glorious rite³ of the glorious ones, the custom of the learned, the command of rulers, and the decree of apostles.

28. That secretly-progressing destruction⁴, which *arises* from the fiend of insubordination (asaṛdârîh)⁵ who *was* much afraid of Yim, *and* which is averse to the labour of men *and* the service of Aûharmazd, is a demon and irreligious (dûs-dînô), who is full of fear of the girdles (parvandîhâ) of the glory of

ungrammatical after the former, -isnô, in an uncompounded verbal noun. Some of the other words are also uncertain.

¹ The MSS. have merely rôdîh.

² As stated in § 23.

³ This is the Nirang-i Kustî, or girdle formula, that has to be performed every time the girdle is re-tied, which happens several times a day. It is fully detailed in Appendix II, at the end of this volume.

⁴ See § 21; the first letter of nihân, 'secretly,' is omitted by K35 in both places.

⁵ Sêg, the fiend of destruction, is connected with the demon Bût in Vend. XIX, 4, 6; but the characteristic of 'insubordination' is more applicable to the demon Tarômat, 'the disobedient' (see Bd. XXVIII, 14, 26, 34).

religion, *with* which both angels *and* also worldlings *have* become belted *and* diligent.

29. Then, because the glory for this belt of ours, which is called the Kûstîk and is worn on the middle of the body, remains unreleased (*avî-vûkht*) from the angels, who are givers of glory, *and from* men who are glorious—which is explained as a similitude *and* sample of fortunes (*bâharakôihâ*) among worldlings, even those *who are* actually primitive creatures likewise¹—it *has*, therefore, seemed comely and desirable. 30. And their heart, will, knowledge, and purpose are as much for it as that which is perceptible where, even apart from those of the good religion who shall tie the *sacred thread*-girdle with the scripture formula, *some* of the faiths of all countries, except those who are unbelted, possess the religious custom². 31. Also outside the seat of the existence of faith³ all men have the waist, or the palms of the hands⁴, or similar joints for a girdle (*kûstîkô*); *and* it is deemed comely, desirable, and convenient for work to wear *it*. 32. And *it* is manifestly the lot (*dakô*) of the thoroughly-praising one whose own desire is truth and the enjoyment of welfare, *it is* a token of the service of the sacred beings, and a sign of walking *in* the commands of religion,

¹ The precise meaning is not very clear.

² Alluding probably to the Brahmanical thread which is worn by the higher castes of Hindus diagonally, over one shoulder and below the other arm, and is so far analogous to the Parsi thread-girdle that it is a religious symbol put on with a religious rite.

³ Reading *varôyisnô ahû gâs*, but K₃₅ has *rôyisnô*, 'growth,' instead of 'faith.'

⁴ Reading *kafihâ*, or *kafagîh*. Perhaps the allusion is to a rosary which is held in the hands, or worn on the wrists, by people of many religions.

which they shall tie on account of the superior beings (pâshûmân) with the proper formula, more particularly *with* that which *one* utters when *there is* reliance *upon* the scripture itself.

CHAPTER XL.

1. *As to* the thirty-ninth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: What kind of goodness and want of goodness can there be *in* the *sacred thread-girdle and shirt*; *and* what are the sin of running about uncovered, of prayer offered and prayer not offered, and the purpose of cleansing (mîsn)?

2. The reply is this, that it (the shirt)¹ is needful *to be* perfectly pure white *and* single, which one fold is because Vohûman also is thus the one creature who *was* first², and afterwards from him the garment which is innermost and concealed is called in revelation³.

3. Proper girdling is double⁴, which two folds are because he also who is in the course of the twofold religious wisdom is intelligent, and the duties *due to* the sacred beings are themselves *in* two divisions

¹ The sacred shirt, constantly worn by Parsis of both sexes (young children excepted), is a very loose tunic of white muslin, with very short loose sleeves covering part of the upper arm (see Sls. IV, 4-8).

² The archangel Vohûman (see Chap. III, 13) is said to have been the first creation of the creator (see Bd. I, 23).

³ The garment of Vohûman (see Chap. XXXIX, 19).

⁴ That is, it is passed twice round the waist before it is tied the first time, but then it is passed a third time round the waist (see Chap. XXXIX, 1).

which are called the instinctive *and that* heard by the ears¹.

4. After a man is in the girding they shall tie on, the symptoms of *any* sins of the belted body are *free* from sin which is condemned (*vigîrîniðö*); and when he walks uncovered, or naked, or with a two-fold garment, there is then no root of *the sin of* running about uncovered² in him. 5. Moreover, on hymns *being* chanted during a meal an *inward* prayer is not also necessary³.

6. The purpose⁴ of a cleansing (*mts-n-aê*) is this, that the suitableness of men for eating is due to worship of the sacred beings and glorification of the sacred beings. 7. And *as to* their necessary recommendation (*sipârîh*)⁵ of any food for eating, the

¹ The twofold wisdom of the Avesta comprises the two intellects, the *âsnô khratus*, 'the durable or instinctive wisdom,' and the *gaoshô-srûtô khratus*, 'the ear-heard or acquired wisdom,' which are the terms used here.

² The sin of *vishâd-dûbârisnih*, which would have been incurred in any of these cases if no girdle had been worn, is a venial sin of one Farmân for each of the three first steps, but becomes a Tanâpûhar sin (equivalent to 75 or 400 Farmâns) at the fourth step (see Sls. IV, 8-10).

³ This is mentioned as a further illustration of a greater religious duty superseding a lesser one. When the Gâthas, or hymns, are being chanted, the reciter is already under the protection of the inward prayer (*vâg*) with which all acts of worship must commence; it is, therefore, unnecessary to take another prayer inwardly before eating. Inward prayer is a short formula which is said to be 'taken' and 'retained' inwardly, as a protective spell, by muttering its commencement before certain necessary acts, and after the completion of the act the remainder of the formula is 'spoken out' aloud, and the spell is dissipated, before the person can converse (see Sls. III, 6).

⁴ The MSS. have *pêm*, 'milk,' instead of *êim*, 'purpose,' but see § 1; the Pahl. letters *p* and *k* are often much alike.

⁵ M14 has *sipâsîh*, 'praise;' but this and several other emenda-

glorifying of the sacred beings, and the true usages about recounting *it*, it is commanded, before eating, when the mouth is not soiled with food, *that* the mouth (dahân) *should* proceed with the utterance of the pure glorification¹. 8. Being thereupon suitably seated, and *having* properly eaten the food, *one* is to make the mouth clean with a tooth-pick and water; and after eating, before all words, the praise of the sacred beings is glorified by the mouth cleansed by washing. 9. And between the glorifying before eating and the after glorification *one* is not² to speak other words, and when during a meal a word is spoken by the mouth, that kind of glorification which *it* is the custom to utter before and after eating is offered by its own organ (andâm)³.

10. And every single organ *has* one function, *but* two special functions are connected with the mouth, which are speaking *and* eating; *and* because *they are* together *they* are mutually opposed, for speaking connects that which is an inward possession with outside teachings (kâshthâ), *and* through eating, the outside food comes for the inward further vitality of life. 11. As the ancients *have* said, where one operation is appointed unto two operators, *it is* more

tions in the same MS. are probably nothing but unsuccessful attempts to render an obscure text intelligible, without taking the trouble to understand it.

¹ This glorification (stâyisnô) must refer to the inward prayer of § 5, which commences by praising Aôharmazd (see Chap. LXXIX, 2, note).

² Reading lâ, 'not,' instead of râi, 'on account of.' M14 has altered the passage.

³ That is, when the spell of the inward prayer is broken by speaking before the proper time (see § 5, note), the spell must be renewed before proceeding with the meal.

expressly so that during eating two operations may not both at once (ayag-ik-gûn) be produced, by speaking *and* by eating.

12. To keep those two operations distinct, one from the other, the custom of uttering the praise of sacred beings *and* the glorification of sacred beings when the mouth remains in the act of eating, until the mouth becomes clean from food, is decreed as inconsistent with goodness (aham-vêhth). 13. And that *which* remains from the outpouring (rîkh) at the time of a cleansing is called 'a cleansing (mîsn-aê).'

14. One means for the retention of knowledge is through not having that retention of knowledge exhausted, but when *one* thus speaks during that cleansing the words are really originating with the mouth, for he does not retain *them*; and whenever (maman) he does not speak anything whatever with the tongue, that religious glorification which *it* is the custom to utter before and after eating is then offered by him from his own limited resources (sâmânö-î vîmônd), and it will be offered from his own limited resources.

CHAPTER XLI.

1. *As to* the fortieth question and reply, that which you ask is thus: Of those whose decision is this, that it is not necessary to be steadfast in the religion of the Mazda-worshippers—by *which* decision this is asserted, *that* they should abandon the religion of the Mazda-worshippers—*some one* disparages the religion *and* goes over to a foreign faith (an-aîrth), then of what nature is his sin

owing thereto, *and* what does the sin owing thereto, as regards those of the same foreign religion, amount to? 2. Or order *some one* then to tell us clearly concerning it, how it is, and how is the disobedience due to this sin.

3. The reply is this, that an adult is worthy of death¹ on account of the good religion they² would abandon, on account also of the adopted law of the foreign faith *he* is worthy of death, in whose reliance upon the improper law is also the sin which they³ maintain *and* practise by law, and through *being* in the same law *he* is equally sinful with them.

4. And also when any one is on that course, and his wish is *for* the same protection, of which a similitude is *in* the enduring words of that good law they would forsake, and he adopts that which is vile⁴, even through that impropriety *he* is equally sinful.

5. When he dies, without renunciation⁵ *of that sin* and impenitently, in that improperly-constituted law, the position of his soul is then in the worst

¹ That is, he commits a mortal sin, for which he could have formerly been condemned to death by the high-priest (see Sls. VIII, 2, 5-7, 21).

² The teachers of infidelity.

³ The foreigners.

⁴ The probable meaning is that if he conforms to the foreign faith merely from politic motives, while retaining a belief in his own religion, he is still equally sinful.

⁵ This renunciation is effected by the recitation of a particular formula called the Patit, in which every imaginable sin is mentioned with a declaration of repentance of any such sins as the reciter may have committed. But this formal renunciation must be accompanied by atonement and true repentance; and in order to ascertain the proper atonement all serious sins must be confessed to the high-priest (see Sls. IV, 14, VIII, 1, 2, 8-10).

existence¹, and his punishment is that of many *sins* worthy of death; from the demons also *there* come grievously, hand in hand, pain and suffering, gnawing and stench of many kinds, stinging, tearing, and lacerating, primary evil and discomfort. 6. And through their² law and faith his distress in that worst existence is thus until the last change of existence, when the renovation *of the universe* is produced by will among living beings.

7. But reality (aitōih), as regards living, arises from renunciation of that disobedience; it makes those attract to the good law who seduced him to that evil law, that which established him improperly in the law it eradicates from *his* conduct (rûbâkîh), advancing sins it again restrains, and whatever *has* advanced it repairs again anew through the religion of the Mazda-worshippers, *and* he becomes thoughtful, constant, and steadfast. 8. The sin which he set going he restrains and atones for by wealth, trouble, and authorising³ commands; even in the body he also undergoes punishment in the three *nights* (satûih)⁴; he then obtains forgiveness, and his soul is saved.

9. And as *it* is said in the persistent law of the sacred beings⁵, that 'the good religion of the sacred beings, who are the Mazda-worshipping superiors,

¹ See Chap. XXXIII, 3.

² The foreigners'.

³ Or, tûbânkâr may mean 'lavish.' The ordering of religious ceremonies, as good works in atonement for sin, is probably intended; and these always imply a lavish expenditure upon the priesthood.

⁴ Referring to the three nights' punishment after the resurrection of the body, which is specially reserved for mortal sinners (see Bd. XXX, 16).

⁵ Quoting, with some alteration, from Pahl. Vend. III, 151.

ordains *it* as retribution,' so that the sin it takes away (spayêiti)¹ may not exist in him, his retribution is declared by revelation. 10. And by the same witness *it* is said, that all of the primitive faith have been quite of the same opinion about this, that from the good religion except by² the way of renunciation of *sin* there is none unless to hell; but that renunciation *should* be during life, for it is said that 'whoever *when* living does not become righteous, that is, does not fully atone for sin, *for* him *when* dead *there* is no grant of³ the best existence.' 11. To commit no sin is better than retribution *and* renunciation of sin.

CHAPTER XLII.

1. *As to* the forty-first question and reply, that which you ask is thus: *As to* him who remains in the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, *whom* men shall make the protection and assistance of the good religion⁴, *who* shall save men from a foreign faith and irreligion (akdînôih), and then holds back *some* of those who have the idea that they should go over to a foreign faith and irreligion, *and* they do not go over to the foreign faith, *but* become steadfast in the religion of the Mazda-worshippers, what is then⁵ the

¹ The Avesta verb spayêiti, here used as a technical term, occurs frequently in Vend. III, 142–148.

² Assuming that barâ, 'indeed,' stands for pavan, 'by,' (see Chap. VII, 2 n.)

³ Reading bakhshîsn-î, but it may be a corruption of bakhshând, 'they shall grant,' as assumed in M14. This passage is quoted from Pahl. Vend. V, 173.

⁴ Some one placed in authority, such as a high-priest or judge, is evidently meant.

⁵ Reading êdînas, 'then of him,' instead of ayûf, 'or;' the

nature of the decision of the angels *about* him, and what is the nature of their (the men's) good works *and* sin?

2. The reply is this, that *he* is much extolled, happy, exalted, of great good works *and* abundant recompense, and the path to the best existence, prepared (frârâstô) by his righteousness, is wide¹; the delight of *his* soul becomes complete, *and its* hope² is great. 3. And every good work that is manifested in the good religion by those who are transferred by him from a foreign faith and irreligion, and *which* they shall do thereafter—when, through the perseverance *and* praise exercised by him who is protected by the religion, they are saved *from* irreligion—becomes his as much as though it had been set going by him himself, and *he has* the same praise and the same good works with them. 4. Of the extent (sâmânô) *and* amount of such good works *there* is no writing a second time, unless *his* acquaintance with the full computation of the good works due to *their* number is continuous³; but when *in* the same way they are practising and steadfast in sin it shall not be assigned *to him*⁴. 5. Then his position in

two words being alike in Pahlavi except in the latter part of the last letter.

¹ That is, his path to heaven over the *Kinvað* bridge is rendered wide and easy by his good deeds (see Chap. XXI, 5).

² Reading *aimêd*; M₁₄ has *khîm*, 'disposition,' and K₃₅ has *khîmâd*, which suggests 'shall be greatly celebrated' as a possible translation.

³ The meaning appears to be that their good works are imputed to him only so long as he continues to exercise some control over them.

⁴ That is, their sins will not be imputed to him in the same way as their good works.

righteousness¹ is very grand, and in the world he has himself great eminence, applause, *and* dignity.

6. And as much as that which is an improper law *and* a law worthy of death is a punishing of the soul, and the disconnected² words and perversion (*vas-takñh*), due also to the perfidy (*rangisnõ*) of the fiend *who has* come, are such that in his time the religious rites (*dñnõ*) performed are rites of grievous vexation *and* fear, *so* that which is a proper law, like the great glorification in spirit and the connected words of the high-priests, is the arrival of the good spirit as much as a virtue worthy of recompense *and* full of hope. 7. Even as that which is said thus: 'Of men who are practisers of good deeds the manifestation is then in their children.'

CHAPTER XLIII.

1. *As to* the forty-second question and reply, that which you ask is thus: *Regarding* a man who is consecrating a sacred cake³, and the fire is his household attendant (*khavag-ñ mânõ*) from afar, when he sees *it*, at how many steps is it improper? 2. When they consecrate a sacred cake by *light of* a lamp, why do they not say *the words* 'tava âthrõ (for thee, the fire),' as *by* another fire? 3. And of the propitiatory dedications (*shññmanõñhâ*)⁴ to the period of the day (*gâh*), the day, and the month of the consecration of the sacred cake, which is that

¹ Or, perhaps, *aharñbõñh* may here mean 'the righteous existence' or heaven.

² Reading *apañvand*, instead of *va pañvand*.

³ See Chap. XXX, 1.

⁴ See Chap. XXIX, 1.

which when earlier *or* later is also then not proper, *and* which is that which is proper? 4. When they shall accomplish the consecration of a sacred cake *with* one more dedication *than those* of the thirty days of the months in the year, how is it necessary to act so that it may not enter *too* early; and which is the one more dedication which, when they shall make *it*, is proper, which is that which is not proper, and which is that which is earlier and later?

5. The reply is this, that at forty-eight¹ feet from the sacred twigs² to the fire—which would be about nine reeds, *if* of a medium man—even though *one*

¹ K35 has 'forty-seven.' Taking the foot at 10½ English inches (see Bd. XXVI, 3 n) the 48 feet would be 42 English feet, and the nâf or reed would be 4 feet 8 inches.

² The baresôm (Av. baresma), or bundle of sacred twigs, is an indispensable part of the ceremonial apparatus; it is held in the hand of the officiating priest while reciting many parts of the liturgy, and is frequently washed with water and sprinkled with milk. It consists of a number of slender rods, varying with the nature of the ceremony, but usually from five to thirty-three. These rods were formerly twigs cut from some particular trees, but now thin metal wires are generally used; and when not in the hand of the priest they are laid upon the crescent-shaped tops of two adjacent metal stands, each called a mâh-rû, 'moon-face,' and both together forming the baresôm-dân or 'twig-stand.' The baresôm is prepared for the sacred rites by the officiating priest while reciting certain prayers (see Haug's Essays, pp. 396-399), during which he washes the twigs with water, and ties them together with a kûstîk, or girdle, formed of six thread-like ribbons split out of a leaflet of the date-palm and twisted together. This girdle, being passed twice round the middle of the bundle of twigs, is secured with a right-handed and left-handed knot on one side of the bundle, and is then passed round a third time and secured with a similar double knot on the other side, exactly as the kûstîk or sacred thread-girdle is secured round the waist of a Parsi man or woman (see Chap. XXXIX, 1).

sees the fire *and* does not say 'tava âthrô¹,' it is proper. 6. And a lamp also has the same contingency (ham-brâh) as a fire; and by our teaching they do not consecrate a sacred cake *at* a lamp on which there is no burning of firewood, *but* they should cause a burning of firewood on that at which they consecrate a sacred cake, and they say 'tava âthrô².'

7. And *there is* a propitiatory dedication *for* each separate consecration of a sacred cake, and not again from the first to the last³; and the first is the nearest to the first day, Aûhar mazd, just as Âtûr ('fire') and Âvân ('waters') are other days in the series; and the last is the day Anrân, because in the same series the day Anrân is the latest⁴. 8. When the seven

¹ These Avesta words, meaning 'for thee, the fire,' are used when addressing the fire, or presenting anything to it, such as firewood and incense (see Yas. III, 52, VII, 3, XXII, 10, 22, &c.); they are not to be used, however, when the fire is so far off, or so feeble, that its light cannot be seen by the speaker (see Sls. X, 37).

² Meaning that in his opinion a lamp is no proper substitute for a sacred fire unless a little firewood is burnt in it.

³ In the liturgy for the consecration of the sacred cakes, which consists chiefly of Yas. III, 1-VIII, 9 (see Haug's Essays, p. 408), the portion contained in Yas. III, IV, VI, VII is filled with propitiatory formulas, some of which are fixed, but others vary according to the hour, day, and month of the service. Some of the variable propitiatory dedications for the day and month are, however, identical with some of the fixed ones, such as those for fire, waters, &c. And in case of the day or month requiring the use of a variable dedication of this description, the object of the text is to prohibit the use of the corresponding fixed dedication, which would be an unnecessary repetition of the same words. This appears to be the meaning of the words *va akhar min zak-i levînô va/ akhar lâ* translated in the text; but it would be hardly possible to express so simple a meaning in a more obscure fashion.

⁴ The series of propitiatory dedications for the thirty days of the

archangels are in the propitiatory dedication it is proper to put the seven archangels first in their own order, then the period of the day¹, then the day, then the month of the consecration, and, afterwards, the other dedications in such order as they are written.

g. And *as to* the earlier which they should put later, one is when they shall put a dedication before the seven archangels, one is that when they shall put the day before the period of the day, one is when they shall put the month before the day, and one is that when a dedication, distinct from the seven archangels, the period of the day, the day, *and* the month, on account of *being* before the archangels, or before the period of the day, or before the day, or before the month, is accounted as improper a dedi-

month (which are also used for months of the same names) constitute the Sîrôzah, which is given in two forms, one in which the names and titles are in the genitive case, and the other in which they are in the accusative. From the first form of the Sîrôzah the proper dedications for the actual day and month are taken and substituted for Yas. III, 50, 51, IV, 40, 41, VII, 41, 42 (which passages, as they stand, are correct only for the first day, Aûhar mazd, of the first month, Fravardîn); and from the second form of the Sîrôzah they are similarly taken and substituted for Yas. VI, 37, 38; somewhat in the same way as the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for the day are taken from the complete series of such writings, and inserted in the Communion service of the Church of England. The first day is Aûhar mazd, the ninth day and ninth month are Âtûr, the tenth day and eighth month are Âvân, and the last day is Anirân. Following these variable dedications for the day and month are the fixed dedications for Âtûr, 'fire,' and Âvân, 'waters,' unless they have been already recited for the day or month.

¹ The dedication for the gâh or period of the day occupies the place of Yas. III, 21-37 (in which the formulas for all five gâhs are given); so that when the archangels are to be propitiated the dedications for them must precede Yas. III, 21.

cation as *that of yesterday, or the day before*, is for this day.

10. So that when *it is* the propitiatory dedication for the day Khûr of the month of consecration Âvân¹, the day *and* month are such that their order and the Âtûr ('fire') and Âvân ('waters') succeeding them are thereby set in reverse order to the *proper* sequence². 11. Then, too, when in the same month³ its propitiatory dedication for the day *and* month becomes *alike for* day and month⁴, it is recited as regards *both* the month and the 'waters' (âvân), because *they are* not connected together and *have* again become non-inclusive; *and* then *one* is to consider them as proper.

CHAPTER XLIV.

1. *As to* the forty-third question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: *There is* a man who is superintending (avar-mândakakö) and skilful, in whom great skill as regards religion is provided, and the high-priest's duty and officiating priest's duty (magô-patîh) are performed by him; or they are not performed by him, but in him great skill as regards

¹ The eleventh day of the eighth month.

² The meaning is that in such a case the dedications for the day and month, and the fire and waters (Yas. III, 52, 53) which follow, will stand in the following order:—Khûr, Âvân, Âtûr (the second Âvân being omitted as directed by § 7), which is precisely the reverse order of those names among the days of the month.

³ The eighth month, Âvân.

⁴ That is, on the tenth day of the eighth month, when both day and month are Âvân, in which case there would be three Âvân dedications, but only two are to be used as here directed.

religion is provided. 2. In a place of *that* district there is no one who rightly knows the commentary *and* 'the proper *and* improper¹,' so that he comes forth into a place of such decay (*sapakhân*); *and* the people of the district—who constantly order all the religious rites (*dînô*²) of many sacred ceremonies from any poor *man* of the various persons from other districts whose skill and superintending are not *like* his, but they constantly come *to* that district—shall constantly receive *from him* all the many religious rites and many sacred ceremonies. 3. *And* that man, who is revered and skilful, proceeds not undejectedly (*lâ anaskandîhâ*) and bashfully *to* his own superintending position, the position of the religion and position of the skill which are his; he does not demand any employment in the district or any award (*dînâ*) from the district, and does not know *how* to provide any other employment or award, in which there would be *any* fitness for him. 4. Are the people of the district—on account of the skill and activity which that man has exercised in religion, due to the performance of all the religious rites and sacred ceremonies which they constantly order—

¹ From this it would appear that a treatise called 'Shâyast Lâ-shâyast' existed a thousand years ago, which probably bore some resemblance to Sls., the work which now bears the same name.

² The words *hamâk dînô*, translated 'all the religious rites' both here and elsewhere, are a technical term which (as I am informed by Dastûr Peshotanji Behramji, the high-priest of the Parsis in Bombay) is applied to 'those obligatory religious rites and festivals that every Parsi is bound to observe by performing certain ceremonies, in his or her name, with the assistance of priests engaged for the purpose. These rites and festivals include the Rapihvân, the Gâhâmbârs, the Fravardîgân, the monthly festivals, &c.'

thereupon to prepare that man a stipend (bâhar)¹, and is it necessary for them to give a stipend to that man, or how is it necessary to act; and is it necessary for them to collect *it* for him, or not? 5. And of the much advantage of all the religious rites and work is it necessary to speak thus: 'Until the *time* that thou hadst come it was not possible for us to order except of him who is inferior to thee,' or how is *it* to be done? 6. Is it necessary to collect a stipend for him on account of the benefit and reasoning thought (vîrmatô) on other subjects, of which *he was* the means, or how is it necessary *for* the superintendent *of* our people to collect such stipend of skill, position, and religion?

7. The reply is this, that a man of such description as written *above*, and superintending the exercise of skill and provision of ability, is very worthy of a stipend and courtesy (khûptîh); also, through good management of all religious rites *and* the ceremony of the sacred beings, *he* is very confident in any uncertainty. 8. Therefore it is necessary to consider that he manages more openly and better than those whose skill and ability are not *like* his; and also as regards stipend and reasoning thought, owing to the worthiness of the ceremony of the sacred beings, his are more whose skill, ability, and activity in religion are greater. 9. And *as to* a man who is as written *above*—when all those religious rites and ceremonies are well-managed by him, and his repeated direction and right continuance of proper duties are an accumulation of his own reasoning

¹ Literally 'a share' of the produce of the district, analogous to tithes.

thought and great capability, and are ordered of him with great solicitude—one is also to consider him a stipendiary¹ thereby, and a thriving acquirement of ample reasoning thought. 10. And *as to* him, moreover, who is less skilled than he, *and* of inferior position, by as much as he is not *so* worthy, *his* custom is therefore to produce a want of himself again.

11. But he who *has* much skill should have² a great stipend, and he of medium ability should have² a medium *one*, he *having* less means of benefiting worthily, maturely, and necessarily. 12. And the value is as it is said in revelation thus: 'The stipend they should announce to him who is an upholder of religion is two shares, *and* to him who is mediocre *only one*, to him whose lot is inferior.'

13. That man is a master *and* high-priest³ whose usage also (âfn-îkô) is wise, and in ability, goodness, and skill is the best of *those of* the religion of the Mazda-worshippers, which is the religion of wise upholders. 14. And the exercise of his religious disposition—originally possessing a religious stipend—which they shall order of him in *that* place, and that *of* the other worthy *ones and* applicants in the place and coming applying to the place, as much

¹ Literally 'a shareholder.'

² Assuming that the adverbial suffix -îhâ may be taken here (as it can be probably in all cases) as the Pâz. conditional form hâê of the verb 'to be,' equivalent to the more usual forms aê, âê, and the Huz. hômanâe (see Chap. XLVIII, 23).

³ Or, *rad dastôbar* may mean 'an awarding high-priest,' as he is called *rad*, 'master, chief,' in virtue of his power of sentencing sinners and governing the religious body, and he is called *dastôbar*, 'upholder of customs,' in virtue of his control over rites and ceremonies.

as it is worth *and* happens *to be* their own want, *one* is to altogether thoroughly well consider for him. 15. Good destiny is not fulfilled by granting *to* those applying, *but* through forward ability, the forward, kind-hearted¹, *and* extreme skill provided, *and* grand position he is worthy of much stipend, *and* it is important to make *them* stipendiary in their own gradation of applying. 16. For the observance of moderation *and* the granting of applications are mutually destructive, *and* it is discriminatively said that the high-priest Gâmâsp of the Hvôvas² considered, in that mode, the much skill of that good superintendent *being* without a stipend *as* not disproportionate, *but* most justly very moderate.

17. Moreover, to collect *for* all except for one skilful *man*, and to provide a stipend *for* any other applicants, is not right; and the limits should be³ moderate, for each one really shares the moderate apportionments according to his own want, apart even from the sacred ceremony. 18. But to collect for such a man, who *has* kind-heartedly superintended by rule during reasoning thought, is a greater good work than to approve even him *who* is superintending much more authoritatively. 19. And he who *has* himself requested is to obtain everything last; for, except *in* that *case* when a virtuous doer *has* in any

¹ Literally 'good-hearted.'

² The Av. Gâmâspa Hvôgva (or Hvôva) of Yas. XLV, 17, L, 18, Fravardîn Yt. 103. He was high-priest and prime minister of Kai-Vistâsp; but probably the opinion of some much later Gâmâsp is here erroneously attributed to him, much in the same way as the comparatively modern Book of Enoch is attributed to Enoch, 'the seventh from Adam,' in Jude, 14.

³ Reading hâê instead of -îhâ, as in § 11.

mode begged a livelihood¹ *and* is not capable of *earning it*—so that something even of the righteous gifts² of clothing is begged by him—to live in idleness is not the way to be assisted; *but* he who *has* not himself requested, and is wise, is to beg a suit of clothes (rakht-hanâ).

20. They give to the good provider of gifts much praise, *and* for the preservation of the perfect giver are many religious friends³, *and* the position of the upholders of religion⁴; so it is necessary to give, *and* to consider *it* as provided for the great female whom revelation greatly celebrates⁵, that patron spirit (ahû) connected with religion, as it is said that *in* the opinion of Hûmân⁶, the high-priest, the propitious religion is, as *it were*, the way of saving their souls⁷.

¹ M14 has zivisnô, and K35 has zîvandân.

² Charitable donations given to the priesthood and poor for the purpose of acquiring religious merit on certain solemn occasions; they often consist of clothing, and are then supposed to furnish the giver, or the person in whose name they are given, with garments in the other world after the resurrection (see Bd. XXX, 28).

³ The angels who assist his soul after death, such as Srôsh, Mitrô, Rashnû, Âstâd, and the good Vâê (see Chaps. XIV, 3, 4, XXX, 2-4).

⁴ That is, he will occupy the same grade in heaven as the priesthood.

⁵ Referring to the maiden spirit supposed to meet the good soul after death and to conduct it over the *K'invad* bridge to heaven (see Chaps. XXIV, 5, XXXVII, 117). She is described in Vend. XIX, 98-101, and more fully in Hn. II, 22-32 and the later Pahlavi works. Her beauty is said to be proportional to the religious merit of the soul, and she is here identified with the ahû or patron spirit.

⁶ Probably some one nearly contemporary with the author, such as Âtûr-pâd son of Hêmid (see Bd. XXXIII, 11), who is called hû-manô, 'well-meaning,' and styled 'the leader of the people of the good religion' in the Dinkard (III, ccccxiii).

⁷ The maiden spirit, being developed by religious actions, is

21. About upholders of religion, and a more particular rule how the lawful computation should be for glorifying with moderation, a chief of the priests¹ *has* spoken thus: 'Shouldst thou be our father in wealthiness, I am thy protector in body, *and* thou becomest thy protector in soul².'

22. The same collection³ is the way of the friends of religion for begging from the upholders of religion the preservation of the soul, *and* for well considering, extremely gracefully *and* fully reverently, the advantage *and* pleasure of the position⁴ of the upholders of religion, so that they shall properly collect for the preservation of souls by the mode of going to collect thoroughly with great gain.

CHAPTER XLV.

1. The forty-fourth question is that which you ask thus: Of priesthood (aêrpatîh) or discipleship (hâvistîh) which is the priest's duty (aêrpatîh), *and* which the disciple's; which is that which it is necessary to have in priesthood, *and* which in discipleship?

called the soul's 'own religion' in AV. IV, 23; it is, therefore, that spirit's assistance which is probably meant here, when speaking of religion saving the soul.

¹ A môbad of môbads.

² Meaning that the wealthy man can easily protect his own soul by a proper expenditure of his wealth on good works. The connection of this with the first part of the sentence is rather obscure.

³ Mentioned in §§ 17, 18.

⁴ In heaven (see § 20). To induce the laity to collect ample property for paying the priesthood they are promised a share of the priest's happiness in heaven.

2. The reply is this, that the priesthood and discipleship are connected together; the priests teach the scriptures¹, *and* the disciples learn the knowledge of the religion, that is, the Avesta and Zand². 3. The priest; have been disciples; through the teaching of his own priest they make the aroused existence³ of even a disciple become a priest, *and* in one body with the learner are the priesthood and discipleship. 4. Through that which he has learned as a disciple from the priest *he* is wiser, and owing to the priesthood in his own person he teaches the disciple who is a learner; the desire which is his craving for learning is also owing to that in his own priest, when *he was* a disciple unto his own priest.

5. And the disciple *and* priest are even such as is said thus: 'The director (farmâdâr) of the profession of priests (âsra vöân) of Pârs⁴, *and* chieftain over the faithful and the officiating priests (magôpatân) of Pârs, is the leader of the religion; and *his* disciple (ashakar dō) is a disciple *in* a selected foremost position among the priests of the religion, set up (madam âgast) over those acquainted with the commentary (zand-âkâsânō).' 6. The

¹ The word mâdîgân means a treatise upon almost any subject, but it is specially applied to the Nasks or books of the complete ancient literature of the Mazda-worshippers, which are now nearly all lost. It should be noted that 'teaching' and 'learning' are expressed by the same word in Pahlavi.

² The Avesta is the religious literature in its original language, erroneously called Zend by Europeans, and the Zand is the Pahlavi translation of the same literature, with the Pahlavi commentary (see Bd. Introd. p. x).

³ Reading ham-vikhtō yehevûnîh and taking ham-vikhtō as equivalent to Pers. angikht.

⁴ This was the post held by the author himself (see Chap. XCIV, 13).

more infallible (*asaktar*) of these is the powerful skill of the priest (*aêrpatō*) put forth through the ritual *and* *Visparad*¹, and *his* skill in the commentary (*zand*); the skill of disciples in the Avesta is, further, fully understood, *and* sin *recognised* as oppressive, through the formulas (*nīrang*) of the sacred ceremony, ablution and non-ablution, purity and pollution.

7. And both professions are the indispensable preservers of great decisions *as to* that which the priestly disposition *has* taught, done, and considered about the perpetual existence of every being, the complete goodness *and* final success of the non-existent evil *and* entire good of the sacred beings, the annihilation of the demons², *and* the complete understanding of the friends of the sacred beings.

CHAPTER XLVI.

1. The forty-fifth question is that which you ask thus: Is it allowable *that* those of the priesthood, when there is no daily livelihood for them from the life of the priesthood, should abandon the priesthood, and *that* other work *be* done, or not?

¹ The term *yastō*, 'ritual,' means any form of prayer with ceremony, and appears to include the Yasna or chief ceremonial ritual. The *Visparad* (here written *Vispōrêdō*) is a particular form of ceremonial prayer, the various sections of which are interspersed among those of the Yasna and *Vendidād* in the full liturgy of the *Mazda*-worshippers; it is called *Visparad*, 'all chiefs,' because it commences with an invocation of all the spiritual chiefs of the universe.

² K₃₅ has *khasânō*, which might stand for *khasânō*, 'reptiles,' but is more probably a slight alteration of *sêdânō*, 'demons,' which would correspond to the more modern form, *sêdâânō*, in M₁₄.

2. The reply is this, that there is no loss of reputation to priests from priestly duties (aêrpatîh), which are themselves the acquired knowledge *that* is accumulated *by* the priestly disposition, care for the soul, *and* the requisite good works. 3. *And* there is this advantage, that, through acquaintance with the religion *of* the sacred beings, *and* certainty as to the reward of the spirit, they make *them* become more contented in adversity, more intelligent as regards stability of character in difficulty *and* restriction, and more through knowledge the abode of hope for those saved. 4. So that it is not fit they should abandon the priesthood, which is both harmless *and* an employment *with* advantages *that has* required much trouble to learn.

5. But, indeed, when they do not obtain¹ a daily livelihood from priestly duty, and the good do not give them chosen righteous gifts² for it, and they do not let *them* obtain *any* from next of kin *or* the wicked even by begging, a livelihood *may be* requested from the paid performance of ceremonies, management of all religious rites (dînô), *and* other priestly disciple's duty therein³. 6. When even by that they do not obtain *it*, *they* are to seek a livelihood by agriculture, sheep-rearing, penmanship, *or* other proper employment among priests; *and* when *it* is not possible for them to live even by these, *they are to seek it* by bearing arms, hunting, *or* other proper employment in the profession of a virtuous warrior. 7. And when even it is not

¹ K35 has 'beg,' both here and in § 6, the difference between the two words in Pahlavi being only a stroke.

² See Chap. XLIV, 19.

³ That is, from the general funds of the priesthood.

possible for them to maintain their own bodies, which are in requisite control, by that which is cravingly digested, *they* are to beg a righteous gift¹ authorisedly (dastôbarthâ) as an effectual remedy; by living idly, or not expending strength, their own bodies, which are in control, are without livelihood, but not authorisedly².

CHAPTER XLVII.

1. *As to the forty-sixth question and reply, that which you ask is thus: At a sacred feast (myazd)*³ of those of the good religion, in which *there* are fifty or a hundred men, more or less, just as it happens, and seven men who are *engaged* in the performance of the religious rite (dînô) which is celebrated by them are feasting together with them, of those seven men there are *some* who are easily⁴ able to pray five sections (vidak)⁵, and *some* six subdivisions (vakhshisnô), of the Avesta, *but* no chapter (fargardô)⁶ of the commentary (zand) is

¹ That is, charity.

² That is, they are not authorised to beg charity for maintaining themselves in idleness.

³ The sacred feast consists of the consecration of the sacred cakes (see Chap. XXX, 1), followed by that of wine and fruit with the recitation of the Âfrîngân or blessings (see Haug's Essays, p. 408), after which the consecrated food and drink are consumed by those present, both priests and laymen.

⁴ That is, they know the prayers by heart, which is necessary in reciting the Avesta.

⁵ Compare Pers. vaî, vîd, vîdâ, 'part, little,' guz, 'a portion, a bundle of folios.' M14 has nask, 'book,' but this is clearly an unlucky guess.

⁶ The chapters of the Vendîdâd are called fargard's, as are also

easy to them ; and all seven of them are disputing about the right (râs) to the foremost places. 2. And he to whom thirty chapters in ¹ the commentary are easy speaks thus : 'The foremost place is mine, and it became my place owing to great retentiveness *of memory*, for I know the commentary well and "the proper *and* improper ²;" and my place must be good, for whenever I do not indicate this *as* the place of religion unto the people I am not in the security of religion ; *but* you should not dispute about my place, for *it* is not becoming to dispute *it*, because this neglect and outlandishness (an-aîrîh), which *some one* brings constantly into the religion, is not *due* to me.' 3. Those seven men, moreover, speak constantly unto him thus : 'Our place is *more* important and must ever be *so*, for every man of us is able to pray several sections in his own officiating priestly duty (zôttîh), *and* it is ever necessary to consider who is more participating in sharing a reward.' 4. Then *as to* those whose Avesta is very easy, or him who knows the commentary *and* 'the proper *and* improper' well, and *their* goodness and greatness, as asked by us in this chapter, direct *some one* to make *them* clear unto us, for when he demonstrates the littleness and greatness in this

those of the Vistâsp Yast and many of the lost Nasks or books. The text here applies the term specially to the chapters of some scripture with commentary, and it may be noted that the thirty fargards, subsequently mentioned, are the exact number contained in the Vendidad and Vistâsp Yast taken together, the learning of which by heart (as the word 'easy' implies) is a very serious task, comparable with learning the whole Greek text of the four Gospels.

¹ Perhaps 'with' is meant, but the word used is pavan.

² See Chap. XLIV, 2.

subject his great religion is then completely an advantage.

5. The reply is this, that, as to that which you ask *me* to write, so that they may decide *whether* thirty chapters in the commentary are easier, *or* really the other, be they five *or* be they six sections of the Avesta, are easier, *there* is no deciding, because which are the chapters and which the sections? 6. For, as regards more cleverness and less cleverness, it is not clear; there are *some* of the sections greater than many sections, and there are chapters *as great as* many chapters, but to understand severally the divisions (*buris*) and enumeration of him to whom five sections of the Avesta are easy, *and* also of him whose thirty chapters in the commentary are easy, it is necessary for making the calculation to consider every single division in the commentary as *equivalent* to seven *equal* divisions apart from the commentary¹. 7. And it is thereby thus manifest who *has* skill *in the one* and who *has* skill *in the other*², and whoever *has* less, when there is nothing in it regarding which *he* is otherwise *than* when the superintending command *of* rulers (*khûdâyân*) delivered over to him the place of duty—or on account of a new officiating priestly duty or directorship (*radîh*) of the season festivals³, or the

¹ The reason for this difference is that it is only necessary to learn the words of the Avesta, without understanding them, whereas a knowledge of the Zand, or commentary, implies understanding both texts as well as knowing the Avesta by heart.

² M14 omits the repetition of the words *mûn afzâr*, but it seems necessary for the completion of the idiomatic phrase.

³ The six Gâsânbârs or Gâhambârs are festivals, each held for five days, and severally ending on the 45th, 105th, 180th, 210th, 290th, and 365th days of the Parsi year. They were probably

foremost places *being* occupied, or like causes he becomes otherwise—is fit for all the great share *and* very good estimation of the place of *one* much more skilful, when their *being* fitting *and* skilful, or *their* excess *or* deficiency, is not specially manifest from their skill¹. 8. And him to whom the commentary is very easy, *having* prayed much, it *has* seemed important to consider more thriving proportionable to *his* eating².

9. And great and ample respect for both their ways of worthiness is an advantage *and* fully necessary, skill in the commentary *and* that in the Avesta *being* together mutually assisting; for even the solemnizers of the Avesta *have* need for information from the commentary about the scattered (parvand) 'proper *and* improper' *usages* of the sacred ceremony. 10. The more efficient information from the commentary is advantageous when the ceremonial is proceeded with by them, and one of those two is one of the skilful, *and* a friend, provider, glorifier, and aggrandizer for the other; and the friends of religion are good friends and, therefore, also providers of fame for both of them.

intended originally to celebrate the periods of midspring, midsummer, the beginning of autumn, the beginning of winter, midwinter, and the beginning of spring (see Sls. XVIII, 3), when the Parsi year was fixed to begin at the vernal equinox. In later times they were supposed to commemorate the creations of the sky, water, earth, vegetation, animals, and man.

¹ The meaning seems to be that a priest once acknowledged as pre-eminent is not to lose his right of precedence merely because others become rather better qualified, so long as he himself does not retrograde, or is not superseded in his official duties. But if through any accidental circumstance he be excluded from the chief seat, he ought not to dispute the matter.

² Or, perhaps, 'through *being* moderate in *his* eating.'

11. When, too, they are publishing accusing statements, one about the other, from necessity, or from the violence which is owing to the adversary¹, *it* is important to become an excuser as regards them, and not a diminisher of their share, *nor* a bringer (âkhtâr) of unhealthiness to *their* united strength.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

1. The forty-seventh question is that which you ask thus: How is a liking for the desirableness, joy, and pleasure *arising* from the sacred ceremony (yazisn) friendly to Aûharmazd, the archangels², and the guardian spirits of the righteous³; in what manner is the perfection of him by whom the ceremony is ordered and the people of the country then exalted by them; and how *and* in what manner does it become the vexation, defeat, anguish, *and* discomfort of the evil spirit, the demons, *and* the fiends? 2. How is the purpose of the ceremony, what is the ceremony, where is the place⁴ when they shall perform *it*, what is good when they shall

¹ The evil spirit.

² The archangels are usually reckoned as seven in number, because Aûharmazd, their creator, is considered as presiding over the six others, whose names are Vohûman, Ardavahist, Shatvairô, Spendarmad, Horvada, and Amerôdad. These names are merely corruptions of Avesta phrases meaning 'good thought, perfect rectitude, desirable dominion, bountiful devotion, health, and immortality,' respectively, and the archangels, or 'immortal benefactors,' are personifications of these ideas. They are said to have been the first creatures created, after the guardian spirits or prototypes of creation, the light, and the sky (see Bd. I, 8, 23-26).

³ See Chap. II, 5.

⁴ Or gâs may mean 'time.'

perform *it*, and how *is it* good when they shall perform *it*?

3. The reply is this, that the great satisfaction of Aûharmazd and the archangels *arising* from the sacred ceremony is in the purity of its formulary (nîrang), and also in this, that *it* is completely fulfilling his own blessed commands; because he ordered that entire goodness for the complete procedure of those of the good religion (bândakö hûdînakânakîh), as the recompense and full allotment of the sure upholder of religion *among* those who rightly recite *it*. 4. From the performance of the ceremonial of the sacred beings are the propitiation of the good spirits, the destruction (drûgišnö) of violence, the increase of digestiveness, the growth of plants, the prosperity of the world, and also the proper progress of living beings, even until the movement of the renovation *of the universe and* the immortality of the creatures arise therefrom. 5. It became so, it is expressly said, because the sacred beings are great; and unitedly opposing it the demons are particularly undesirous *of it*, and owing to it their defeat and vexation are severe; its *consecrated* cup (tâstîkö)¹ also becomes the express preservation of the ceremony.

6. And its purpose enquired about is this, that religion is transmitted clearly to the intelligent, that is, *it is* not the wisdom whose comprehension *exists* in worldly beings; and as, moreover, even that which is not understood by worldly wisdom is really the

¹ Referring probably to the cup of Hôrn juice, the preparation, consecration, and use of which are essentially characteristic of the Yazîrn or sacred ceremony, and are, therefore, supposed to be very repulsive to the demons.

creature of the spirits, that also which is the spiritual formulary (*ntrang*) is for making *it* intelligible to worldly beings through the body¹. 7. That religion which is comprehensible by the world *and* authoritative (*nikêzakö*) is rightly connected with that which worldly beings are quite able to understand through worldly wisdom; and the understanding about its evidence as to that which is spiritual *and* powerful, apart from the worldly evidence of superiors (*avarîkânö*), is the right way of the intelligent. 8. That proper (*kânö*) purpose—in which, moreover, the ceremonial, owing to timely memory for its own completion, is unique—is this unique exhibition of purity in the pure glorifying of the heavenly angels, as is commanded; just as the purpose of the ceremonial of a season-festival *being* before the season-festival, *and* of maintaining (*dârân*) the exposure of the body of a jackal (*sakhâl*)² *or* a man, is to make the body clean from the corrupting (*nasûsikö*) pollution³, *and* also from outward contamination.

9. That also which might be written, as to the much retribution appointed as regards washing the limbs outside with clean moisture from clean

¹ That is, the purpose of the ceremonial is to afford an outward symbol of the spiritual mysteries of the religion.

² This reading is uncertain, but the reference appears to be to the exposure of the dead. M14 has the sentence altered as follows:—‘just as the ceremony of a season-festival is exhibited more royally (or more joyously) before the season-festival, and a man who is a judge is for the purpose of making the body clean from the corrupting pollution, and also from contamination which is even outside the body, as much as is proper.’

³ That is, the pollution due to the *Nasûr*, or fiend of corruption, who is supposed to seize upon all corpses (see Chap. XVII, 7).

animals¹ *and* plants, and then completely washing the body with the purifying water streaming forth; as to the clean scents among those which they rightly perceive, and making the body *and* clothing² sweet-scented; *and* as to the putting on of the white and proper garment of Vohûman³, and supposing the power⁴ of avarice *to be* the sight of distress, is *all* superfluous. 10. *But it* is needful still as regards these *matters*, that is, while *engaged* in the ceremonial *it is* not to be hurried owing to any hunger *or* thirst, owing to liability of punishment for religious practices⁵, *or* even owing to deficiency⁶ of vacant space. 11. And before the ceremonial *one* is to eat at the appropriate time, and such food, too, as is preparable and *only* moderately troublesome (navâs); and any of that which *one has* to perform aloud in leaving the heavenly-minded, yet moderate, duty in the abode of fires⁷—which is perpetual light—is proper, pertaining to good works, and good for him, and thereby lodging in *him*. 12. And they, that is,

¹ Referring to ceremonial purification by washing with bull's urine.

² Or 'the clothing of the body.'

³ The sacred shirt (see Chaps. XXXIX, 19, XL, 2).

⁴ Reading *va zôrîh*, but it may be *nizôrîh*, 'weakening.'

⁵ This seems to be the meaning of *mîn pâdafrâhîh-î dînôtkîh*. At the time this was written the religion was often persecuted, and its ceremonies were liable to interruption; but even when such a misfortune was apprehended, they were not to be hurried over.

⁶ The word is *kamîh* in the MSS., but it may possibly have been *kâmîh* originally, in which case the meaning would be: 'or even owing to wishing for evacuation.'

⁷ The fire temple, where the sacred fire is kept perpetually burning.

the gloomy ones¹, thereby see the service (yasâk) for them themselves is short; *and* good are *they*² who come into the world glorified by praise.

13. The position of the *ceremony*-holders³ themselves, that is, the position of the officiating priest (zôtô) *and* his co-operators, is the Aûrvêś⁴ place; and, if *it* be the precinct (dargasîh) of prayers⁵, *one* should wash *it* over (madam pasâyâd) *with* the water of purification, to make *it* clean. 14. The apparatus of the ceremonial, *together* with its own man, who is a solemnizer, and the two creatures *which* are solid⁶ out of these four: fire, metal, water, and plants, just as *one* has to bring *them* together in readiness, the stone Aûrvêś, the stone *and* mortar Khân⁷, *and* the Hôm-mortar⁸ (hâva-nîh), cups, *and* crescent-shaped (mâh-rûpô) stands⁹ set upon *it*, are *all* ceremoniously washed (pâdyâ-vînd) with the water of purification. 15. The

¹ The demons. In M14 the sentence, already obscure, is altered so as to be unintelligible.

² The angels. The meaning is that, by the utterance of the proper formulas at the proper times, the demons are discouraged, and the angels are induced to come to the ceremony.

³ Perhaps we should read sâkhtârân, 'preparers,' as in M14, or else yastârân, 'solemnizers,' instead of dâstârân, 'holders.'

⁴ This is the name of the consecrated space within which the ceremony is performed. It is often written Arvîs, but is probably to be traced to the Av. urvaêsa, 'goal.'

⁵ That is, when the place is about to be used for a ceremony.

⁶ Literally 'material;' meaning the metallic and vegetable portions of the ceremonial apparatus.

⁷ The slightly raised platform or table upon which all the apparatus, except the fire and unconsecrated water, is placed.

⁸ In which the twigs of Hôm are pounded and mixed with water.

⁹ For the Baresôm or sacred twigs (see Chap. XLIII, 5).

bright fire on the clean fire-stand (âttstō)¹ is increased by the dry firewood delivered *to it* purified, *and one* is to put upon *it* at appropriate times the wholesome perfumes of *various* kinds of plants; and the water of purification, which is ritualistically produced² by *reciting* the words of revelation, is in the clean metal cups. 16. The well-grown Hōm³ through which the world is possessed of creatures⁴, the Hōm through which the production of Zarātōst occurred⁵, is a symbol of the white Gōkerânō⁶ as

¹ A small stone platform on which the fire vase is placed, now usually called âdōst.

² Reading nīrangîkîhâ dâd instead of the unintelligible nīrang ashâyâd of K35, which is very similarly written in Pahlavi; M14 has 'which *one* is to keep pure by the ritual of words of revelation.'

³ A plant said to grow among the mountains in southern Persia, which has not yet been botanically identified, but Anquetil Duperron was told that it resembled a vine without fruit. Twigs of this plant are brought to India 'by traders and are, therefore, considered impure until they have been purified, laid aside for a year, and again purified' (see Haug's Essays, p. 399). A few fragments of these twigs are pounded and mixed with water in the Hōm-mortar, and the juice is tasted by the priest who performs the ceremony. The Avesta Hōm and the Sanskrit Soma must have been originally the same plant, but both Parsis and Hindus now use plants which are no doubt mere substitutes for that original. In southern and western India the Soma plant now used by the Brahmins is the *Sarcostemma Brevistigma*, a leafless bush of green succulent branches, growing upwards, with flowers like those of an onion; when not in flower it can hardly be distinguished from the *Euphorbia Tirucalli*, or thornless milk-bush, commonly used for hedges in many parts of India.

⁴ Reading dām-hōmand; or it may be sem-hōmand, 'renowned.'

⁵ Zarātōst is said to have been begotten in consequence of his parents drinking Hōm-juice and cow's milk infused, respectively, with his guardian spirit and glory (see Zs. XI, 10 n). K35 has hōman, and M14 has hōmand, instead of hōm, in this clause.

⁶ Av. gaokerena, sometimes called gōkard in Pahlavi, the

regards the immortality of the renovation of *the universe* manifest therefrom, and the resting-places of its vengeance¹ are the various demons; and with it *one* is to put attentively (sinvisnō-dahak) in *its* appropriate place the pomegranate (hadanapag)² plant of the Aûrvârâm. 17. The vegetable³ sacred twigs carefully girded with the vegetable belt (parvand) and girdle, *and* the metallic⁴ crescent-shaped *stands*—which are in the position of those who are sovereigns of the worldly creatures who are interpreted *as* the sacred twigs⁵ of the treatises—are prepared.

18. *When* arranged (stôrdō) by the bringing together of clean worldly productions, so much the more purely as is possible, the arrival of the pure renders all the symbols reliable. 19. Those celebrators of whom the outside of their own bodies is defiled with their bodily refuse and in clean clothing, and *their* disposition—if⁶ in the religion of

mythic white Hô̄m-tree which is said to grow in the wide-formed ocean, and from which the draught of immortality is prepared for mankind at the resurrection (see Vend. XX, 17, Bd. XVIII, 1-4, XXVII, 4, XXX, 25).

¹ Reading ayēngîh nisîm, but this is uncertain.

² Av. hadhânaêpata, to represent which the Parsis now use a twig of the pomegranate bush, but it must originally have been some sweet-scented plant (see Vend. VIII, 7). The Aûrvârâm (Av. acc. urvarâm) consists of this twig, a small fragment of which is pounded with the Hô̄m-twigs when preparing the Hô̄m-juice.

³ From this it would appear that the practice of using metal wires, instead of twigs of trees, for the baresôm (see Chap. XLIII, 5) was not in use a thousand years ago.

⁴ Literally 'Shatvaîrian;' the archangel Shatvaîrô (Av. khshathra vairya, 'desirable dominion') having special charge of all metals (see Bd. XXX, 19, Sls. XV, 14-19).

⁵ Reading baresôm; K₃₅ has basom and M₁₄ bîm-iâ.

⁶ M₁₄ substitutes yôshdâsarînîdō for denman hîgarînîdō,

moderate eating in which is a thirst for lawfully drinking—is customarily sleep *and* lethargy through the tendency (rûnō) to falsehood of *their* wisdom, are to consider, even from *their* innermost hearts and minds, the retribution of the body of wrath, the falsehood, and bad thoughts in that disposition of infamy, *and* the recompense of their own renunciation of it; *they* are to atone for *their* sinfulness, *and* to seek great purification of mind. 20. And *having* acquired eyes speaking¹ forth, hands in a state of ablution, and every other member of the body—especially there where well-accomplishable—*free* from its bodily refuse and covered *with* the clean clothing, the tongue is preserved *and* guarded *from* falsehood *and* the hand from sin, the mind is established *by* little preparation with good consideration for knowledge of the sacred beings, and even the good are to recite by direction (rad̥thâ) the verbal renunciation of sin².

21. The officiating priest (zōtō), *having* directed *and* purified the place³ of the fire with liturgical words⁴, is to go *and* walk unto the place of the officiating priests⁵ while glorifying the sacred beings,

and paḍmûkht for va khîm hat, so as to read 'the outside of their own bodies is purified and attired in clean clothing,' but this can hardly be reconciled with the context. The term hîgar or hîkhar (Av. hikhra), here translated 'bodily refuse,' is applied to any refuse or dirt from the living body, or any *liquid* exudation from a dead one.

¹ Reading gôvak, but it may be yûvâk, 'wishing,' or dûvâk, 'flowing.' M14 alters it to vênâk, 'looking,' which suits the eyes well enough, but hardly seems to express the author's idea.

² See Chap. XLI, 5.

³ M14 has 'having purified around the place.'

⁴ The Âtar Nyâyis (see Haug's Essays, p. 403).

⁵ This place is at the end of the ceremonial area farthest from

and to consider invokable the glory given to the luminaries *and* the guardian spirits of the good. 22. Of those¹ also who, co-operatively, conjointly, and interspersed (*ham-rêš*), *have* each separately remained in their own places *and* thought of the sacred beings, with propitiation of Aôharmazd *and* scornful notice (*tar dahisnô*) of the evil spirit, the employment stands forth prominently at the ceremonial. 23. *As to* the position of others co-operating *with* him who is an officiating priest of good leadership, there are *some* who are for the Avesta², there is the solitude (*khadûldârth*) by the fire, there are *some* who are bringers³ forward of water, there are *some* who are for carriers away, there are *some* who are solitary ones, there are *some* who are gregarious ones, there are *some* who are directors of duties, and their own needful arrangement in the place is arranged in the ceremony.

24. In cleanliness, purity, *and* truth, as much as *there is* in *this* mingled existence⁴, if *one has* to commence a ceremony glorifying the sacred beings,

the fire. Here the priest first invokes the spirits in whose honour the ceremony is about to be performed, by reciting their several propitiatory formulas (see Chap. XXIX, 1).

¹ Referring to any other priests who may be present.

² M14 has 'for carriers,' omitting the three clauses about the Avesta, fire, and bringing water.

³ Or, perhaps, 'there is *he* who may be a bringer;' and similarly in the following clauses. The plural suffix *-ihâ* being identical in form with the Pâz. conditional form of the verb 'to be,' which seems to be the origin of the adverbial suffix corresponding to *-ly* in English when added to an adjective; occasionally it is added to a substantive, as is probably the case here, and can then be only translated by 'may, or would, be' (see Chap. XLIV, 11).

⁴ This first clause may belong to the preceding section.

when the righteously-disposed temperament is purified *along* with the apparatus the abundant ritualism (nīrangakth) of the spirit is a symbol *and* reminder of the will of the sacred beings, undesired by the fiend¹, *and* remains a blessing deservedly unto *those* come together. 25. Then is explained the text (avistāk) of that great scripture (naskô) which is called the Hâdôkht², *that* is itself the best of the chiefs of the scriptures, *and* of the sublime Dvâzdah-hômâst³ *that* is not recited by any voice with falsehood (âkadbâ)⁴, *and* is called 'the origin of every truth⁵.'

26. The pure glorification of the sacred beings is in the light, this is in the morning time (frâyar gâs)⁶; and even until night the ritualistic *and* true

¹ K35 has drôn, 'sacred cake,' instead of drôg.

² The twentieth Nask, which is said to have chiefly treated of religious ceremonies and texts (see Byt. III, 25). Two Avesta fragments, published by Westergaard as Yt. XXI and XXII, are traditionally ascribed to this Nask.

³ Another name for the Dâmdâd Nask, from which the Bundahis appears to have originated (see Zs. IX, 1). The name is also applied to a particular series of ceremonies, continued for twelve successive days in honour of each of the twenty-two sacred beings whose names are given to the 1st-7th, 9th-14th, 16th-22nd, 24th, and 26th days of the month; these ceremonies last, therefore, for 264 days (see Byt. II, 59).

⁴ It can hardly be akadbâ, as that would imply that it 'is not recited by any undeceitful voice.' The use of the prefix â- in the sense of 'with' is rare, but it occurs in âpûstanû, 'pregnant,' (whence Pers. âbistan), and is noticed by Dastûr Jâmâspji in his Pahlavi Dictionary, p. 2.

⁵ Reading bun-î ko/â râstth, apparently a forerunner of the modern name Bundahis.

⁶ The frâyar period of the day corresponds to the Hâvan Gâh or morning (compare Farh. Okh. p. 42 with Bd. XXV, 9), at which time the Yasna ceremonial should be performed when not accom-

recitation of revelation (dīnô) is unchangeably proceeding, undivided and faultless. 27. This, too, is in benediction of the angels; this, too, is producing restraint of the fiends; this, too, is in praise of the glorious ones, the mighty doers; this, too, is as an admonition for creatures subject to command; this is in the true words of the ancients who *have* passed away; this, too, is as a suitable servant for the righteous, these good doers; this, too, is to obtain a permanence (patistân) of requisites; this, too, is suitable for the discreet *and is* merciful; this, too, is as another way *in* which the promoters of good (vêh-yâvkârân) are pardoned, as soon as the Hômi-juice (parâhôm) is digested, through not *having* eaten from dawn till night during the pure utterance of the pure glorification. 28. And, moreover, *one* performs no work¹, nor is even a word uttered; *one* does not go to sleep, nor should they allow any pollution to the body; the sequence (patisârîh) of the religious formulas is, likewise, not changed from that ordered, nor is even a detached thought away from that truth *and* purity; *but* always *with* phrases rightly consecutive *and* properly worded (hû-sakh-unagânôthâ) the Avesta is uttered; and even the manner of response of one's co-operators is *in* modes contributing to good (hû-padâyâkô), or they utter the scripture (nask).

29. Since the production of stench is needing *something* essentially purifying, many formulas in the ceremonial are tokens *and* signs which, while they

panied by the Vendidâd; or, according to the text, it must be performed by daylight.

¹ During the ceremonial.

are strongly manifested, are terrifying *and* vexing to the demons, *and* inviting *and* rejoicing to the angels. 30. Such as, indeed, the pure Hôṃ, which is squeezed out by four applications of holy-water (zôṛth)¹ with religious formulas, is noted even *as* a similitude *of* the understanding² and birth of the four apostles bringing the good religion, who are *he who* was the blessed Zaratûst *and they who* are *to be* Hûshêdar, Hûshêdar-mâh, and Sôshâns³. 31. As also the metal mortar (hâvan) which is struck⁴ during the squeezing of the Hôṃ, and its sound is evoked *along* with the words of the Avesta, which becomes a reminder of the thoughts, words, and deeds on the coming of those true apostles into the world. 32. As *also* the proper rite as regards the water, that they should perform three times⁵, which is showing the world the glorious seizing of water⁶ and formation

¹ In preparing the Hôṃ-juice fresh holy-water (zôṛ) is added four times to the Hôṃ-twigs which are each time pounded anew, while reciting the Ahunavar formula, and their liquor strained into a cup (see Haug's Essays, p. 402).

² There is no authority for translating *sinvisnô* by 'conception,' otherwise that meaning would suit this sentence better. *Mr̥* has *yehevûnisnô*, 'existence,' which differs by only one extra stroke of the pen in Pahlavi.

³ See Chap. II, 10.

⁴ The word *sikâvî-aftô* really means 'is split.' During the pounding of the Hôṃ-twigs the pestle is struck several times against the sides of the mortar, so as to produce a ringing sound (see Haug's Essays, p. 401).

⁵ Reading *vidanâg*, instead of *gûn-aê*, by transposing the first two Pahlavi characters. After the first series of poundings of the Hôṃ-twigs holy-water is added to them three times while reciting, each time, the Ashem-vohû formula (*ibid.*).

⁶ The evaporation from the ocean, said to be effected by *Tîstar* for the production of rain (see Chap. XCIII, 2, 3).

of rain, *and* the healthfulness of the production of rain¹. 33. *And* as the purification of the milk, by the glorious ritualistic *product* (nīrang)² taken from the purifying cattle, is divided in two, by means of which the token is that which is great, glorious, *and* good; one *being* for the daughter of Pâûrvâgīryâ³ the Mazda-worshipper, *and* from her *was* Aôshnôr full of wisdom; and one *being* Farhank, *daughter* of Vidhirisâ⁴, and from her came Kaī-Kavâd⁵.

34. And, as to the high-priests of the glorious religion, it is said many concomitants (padvandthâ) are obtained; such as, much discrimination of scripture (nask), the holy-water which is indispensable as a remedy, the healthfulness which is given in that ceremonial to the sacred fire⁶ which the world destroys, that pre-eminent strength which is given at the end of the world from the ox Hadhayâs⁷ unto the good *people* scattered about (fravaftân)—it is

¹ The delightfulness of rain after an eight-months' drought cannot be adequately appreciated by a dweller in Europe.

² That is, bull's urine.

³ The reading of this name, as well as that of Aôshnôr, is doubtful; but if these names occur at all in the extant Avesta, they may perhaps be found in the Aoshnara pouru-gîra of Fravardîn Yt. 131, Âf. Zarat. 2; the epithet pouru-gîra, when it occurs after the name, would naturally be considered a patronymic, whence a father or grandfather could be easily created, if he did not exist already in legendary history.

⁴ This name is written in Pâzand, and is evidently meant for the same person as the Pâz. Vîdharg-âfrâstaka of Bd. XXXI, 31, where Farhank is said to have been the mother of Kaī-Apîvēh and, therefore, the wife of Kaī-Kavâd.

⁵ M14 has 'from him she came unto Kaī-Kavâd,' which would tally better with the statements in Bd. XXXI, 25, 31.

⁶ Literally 'the fire of Varahrân (Bahram).'

⁷ See Chap. XXXVII, 99.

mingled with the fire of men's bodies¹, and they, therefore, become perfect and immortal through it—and there are also other *things*. 35. There are *also* in the ceremonial many tokens *and* signs of spiritual mysteries, glorious matters, and habitual practices of which statements *would* be very tedious.

36. And if the wish (ayûpö) should be this, that they should be *engaged* in a single ceremony of the length of a day, a man who is righteous in purification, inside and outside the body, should stay away from all *his* relations and the worldly transaction of business, *from* malicious actions *and* covetous practices, separated from all lying *and* falsehood of relatives; *and his* words are to be all those which are serving the angels, glorifying, *and* begging favours. 37. Then, indeed, the way of the spirit and the harmoniousness² of the sacred beings, are manifest therefrom; *and* those which are as much the means due to the primitive good creations as is more purely possible are strengthening as regards the utility (bûn) for offering, encouraging for purity, confounding for the confusers (gûmêgakân), terrifying for the fiends, and propitiating for the sacred beings.

38. The ceremonial which is good is when they shall perform *it* for a pure disposition and assured wisdom, a minder of the religion of the sacred beings of the spheres, and *with* pure thoughts, just thoughts³, wise deeds, a purified body, a tongue worthy of good

¹ The vital heat or Vohu-fryân fire (see Bd. XVII, 1, 2).

² Reading âhankânakîh, as in K₃₅; M₁₄ has khadûkânakîh, 'unity,' which is a much commoner word, nearly identical with the other in its Pahlavi form.

³ So in the MSS., but it was probably 'true words' originally, so as to complete the triad of thought, word, and deed.

(vêh-sazâk), a scripture (nask) *made* easy¹, a true text (avistâk), ablutions performed, proper rites, undivided, and faultless. 39. Near which fashion, with like abilities, *and* innumerable times, it is very purely sollemnized in the abode of the ever-growing fire, then in the abode of the other sacred fires², then in the abodes of Mazda-worshippers *and* other good *people*, *and* then *in* other places pronounced clean. 40. That of the three *days*³ is in the abode of the fire-place which is nearest to that of the departed; the ceremony of the guardian spirits of the righteous⁴ is sollemnized in purity there where the dwelling is which is nearest that of the departed whose soul is honoured. 41. And that for victories in war is then *at* its times of battle, the husbandry of Sâm⁵ and other offenders (vinâsagân) who *were* for keeping away husbandry, the household attendant's place for a warrior of another rank, the occasion of the outcry of those not possessing (adârigân) a lodging, unto the rest of the same temperament (mûnôkô), expressly to produce *and* maintain a proportional resemblance⁶.

¹ That is, learnt by heart.

² Literally 'fires of Varahrân.'

³ The three days after a death, during which ceremonies are performed in honour of the angel Srôsh, who is supposed to protect the departed soul from the demons during that period, while it is still hovering about the body (see Chap. XXVIII, 6).

⁴ On the fourth day after a death (see Chap. XXVIII, 7).

⁵ That is, Keresâsp the Sâmân (see Chap. XVII, 6); having been a famous warrior his husbandry is said to be battle, the destruction of all ordinary husbandry.

⁶ That is, the ruin of people by war leads them to demand a share of the property of those more fortunate, so as to produce an equality. The whole section seems to be a bitter sarcasm upon the effects of war, representing the generals as cultivators of

CHAPTER XLIX.

1. *As to* the forty-eighth question and reply, that which you ask is thus: *As to them* who shall buy corn and keep *it* in store until it shall become dear, *and* shall then sell it at a high price (pavan girânôh), what is the nature of the decision?

2. The reply is this, that when there is nothing therein on account of which I *should* so deem¹ *it* otherwise than due to the eating of the requisite amount (avâyisn) of food for one's self, that which is his controlling impulse (sardârîh), and not the teachings of the worthy *and* good, is the internal instruction which a time of scarcity *has* taught by means of the occurrences during that time²; but clamorous worldly profit is want of diligence (akha-pârakânîh), for they would buy to make people distressed, and in order that they may sell again dearer. 3. Moreover, the store *one* keeps, and keeps as closed even unto the good as unto the bad—*and* though it be necessary for a man of the good *and* worthy, and they beg for *some* of the food, they shall not sell at the price it is worth at that time, on account of *its* becoming dearer—*one* keeps in store unauthorisedly *and* grievously sinfully, *and* every calamity *of* those good people they shall suffer who would not sell it at the price they beg.

slaughter and rapine, with the soldiers as their domestic servants, driving the people into social democracy.

¹ K35 has a blank space for this word, but it is given in M14, and also occurs in a similar phrase in Chap. LIV, 6.

² That is, so long as one does not lay in a store more than sufficient for one's own requirements, it is only an act of prudence taught by former experience.

4. On account of that non-obtainment of corn, or that unlawfully heinous sin, and because of dearness of price it is not proper to give *it* for that non-distribution (an-afsânöih) unto *him* himself, or those under *his* control, or the poor to whom it would be given by him¹; and the distribution (rêshisnö) *which* occurs is then retaliative upon him. 5. And if the corn be spoiled², through keeping too long a time in store, *he* is suffering assault from the hungry *man* (gûrsnö) who is injured even by that damaging (bôdyôzêdih)³ of the corn; if through that unlawful want of preservation (adârisnöih) noxious creatures are associated with the corn, he is overwhelmed also by that heinous sin; *and*, through the profit of improper diligence *he* is unworthy.

6. But if it be necessary for their own people who are under their control, on account of the fear of a time of scarcity, they should buy at their own suitable time, and should afford protection. 7. Or, because of the teachings of the good *and* worthy, they should buy corn at a cheap price from a place where the corn is more than the requirements of the eaters, *and* they should bring *it* unto there where corn is scarce, provided (va ha tō) the good *and* those requiring corn are sufficient (vasân). 8. So that, while their information of a scarcity of corn is even

¹ That is, corn is not to be sold to a man who keeps it in store for the purpose of raising the price, nor to his people, nor is it even to be given to the poor whom he relieves, so that he may be compelled to support them out of his own stores, as a penalty.

² Reading tapâhî-ait, as in M14.

³ Literally 'destroying the consciousness,' or 'injuring the existence.' Bôdyôzêd is a technical name for sins whereby animals are ill-treated, or useful property injured (see Sls. II, 39).

from him himself to whom the price would become profit¹, or *is* the persistence of *these* same teachings of the good—so that it may become more abundant unto them than unto the bad, even in the time of scarcity *when* it is very much raised in price²—they should buy corn *at* a cheap price during an excess of corn, so that *one* may keep *it* until the time of a period of scarcity. 9. When *there* occurs a necessity for it *among* the good he sells *it* at *such* price as *one* buys it at that time, that is, the market price (arg-î shatrôik)³; by that means, in a season of scarcity, much more is obtained in price, *and* it becomes more plentiful among the good; then a more invigorating (padîkhûtnagtar) praise of him is commendable.

10. And, yet, as regards that which is suitable profit—and also apart from the eating of corn, *from* anything eatable for the maintenance of life, *from* medicine and remedies for the healthfulness of life, and *from* whatever is for the preservation of life—it is allowable *that* they shall buy *and* shall sell dear⁴.

CHAPTER L.

1. The forty-ninth question is that you ask thus : *If* they should sell wine unto foreigners and infidels what is then the decision *about* it ?

¹ And, therefore, likely to be correct, as it is given in opposition to his own interest.

² M14 has 'begged at a price,' by inserting a stroke.

³ Without holding it back for an exorbitant rise in prices.

⁴ That is, there is no harm in speculating upon prices, except in the case of necessities of life.

2. The reply is this, that *there* is very vehement danger of grievous sin, and it would be an evil occupation. 3. But if through the operation of that wine-selling of theirs the wine is kept more away from those who become worse through immoderate drinking of wine, *and* comes to those who drink wine in moderation¹—*whom* they cause to become better through drinking the wine—more than when they shall not practise that selling of the wine, then through that selling of theirs the power which is in the wealth², by their keeping away of which a man is confirmed (*paḍayṭṇāḍḍi*) in the good religion and diverted from going into infidelity, the progress of sin is impeded *and* good works are promoted, becomes the assistance of the good and protection of religion, the hindrance of sin and aid of good works, which, when they shall not practise that wine-selling, do not arise, *and* which are much more promoted than the various sins that might have arisen from the unlawfully drinking of wine. 4. Or, otherwise, the greater decision—and great are the good works which are assured therein—is thus: ‘They who shall sell wine³ to foreigners, infidels, and others from whom unlawful conduct arises through drunkenness, *act* very sinfully and not authorisedly.’

¹ That is, when the supply of wine is so limited that by selling it to moderate drinkers they keep it away from drunkards.

² The wealth they acquire by selling wine, which would have produced evil in the hands of the buyers, and ought to produce good in their own.

³ K₃₅ has *vinās*, ‘sin,’ instead of *ās*, ‘wine,’ which is clearly wrong.

CHAPTER LI.

1. The fiftieth question is that which you ask thus: *As to one* of the good religion who drinks wine immoderately, and loss *and* injury happen to him owing to that immoderate drinking, what is then the decision about him? 2. And how is the measure of wine-drinking *which* when they drink is then authorised for them?

3. The reply is this, that whoever through the influence of opportunity drinks wine immoderately, *and* is adult and intelligent, through every loss *and* injury which thereupon come to him from that immoderate drinking, or *which* occasion anything unto any one, is then his causing such pollution to the creatures, in his own pleasurable¹ varied modes, that the shame owing to it is a help (dastakīh) out of that affliction. 4. And even *he* who gives wine authorisedly² unto any one, and he is thereby intoxicated by it, is equally guilty of every sin which that drunkard commits owing to that drunkenness.

5. And concerning that drunkenness, what is said is that that is to be eaten *through* which, when *one* eats *it*, *one* thinks better, speaks better, and acts

¹ K35 has a blank space here for a word, but no word seems really necessary. M14 fills up the blank by changing *gvīdō* into *gardīnīdō*, and reads 'converted unto his own pleasure, and the mode,' &c.

² M14 has 'unauthorisedly,' a very natural emendation of the text as it stands in K35, but it does not appear that the author intended to limit the responsibility of the person giving the wine merely to those cases in which his action would be quite unjustifiable.

better; and such even is the food *by* which, through *having* drunk wine, *one* becomes more virtuous, or does not become more vicious, in thought, word, and deed. 6. When an experiment as regards its *being* good is tried, so that *having* drunk it in that proportion *one* becomes better, or does not become worse, then it is allowable to drink *it*.

7. When an untried *person*, for the sake of *being* tried, *has* drunk a mingled portion, first of one drinking-cup¹, secondly of two drinking-cups, *and* thirdly of three drinking-cups, *and* through drinking *it* he becomes more virtuous, or does not become more vicious, in thought², word, *or* deed, *he* is to increase the drinking-cups, and the experiment is allowable unto those tested just so far as the proportion is *such* that he becomes better, or does not become worse. 8. To those tested *it* is authorisedly *given* to that amount through which the experimenting that is mentioned *has* extended; and to *him* who *it* is proved will become worse through the drinking of wine, that amount, through the drinking of which, *when* given³ in the experiment, *it was* seen that he became worse, is not authorisedly given.

9. In a case of doubt *one* is to consider *him who* is orthodox (hû-dîñð), who *has* chanted the *sacred* hymns, *and is* of good repute, whose drunkenness

¹ Reading âv gâmakô, 'water-cup;' but it is written like âv sîmakô in the MSS.

² K35 has mân, M14 mînisnô.

³ Reading yehabûntô instead of the unintelligible gân bûdô of K35, the alteration being merely lengthening the bottom stroke of the Pahl. b. M14 substitutes barâ yehevûnêd for bûdô gân bûdô, which gives the following meaning: 'through the drinking of which, in the experiment, *it is* seen that he becomes thoroughly worse.'

is not manifest, in this *way*, that he drinks as much wine as *was* tried by him when he became no worse *by drinking it*. 10. It is necessary to consider *him* whose religion is unseen, whose religion is wrong, and him who is a child furnished even with the realities of religion, in this *way*, that he becomes worse through *having* drunk wine. 11. When *apart* from the decision there is no assignable (bangisnġk) reason as regards *it*, the share of wine which they gave not authorisedly who themselves drank wine, *one* considers as *some of* the wine on *its being* given more authorisedly ¹.

CHAPTER LII.

1. *As to* the fifty-first question *and* reply, that *which* you ask is thus: *There is* a man who hands over a dirham ² as regards five bushels (kaftz) of

¹ The meaning appears to be that, when there is no special reason to the contrary, the quantity of wine one may have already drunk elsewhere is to be considered as part of one's allowance.

² The dirham (δραχμή) is a weight, and also a silver coin of that weight, but its amount is rather uncertain. According to the Pers. MS. M5 (fol. 55), written A.D. 1723, the proper dowry for a 'privileged' wife is 2000 dirhams of white silver, or 2300 rūpīs, and 2 dirhams of red gold, or 2½ tolas. The rūpīs formerly current in Gugarât were less in value than the present Indian coinage, but the tola, which is the weight of the present rūpī, was probably much the same as it is now, or 180 grains; the statement in M5 is, therefore, equivalent to saying that the dirham contained 202 grains of pure silver. This is so much more than the amount deducible from other authorities that it might be supposed that the stīr (στῆρ) or tetradrachm was meant, if it were not confirmed, to some extent, by the Pers. Rivâyats, which state the dowry at 2000 dirhams of pure white silver and 2 dīnārs of red gold of the Nishâpūr currency; the dīnār being a gold coin containing a dirham weight of pure

wheat, thus: 'I give this to thee as an instalment (bôn-ae)¹ of five bushels of wheat at the end of a month;' and during the month, *and* at *its* end, those five bushels of wheat become five *times* the price; would they authorisedly seize the five bushels of wheat *when* winnowed (pêkhtō kar dō) by him, through that instalment which he handed over, or not?

2. The reply is this, that when they who shall take his dirham *have* to intrust the five bushels of wheat, unsuspectingly *and* by their own will, *to him* to winnow, even so as *they* are advisedly *and* unsuspectingly winnowed by him they should take *them* just as winnowed; *this* is the decision authorisedly given. 3. But when *it* is winnowed by him on account of very grievous necessity for payment, *it* is more suitable for the soul to beg the giver of the money, who is the purchasing payer², for *some* of that excess of undivided (apâr) profit. 4. For *he* *has* to consider the profit of *his* successors as among the profit of money on the spot³—*when* more than

gold. It is safer, however, to rely upon the average weight of the Sasanian dirham coins, which, according to Dr. Mordtmann's statement in ZDMG. vol. xii, pp. 44, 45, is about 63 grains, or 5½ annas' worth of silver; so that the stîr would be 252 grains or 22½ annas. But the actual value of such coins of former times can be ascertained only from the quantity of corn, or other well-defined necessary of life, which they would purchase.

¹ K35 has vaban twice in this sentence, but bôn in § 4. M14 alters this word and others, so as to make the chapter unintelligible. The money is supposed to be given merely as a deposit, in acknowledgment of a bargain to be carried out after the corn is ready for delivery.

² Reading zednunand dûkhtâr, but, perhaps, this is a corruption of zednûnîniđâr, 'a causer of purchase, a broker.'

³ That is, 'ready money.'

such instalment demanded—and not as a fresh carrying off of a gift¹.

CHAPTER LIII.

1. *As to the fifty-second question and reply, that which you ask is thus: If people of the good religion, in their country or out of their country, shall buy and sell with those of a different religion as regards cattle, or shall lay hold of traders (vanîkgarân) and shall sell to them, what is then the decision about it?* 2. *When those of the good religion shall not buy, as they have not come up to the price, but the orthodox dealers shall sell to traders and those of a different religion, what is then the decision about it?* 3. *And about him, of whom the means of existence (zivisnô mindavam) are such, what is then the decision?*

4. The reply is this, that it would be very grievously sinful, and it would be an evil occupation to transact such business through the influence of opportunity, and to seek profit unauthorisedly in that manner.

5. But if *it be* the means of existence of those of the good religion of whom you have written, and they are not able to seek *it* in any other business and proper occupation which *would be* a less sinful means of existence, complete² purchasers who have acquired

¹ That is, having made a bargain, he is not to be aggrieved at any unexpected excess of profit made in good faith by the other parties to the bargain; a rather high standard of commercial morality.

² The word is pûr, but it may be suspected of being a blunder, as tôrâ, 'ox,' would be a more likely word.

the good religion shall sell unto those of the good religion¹; because it is possible for him *to be* less sinful *to* whom *it* is allowable to beg the life of a comrade, for still the rule *of* a righteous man, with the righteous who are in his guardianship, is to live. 6. So it is possible, when they shall sell cattle for slaughter *and* foreign eating, many cattle—amounting even to a diminution of the maintenance of Irân—are more wretched than a righteous man forced to kill *them* through a living becoming unobtainable *and* the fear of death.

CHAPTER LIV.

1. *As to* the fifty-third question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: A man whose wife, daughters, sisters, and relations are many, and *who* is the master of much wealth, becomes sick, *and* during the sickness *has* given this hoard of wealth unto one daughter. 2. And his other sisters and daughters are not contented therewith, *and* speak thus: 'This wealth ought *to have been* given during health and consciousness, not during sickness; and now it should not be allowable to give anything whatever unto any one during sickness, for if anything happens² the wealth all comes back for division amongst *us*.' 3. Would it be allowable to give anything whatever of that wealth to any one, during sickness, or not?

¹ Who would not be likely to kill the animal, and with whom they could come to an understanding as to its good treatment, so as to avoid the sin of *bôdyôzêdîh* (see Chap. XLIX, 5 n).

² M₁₄ has 'if he gives anything.'

4. Is it necessary¹ *for* one of such wife, daughters, and sisters as *there* happen *to be* to appoint an adopted son for that man, because of that wealth, or not?

5. Are the wife, daughters, and sisters who shall take their share of the wealth responsible for² the religious rites of every kind, and is it necessary for them to order the annual ceremonies for that man at the daily and yearly *periods*, or not³?

6. The reply is this, that, when there is nothing therein on account of which I *should* so deem *him* otherwise than a man in sickness *and* nearly passing away, *it* is not allowable to give *it* up, except when *it* is for his debts, or his wife *and* children, or an aged *person* (zarmân) or father who is in *his* guardianship—whom it is indispensably necessary to maintain—and is such as, or as much as, is discreetly requisite for payment of the debt, or *for* the food, maintenance, *and* protection of those that I *have* written *about*; then, *however*, *it* is allowable to give it up away (bîrûnô) from those of whom *you* *have* written, as much as during his consciousness.

7. In other sickness, not while passing away, whatever is given up by him himself during consciousness is allowable; when *he* is not conscious *it* is not allowable. 8. And on that which he says during unconsciousness *one* is not reliant and *it* is not credible (vâvar); *but* that which *he* says during

¹ K₃₅ has 'is it not necessary,' by using lâ, 'not,' instead of râi, 'for,' which latter reading is adopted in the text from M₁₄, but it is doubtful which reading is the better one. The same variation occurs in § 5.

² Literally 'are the rites on their necks.'

³ Ceremonies for the dead have to be performed on the first four days, the tenth day, and then at the end of a month and a year from the time of death (see Sl. XVII, 5).

consciousness, and that, too, which the same man gave unto a daughter when he was ill, if given by him consciously, are even then proceedings to be granted; if given by him during unconsciousness it is just as though he died without an opportunity of speaking (*avâng-pîrûz*)¹.

9. Of the property left by will², one share is needful for each separate daughter for whom a husband is not provided, *and* two shares for a wife *who* may be a privileged *one*³; *and* so long as the wife is living *she* exists as the house-mistress of the family; moreover, it is not needful to appoint an

¹ For this uncommon word M₁₄ substitutes *avik-andarz*, 'intestate;' but the meaning is that the gift is as invalid as if he had been unable to make a declaration of his intentions.

² *Levatman andarz* in K₃₅, but M₁₄ has *avik andarz*, 'without a will,' which, at first sight, appears the more plausible reading (especially as *avîk*, 'without,' is written very much like *avâk*, 'with,' the Pâz. synonym of *levatman*). But on further consideration it seems equally probable that this section is intended to limit the power of a testator, so as to prevent him from dividing so much of his property as he leaves to his family in any unfair manner. The rule here laid down would, of course, also apply in cases of intestacy when the testator has no son; and is that given in the Persian *Rivâyats*.

³ This does not imply that a man might have more wives than one, but that wives are of five classes, according to the circumstances of the marriage. A *pâdakhshah* or 'privileged' wife is one who was a maiden married with the consent of her parents who have another child. A *yûkan* or 'only-child' wife differs from the last merely by being an only child, and having, therefore, to give up her first child to her parents. A *satar* or 'adopted' wife is one who was a maiden enabled to marry by receiving a dowry from the relatives of a man who has died unmarried, on condition that half of her children shall belong to the deceased. A *kakar* or 'serving' wife is a widow who marries again. A *khûd-sarâi* or 'self-disposing' wife is one who marries without her parents' consent (see Bd. XXXII, 6 n).

adopted son (satôr), for the adopted son's duty (satôrîh) remains with her, *and* she manages to claim guardianship for the family from some man out of the relatives most nearly allied. 10. Out of the portion of the property for food and maintenance the wife should provide the daughters with husbands; and to keep going the necessities in the guardianship, the nurture which the *deceased* man afforded, *and* the ceremonies *and* good works imposed upon the family, *and* thereby become indispensable, *she* herself is to take lapfuls and armfuls¹ out of the income (bar).

11. *As to* the sisters of that man, if they have been necessarily in his guardianship, even as to nourishment, and there is no property for them in *any* other way, their food and maintenance are also needful to be out of the income of the property, unless² that man *has otherwise* devised, or the appointment of a husband is not provided on account of the non-subjection (lôftö aîrîh) *in which* they have been unto the guardianship of that man, or anything else opposed to it, so that nothing whatever of the property of that man is needful for them.

12. He who is a husband of *one of* the daughters is a leader in the management (dastôbarîh) of the family, *but with* the concurrence of the house-mistress of the family, and *even* so when the action *is one* which they should not do, and his son is not born, *or* becomes passing *away*³.

¹ Literally 'the bosom size and arm size,' a Pahlavi idiom for 'plenty.'

² In the Pahlavi text this latter half of the section precedes the foregoing provisional clauses.

³ The meaning seems to be that so long as he has no son (who

13. *As to* a daughter not provided with a husband, should the one whose husband is not provided be an only *child*¹, to keep *her* subject also to the house-mistress of the family it is needful *for her that there* should be an adopted son in it; *and* when they shall appoint *her* husband unto the adopted-sonship the property then comes over into his possession.

14. When the house-mistress of the family passes *away*, and the daughters are provided with husbands, the adopted-sonship is to be appointed.

CHAPTER LV.

1. *As to* the fifty-fourth question *and* reply, that *which* you ask is thus: What is the occupation and capacity (giriftârîh) of the person *that has* to preserve those who are in their three nights' *trials*², *and* who is he?

2. The reply is this, that it is said a husband (gabrâ) is indispensable for preservation through the three nights' *trials* which shall be *for* a privileged wife, a father *for* those of a child, *and* a master *for* those of a servant.

would be a member of the family in direct descent through his mother) he can only assist and advise the widow, but on the birth of his son he can act more authoritatively, as the representative of the child.

¹ Written aêvôk-aê in Pâzand. She becomes a yûkan or 'only-child' wife (see § 9 n) until she has given up her first child to her mother, after which she is a 'privileged' wife.

² The three nights after death (see Chap. XXIV).

CHAPTER LVI.

1. *As to* the fifty-fifth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: What is this adopted-sonship *and* guardianship of the family, and what does it become; *in* what manner is it necessary to appoint *it*, whence is it necessary to provide food and clothing for it, and how is it necessary to be *for* it?

2. The reply is this, that the adopted-sonship is thus:—It is requisite whenever a man of the good religion is passing *away*, while *he is* a complete ruler of a numerous household¹, who has no wife and child that may be privileged² and acknowledged, *nor* associating brother, *nor* son by adoption, and his property is sixty stlrs³ of income. 3. The controlling (khûdâyî-nag) of the property is to be publicly provided *out* of the kindred of the deceased, and is called the adopted-sonship; and he is to be appointed to it who is the nearest of the same lineage (min ham-nâfân), who *will* manage *and* keep the property united in its entirety.

¹ Reading vad marak khân shah bundakö, but the phrase can also be read vad malkâân shah bandakö, 'while *he is* a servant of the king of kings (that is, a subject of the Irânian sovereign),' which is evidently the reading adopted by M14 in Chap. LVII, 2, where it substitutes the Huz. synonym malkâ for shah, but here the word shah is uncertain. This ambiguous phrase can also be read vad mark-âhangihâ bundakö, 'while the agonies of death are complete.'

² See Chap. LIV, 9.

³ About 84 rūpîs (see Chap. LII, 1 n); but the actual value of such an income depends upon the value of silver at that time, or, in other words, upon the prices of the necessities of life.

4. The guardianship of a family is that when a guardian *has* to be appointed in that manner over the family of a man whose wife¹, or daughter, or infant son is not fit for their own guardianship, so it is necessary to appoint *some one*. 5. And it is necessary to appoint the adopted son *and* the family guardianship at *such* time as may be convenient to them; and when the man passes *away* as *I have* written it is necessary to appoint at such period as *I have* written, and to neglect *it* temporarily, even the length of a year, would not be authorised.

6. *Fit* for adoption is a grown-up sister who is not adopted in another family², then a brother's daughter, then a brother's son, *and* then the other nearest relatives. 7. *Fit* for the family guardianship is first the father of the serving wife (*kagar*)³, then a brother, then a daughter, and then the other nearest relations; among brothers he who is the eldest (*mas*) among *them* is the fittest.

8. The food *and* clothing of a wife that may be privileged—who is the house-mistress of the family, and is one kind of adopted son—*of* a living infant son till he becomes grown up, *and of* a daughter of the family while she is in the guardianship of the family guardians⁴, are out of the property of the family so long as it exists for the purpose.

9. *It has* become the custom *that* the lapfuls *and*

¹ Because she is not a privileged wife, but a serving one (see Chap. LIV, 9), as appears from § 7.

² A woman or child cannot be adopted by more than one family (see Chap. LVII, 3). The case under consideration is that mentioned in § 2, when the deceased leaves no wife, child, or brother.

³ Referring to the case assumed in § 4.

⁴ That is, till she is married.

armfuls¹ of the family guardian are every month four stîrs of, it may be, sixteen², which is the disbursement (andâzi snö), for food, clothing, medicine, *and* shelter, out of the income (bar), or out of the capital (bûn), of the property which remains in the family, by a perfect³ wife when she is capable—such as the former house-mistress—so as want of nourishment (atafdâdö) may not come nakedly and unlawfully upon them.

CHAPTER LVII.

1. *As to* the fifty-sixth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: Who is suitable *for* adoption, *and* who is not suitable?

2. The reply is this, that a grown-up man of the good religion who is intelligent, a complete ruler of a numerous household⁴, expecting offspring, *and* not *having sins* worthy of death is suitable for adoption; even when he has accepted either one adoption, or many adoptions, he is then still suitable for another adoption. 3. And a grown-up woman, *or* even a child, is suitable for one adoption, *but* when adopted in one family she is not suitable for another adoption.

¹ That is, an ample remuneration (see Chap. LIV, 10).

² So the sentence may be literally translated, but it is not quite certain that this is the meaning intended, as the language used is very involved. This would imply that the family guardian is entitled to one-fourth of the family expenditure.

³ It is doubtful what noun is to be connected with the adjective pûr; perhaps we should read 'full disbursement' in the foregoing part of the sentence, and omit the word 'perfect' here.

⁴ M14 has malkâânö malkâ bôndak, 'a servant of the king of kings;' but see Chap. LVI, 2.

4. A woman requiring a husband—though a complete worshipper—or a foreigner, or an infidel, or *one* having *sins* worthy of death, is unfit for adoption ; so also those who are demon-worshippers, she who is a concubine (shûsar nêšman) *or* courtesan, *and* she who is menstruous are unfit.

CHAPTER LVIII.

1. The fifty-seventh question is that which you ask thus: How many kinds of family guardianship and adoption are *there* ?

2. The reply is this, that it is said *there* are three kinds, which are the existent, the provided, and the appointed. 3. An adopted son who is existent is such as a wife who may be privileged, *or* an only daughter is a kind of adopted son owing to confidence in herself, such as happens when there is no wife, *and* a daughter for whom there is no husband, *and* none is provided, is the one *that* has remained.

4. An adopted son *who* is provided is such as a son that is acknowledged, who is accepted by one's self¹, and *free* from *being* appointed, or *from* necessity².

5. And an adopted son who is appointed is he who is to be appointed among the relations who are suitable for adoption—and are nearest to him who is to be appointed *as* adopted son—and the ministers (padân) of religion, *and* he performs the duty of

¹ That is, adopted during the man's lifetime.

² Reading ayûf nîyâzô, but it may be ayûfô êyâvô, 'or from discovery.'

family guardianship¹; he who is the appointed *one* is he who is appointed by the men *who are* the nearest relations (na bâ nazdistân ð) on account of proximity.

CHAPTER LIX.

1. *As to* the fifty-eighth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: For how much property is it then necessary to appoint an adopted son?

2. The reply is this, that when the property which *has* remained his for whom it is necessary to appoint an adopted son is as much as sixty stîrs² of income, *it* is then indispensable to appoint an adopted son for him. 3. Even when *it* is less they should recognise him whose adoption is needful, *and who* conducts an adopted son's duty; and, similarly, an adoption is to be appointed for him, though it may not come as a possession unto him who is fittest for adoption.

CHAPTER LX.

1. *As to* the fifty-ninth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: What is the sin owing to not appointing *an adopted son*?

2. The reply is this, that *for the man* himself *it* is allowable when he gives up all the property in

¹ M14 has 'an existent family guardianship is *in* the son of him appointed, and a provided *one* is that when he himself performs the duty in the guardianship;' but the phrase interpolated is hardly grammatical.

² About 84 rûpîs (see Chap. LVI, 2).

righteous gifts, *and* when he has no property they should not provide an adopted-sonship for him, *and* his relations are innocent as regards it. 3. But should they recognise him who has the adopted-sonship of the deceased, or has accepted the position of his adopted-sonship¹, *or* should they have seized the property for the adopted-sonship *in order* to appoint an acting adopted son (satôrgar), *and* he conducts the adopted-sonship, and throws away *both* the portion (bôn) provided for disbursement (vi-shôpö) and the entirety, and quite destroys the property, and thoroughly ruins the adopted-sonship, though, on account of not restraining him, it is said *to be* a sin worthy of death for *every* single dirham, it is not said *they are* killed outright².

CHAPTER LXI.

1. *As to* the sixtieth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: What is the propriety *and* impropriety, the merit *and* demerit, of family guardianship?

2. The reply is this, that the merit is the appointment *and* recognition of him who accomplishes more worthily the greater benefit; the demerit is *as to*

¹ M14 'has 'or any one who has accepted the adoption as an adoption.'

² The meaning appears to be that, though, owing to their misplaced confidence and neglect, they have been guilty of many mortal sins, they are not liable to capital punishment. It is evident that the writer had no apprehension that any property would lie neglected through want of administration, but that he had considerable doubts of the prudence and honesty of administrators.

him who is unworthy, or him whose worthiness is not appointed to avert a lesser benefit and the ruining of a worthy adoption. 3. Nearer details (*khûrdakö*) of the family guardianship which is proper *and* which is not proper for an adopted son's duty, of the child of good religion with whose business *it* is connected, *and* of the fathers for whom a family guardian is to be appointed, are *in* the recital of five chapters (*fragardö*) of the Hûspârûm *Nask*¹, and *in* the abstracts (*giriftaköthâ*) of the good ideas in various scriptures (*naskö*) in which many decisions are together.

CHAPTER LXII.

1. *As to* the sixty-first question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: How stand the shares in the inheritance (*mîrâtö*) of property among those of the good religion, and how is it necessary for them to stand therein?

2. The reply is this, that in the possession of wealth the wealth reaches higher *or* lower, just like water when it goes in a stream on a declivity, but when the passage shall be closed at the bottom it goes back on the running water (*pûy-âvö*), *and* then it does not go to its after-course².

¹ The seventeenth book of the complete *Mazda*-worshipping literature, whose sixty-four sections are described in detail in the *Dînkard* (see Sls. X, 21). The five chapters here mentioned were evidently in that one of the last fourteen sections which is said to have consisted of six chapters on the ownership of property and disputes about it, on one's own family, acquiring wife and children, adoption, &c.

² This metaphor seems to mean that property, like water, always

3. When there is nothing *otherwise* in the will and private¹, property *goes* to a wife *or* daughter² who is privileged; if *one* gives her anything by will then she does not obtain the share (dâs) *pertaining* to her³. 4. Whenever⁴ a share for a son is not provided by it, every one *has* so much and the wife who may be a privileged *one has* twice as much; and the share of that *one* of the sons⁵, *or* even the wife of a son, who is blind in both eyes, or crippled⁶ in both feet, or maimed in both his hands, is twice as much as that *of one* who is sound.

5. And *it* is needful *that* he who *was* in the father's guardianship *shall* remain in guardianship, as when a father or mother is decrepit and causing awe (kagarīn), or *of* a nurture different from that of the guardian⁷—or a child of his brother or sister, or a father, or *one*⁸ without nurture apart from him, is

descends until it meets with an obstruction to its downward progress in the shape of the nearest descendants, but, when once in their possession, it can again ascend (like the dammed stream) for the support of the survivors of an older generation (see § 5).

¹ Or, it may be 'in the provisions (vūyagān) of the will;' or, by omitting two strokes, we have simply 'otherwise (hân) in the will.'

² That is, they have a share of the property when there are other next of kin. M14 adds, 'and they should provide a living son as father and husband unless privileged,' referring to the necessity of adoption when there is no son and the wife is not a privileged one.

³ It being assumed that the will provides as much as is intended for any one whom it mentions.

⁴ Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'who,' which words are often confounded because their Pâz. equivalents are nearly identical.

⁵ M14 has 'daughters.'

⁶ Armêst probably means literally 'most immovable.'

⁷ M14 omits this last clause.

⁸ M14 has 'mother.'

without a guardian—the ready guardianship of a capable man, and the shelter *and* nourishment *that have* become inadequate¹ are as indispensably forthcoming² from the possessors of wealth, of those who *have* taken the property, as that *taking* was indispensable³.

6. If *there* be no son of that *man*, but there be a daughter or wife of his, and if *some* of the *affairs*⁴ of the man are such as render a woman not suitable for the guardianship, it is necessary to appoint a family guardian; if there be, moreover, no wife *or* daughter of his it is necessary to appoint an adopted son. 7. This—that is, when it is necessary to appoint a family guardian *and* who is the fittest, *and* when it is necessary to appoint an adopted son *and* which is the fittest—is written in the chapters *on* the question⁵.

CHAPTER LXIII.

1. The sixty-second question is that which you ask thus: Would they authorisedly carry off any property whatever from foreigners and infidels, or not?

2. The reply is this, that wealth and property and anything that foreigners (an-aîrânö) possess and is carried off by them from the good with violence, *and which through* obstinacy they do not give back

¹ Literally 'not issuing.'

² M14 has 'are thus forthcoming.'

³ M14 has 'or *have* become indispensable to it.'

⁴ Or, it may be '*dependents*;' the text is merely *va hatö min zak-î gabrâ*.

⁵ See Chaps. LVI-LIX.

when it is proper, it is well allowable in that case *that* they should seize from the foreigners. 3. So long as *it* is the lawful order of the procurator of its owners¹ *it* is allowable for a just decider to consider properly, and to demand authoritatively the sending of interest (sûdö) thereon for himself. 4. But *if* they proceed in their obstinacy *he* is sent to come *up* with them in obstinacy, not to dissemble with them².

5. *It is* the custom to give an infidel (ak-dîñö), who is not a foreigner, food, clothing, *and* medicine, when his renunciation (vâz) has come, for keeping away matters (êisânö) of death and sickness owing to hunger *and* thirst, cold and heat; but wealth, horses, accoutrements, wine, *and* land are not given authorisedly, it is said, unto foreigners *and* idolators³.

CHAPTER LXIV.

1. *As to* the sixty-third question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: Whence *was* the first creation of mankind, and how was the formation of the original race of men? 2. What issued from Gâyô-mard⁴, *and* what did it really become; *and* from what have Mashyâih *and* Mashyâyôih⁵ arisen?

3. The reply is this, that Aûharmazd, the all-

¹ Reading vad zak amatas khûdâyân ayâvî-aîtâr far-mân-î dâdîk. The form of ayâvî-aîtâr has not yet been met with elsewhere, but it seems to mean 'one who holds the obtainment,' though whether as agent or officer of justice is uncertain.

² M14 has merely 'but should they proceed in their obstinacy, to come with them is not to dissemble.'

³ Literally 'demon-worshippers.'

⁴ See Chap. II, 10.

⁵ The same as the Marhayâ and Marhâyôih of Chap. XXXVII, 82.

ruling, produced from the endless light the shape of a fire-priest (âsrûkô) whose name *was* that of Aûhar-mazd, and *its* brilliance that of fire; *its* incombustibility was like *that* inside the light, *and its* expansion like the western (khûrbarag) land. 4. And in the shape of the fire-priest *was* created by him the material existence (stih) *that* is called man, *and for* three thousand years¹, when it did not progress and did not eat, it did not speak; likewise, it did not utter, but it thought of, the righteousness of the perfect *and* true religion, the desire for the pure glorification of the creator.

5. Afterwards, the contentious promise-breaker² injured the life of it, *and* produced a burdensome mortality; and the mortality is *clear* from the appellation, Gâyômar³, of the nature produced. 6. The seed which *was* the essence of the life of the leader (mîrakô) of life, who *was* Gâyômar³, flowed forth on *his* passing away, came on to the earth of the beneficent angel⁴, *and* is preserved in the earth until, through the protection of the angels, a brother and

¹ This is the second of the four periods of three thousand years of which time is said to be composed (see Chap. XXXVII, 11 n). The 'shape of the fire-priest' is one of the spiritual creations of the first period, in which shape man was created during the second period, and this primeval man became Gâyômar³ (that is, 'a living mortal') through the persecution of the evil spirit (see § 5) at the commencement of the third period. The first two steps of this creation are not described in the text of the Bundahis known to Europeans.

² The evil spirit, who is said to be the origin of falsehood (see Chap. XXXVII, 11).

³ Which means 'the living mortal,' or 'the mortal living one.'

⁴ The female archangel Spendarmad, who has special charge of the earth. Or the phrase may be 'came on to the earth which the beneficent *spirit* produced.'

sister of mankind¹, connected together, have grown from it, *have* attained to movement *and* walking upon the earth, *and* have advanced even to intercourse and also procreation.

7. The ground where the life of Gâyômarđ departed is gold, *and* from the other land, where the dissolution of *his* various members occurred, as many kinds of decorative metals flowed forth it is said².

CHAPTER LXV.

1. *As to* the sixty-fourth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: Where *and* from what did the origin of race, *which* they say *was* next-of-kin marriage (khvêtûdâd'ö)³, arise; and from what place did it arise?

¹ The Mashyâih and Mashyâyôih, or man and woman, of § 2, who are said to have grown up, in the course of forty years, connected together in the shape of a plant; but, after a breathing soul had entered them, they became human beings, and fifty years later they began to be the progenitors of mankind (see Bd. XV, 1-30).

² Zs. X, 2 states that eight kinds of metal arose from the various members of the dead Gâyômarđ, namely, gold, silver, iron, brass, tin, lead, quicksilver, and adamant.

³ Usually written khvêtûk-das (Av. *hvaêtvadatha*, 'a giving of, or to, one's own'). It is a term applied to marriages between near relations, and is extolled as specially meritorious. For centuries past the Parsis have understood it to refer to marriages between first cousins, and all allusions to marriage between nearer relations they attribute to the practices of heretics (see Sls. XVIII, 4 n); though, like the professors of all other religions, they must admit the necessity of such a practice in the first family of mankind, as detailed in the text. Translations of other passages relating to the subject will be found in Appendix III, and it is also mentioned in Chaps. XXXVII, 82, LXXVII, 6, and LXXVIII, 19.

2. The reply is this, that the first consummation of next-of-kin marriage was owing to that *which* Mashyâih *and* Mashyâyôih¹ did, who were brother and sister together, and their consummation of intercourse produced a son² as a consummation of the first next-of-kin marriage. 3. So that they effected the first intercourse of man with woman, *and* the entire progress of the races of every kind of lineage of men arose from that, *and* all the men *of* the world are of that race.

4. It is truly said, that it was the joy of the lord *and* creator after the creation of the creatures, and, owing to that, its consummation, which *was* his complete accomplishment of the existence of the creatures (dâmânîh), was owing to him. 5. And its occurrence, too, is in evidence that the creator, who is so with unflinching (atôrâk) will, is as much *the cause of* the begetting and entire progress of his own perfect creatures³, in whom begetting is by destiny, as Hôshâng⁴ by whom two-thirds⁵ of the demons *were* smitten, Tâkhmôrup⁶ who overturned Aharman through the power of the angels, Yim by

¹ See Chap. LXIV, 2. The names are here written Mashyêih and Mashyâyôih.

² Twins, according to Bd. XV, 22, 24.

³ That is, he is not only the original creator, but also the perpetual promoter of the increase and progress of the creation, as much as those who appear to be such promoters, though merely acting as his agents.

⁴ Here written Hôshyâng. For the Av. names of these four primeval monarchs, see Chap. II, 10 n.

⁵ K35 has 'three-thirds,' but see Âbân Yt. 22, Râm Yt. 8, Zam-yâd Yt. 26.

⁶ He is said to have subjugated the evil spirit, and to have used him as a steed for thirty years (see Chaps. II, 10, XXXVII, 35).

whom order *was* arranged and death *was* driven away (avakâldö)¹, Frêdûn *who* fettered Az-î Dahâk² and stripped his blaspheming (nîrangâk) from the world, and the many princes (kayân) and high-priests of grave spirit *who* were, *and* are, *and will* be.

CHAPTER LXVI.

1. *As to* the sixty-fifth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: *There is* a man of wealth of the good religion who fully intends to order a *celebration of all the rites* of his religion; and a priest of it, to whom the five chapters (fragardö) of the Avesta ('text') of the correct law of the Nîrangistân ('religious-formula code')³ are easy through the Zand ('commentary'), is ever progressing in priestly manhood (magôî-gabrâth). 2. And he (the man) goes unto him, and he (the priest) speaks thus: 'All the religious rites are *performed* for 350 *dirhams*⁴, as a gift always given beforehand by them *who* give the order unto me, so that I *may* come to *them*.'

3. A man of the disciples⁵, to whom the five

¹ He is said to have kept away cold and heat, decay and death, and other evils from the earth (see Râm Yt. 16, Zamyâd Yt. 33).

² See Chap. XXXVII, 97.

³ This was the name of one of the first thirty sections of the Hûspârûm Nask (see Chap. LXI, 3), and a portion of it, containing the Pahlavi commentary (or Zand) of three chapters, with many Avesta quotations, is still extant.

⁴ The word *gûganö*, 'dirham,' is here omitted, but occurs in §§ 16, 20. The sum of 350 dirhams would be about 122½ rūpîs (see Chap. LII, 1 n).

⁵ That is, those who are still learning their priestly duties (see Chap. XLV).

sections (vîdag) of the Avesta are easy, and nothing whatever of its Zand is easy¹, then says unto him—unto that man who intends to order all the religious rites—thus: ‘For this gift I will conduct all the religious rites for thee twice, with the appliances in the land of Pârs², shouldst thou give the order unto me. 4. For it is quite possible for me to pray so many sections through my own exertion (dastö), *but* for him³ it is necessary to order again of an officiating priest (pavan zôtakö), who is himself not able to pray any section, *or* does not himself pray; and it is not necessary for him to go for the control (parvâr)⁴ of all the religious rites when a stipend (bâhar) is the one consideration within him, *and* the matter is *that* he⁵ *may* receive again. 5. *He* who *has* always himself prayed is better than he who shall accept readily *and* orders *the work* again, and is not able to pray it himself, when a fulfilment is tedious to him; when *it* is I who⁶ receive, I always pray myself better than he who would accept readily *and* orders again, and it brings on my business to a *closing point*.’

6. The priestly man speaks thus: ‘The considera-

¹ It being far easier to learn the Avesta by heart than to understand its meaning by aid of the Pahlavi commentary; a competent knowledge of the latter being sought only by advanced disciples, and rarely attained by any but the most learned priests.

² Reading pavan bûm-î Pârs, as in § 15; K35 has here pavan bûn-frâs, ‘for opening the beginning,’ which might be understood to refer to the preliminary ceremonies for preparing the ceremonial apparatus, if the phrase were not otherwise written elsewhere. In § 21 K35 has pavan bûn-î Pârs.

³ K35 omits the last letter of valman.

⁴ Or, it may be ‘to the precincts.’

⁵ Literally ‘I.’

⁶ Reading li mûn, instead of lanman, ‘we.’

tion of stipend is more necessary to arise *with* me than¹ other men, owing to the position of religion, not the other portion (*sânö*) of all religious rites; therefore, it is more authorisedly received *and* conducted by me when I accept readily and again intrust *the work*; but I direct so that they pray thoroughly, and it brings on much business to its *closing* point; moreover, *if* I seize upon it, even then I should be authorised, for this is the stipend of religion.'

7. Should they seize this that is authorisedly theirs, or not? *And* is *it* the custom of a man who is frequently ordering all the religious rites to reduce his gift for the ceremonial, or not?

8. Order *some one* to decide for us clearly, when they do not dispute the gift *for* the ceremonial, or *when* they do dispute *it*, how is then its great advantage; *and* the harmfulness that exists therein, in many ways *and* many modes, when they give an insufficient gift for the ceremonial. 9. Is the property which is given up as a gift for the ceremonial—so long as it thus becomes the remuneration which *one* gives to a receiver of remuneration (*mozdô-bar*)—that property which they can seize? 10. And is the work which is done, *or* deputed, and its great advantage, more than they would perform when, in the period of the evil millenniums², they diminish the gift for the ceremonial; *and* in how many modes

¹ Reading *li min*, instead of the imperfect word *lanm*.

² Of the twelve millenniums of time, mentioned in Chap. XXXVII, 11 n, the most evil one is said to have been that in which the author lived, the millennium of *Hûshêdar* (about A.D. 600-1600 according to the chronology of *Bund. and Byt.*), for 'mankind become most perplexed in that perplexing time' (see *Byt.* II, 62, 63), a period of great tribulation for the religion of the *Mazda*-worshippers.

does its harm then proceed therefrom? 11. Of whom are all the religious rites always more authorisely ordered, of that priestly man, or of that disciple? 12. *For* what reason, also, is it proper to diminish the gift for all the religious rites of him who is a priestly man, or to give *it* in excess? 13. When they do not diminish the gift for the ceremonial, and *it* is given in excess, in what manner does its great advantage then arise therefrom; *and* why *and* through what source (bêkh) is it possible *for* advantage to arise therefrom? 14. When they diminish the gift what harm to it (the ceremonial) is then possible to arise therefrom, *and* how is *it* better when they give the gift for the ceremonial?

15. For when the family householders, with those of the good religion of Irân, are early (pêš) *with* every single *celebration of* all the religious rites with holy-water, in the land of Pârs, unless they are in distress, their gift is then 400 dirhams¹; and we have given more than this, *even* 450 dirhams², for it. 16. And now should it be needful, when we diminish anything from the 400 dirhams, or from the 450³ dirhams, of their gift, they would then not accept *it* from us, *and* they speak thus: 'For 400 dirhams, or *at* least for 350 dirhams⁴; nothing less do we

¹ About 140 rūpîs (see Chap. LII, 1 n). M14 has 300 dirhams.

² About 157½ rūpîs. M14 has 350 dirhams. The actual value of all these sums depends upon the cost of the necessities of life in Pârs in the ninth century.

³ M14 has '350.'

⁴ About 122½ rūpîs. K35 has ângûn, 'so,' instead of gûganô, 'dirham' (the two words being nearly alike in Pahl. letters); this would alter the phrase as follows:—'or less; as to 350, so paltry a thing we do not accept.'

accept.' 17. *But* there are needy *men*¹ who always come to us *and* speak thus: 'For 350 dirhams we will twice conduct all the religious rites with holy-water², as you have always ordered us before for 400 dirhams; order *it* only of us, *for* shouldst thou have *it* managed by priestly men, they always say that they should always perform a curtailment (kâstârîh) of the religious rites and ceremonies of the sacred beings, *and* that all the religious rites are not authorisedly ordered except of them.'

18. Although a priest (aêrpatō) who becomes a ruler of the ceremonial should be doubly a decider, yet order *some one* to explain to us clearly concerning these questions, as asked by us.

19. The reply is this, that the *man* of the good religion who intended to order all the religious rites is he whose desire is goodness, and he should be a decider of questions about it.

20. *As to* the priest who spoke thus:—'Thou shouldst order *it* of me for 350³ dirhams, as you have always given before your business *was arranged*; *and* it becomes your own non-religious share of the duty, to be authorisedly given, because you have proceeded with the alleged demeanour of the country *and* for the purpose of intercession; and all the

¹ The disciples, who are represented as applicants for employment.

² That is, in the most solemn manner, and with all appliances. It appears from Chap. LXXXVIII, 9, that the religious rites without holy-water were then performed for 120 to 150 dirhams, or little more than one-third the fee demanded for those with holy-water; whereas the merit of some rites with holy-water is said to be a hundred times as great as that of the same rites without holy-water (see Sls. XVI, 6).

³ M14 has '400' here, but see § 2.

religious rites with holy-water are such as they solemnize repeatedly (pavan dôr), among which there are many in which¹ I *act* and *am* very well performing'—the gift of 350 dirhams is then not excessive remuneration for him.

21. *As to* the disciple who spoke thus:—'For 350 dirhams I will *twice*² conduct all the religious rites in the land³ of Pârs'—such of them as they then conduct repeatedly are not many in the aggregate (kînakð), and they certainly damage his (the man's) property, and all the religious rites of fire, through that deficiency. 22. And they would accept it on this account, that through a love of righteousness they might cause an advantage (khangînakð) unto all those religious rites by their own inferior eminence⁴. 23. And he extends *and* impels the ceremonial of the sacred beings into much progress who promotes it through that eminence which is owing to his own wealth, *and* which is thus more possessed of a share (bôn) of the ceremonial of the sacred beings and of the good work of praise—except, indeed, a like good work of praise of his—when they shall cause that manifestation of eminence⁵. 24. So that the orderer of the good work understands that that which is diminished by him⁶ is the eminence

¹ Reading mûn, 'which,' instead of amat, 'when' (see Chap. LXII, 4 n).

² The cipher '2' is omitted in the Pahl. text here, but see §§ 3, 17.

³ K35 has bûn, instead of bûm (see § 3).

⁴ Or, it may be 'by the eminence of their own wealth,' as aîr, 'inferior,' and khêl, 'wealth, property,' are alike in Pahlavi; but neither reading is quite satisfactory here.

⁵ By a proper disbursement of wealth.

⁶ When he diminishes his payment.

of the disciple, which his own wealth *has* to order for those who are not able to give wealth which is their own property for it; *and* he makes no curtailment (bangisnǝ) of those scanty remunerations.

25. And if that disciple should accept as remuneration less than is the custom *for* all the religious rites, *the orderer* is not undiminished in wealth¹, for the reason that the good effect owing to the advantage of holy-water is such as *when* they conduct *them* repeatedly, unless it be necessary to conduct *them* in a manner as *if* unpaid (pavan agazıd).

26. That curtailment of the good effect is not afterwards demandable (pasın-sakhunıkdǝ), if it *has* to be accepted by him; *and* if that acceptance of less remuneration by him be an opposing of him to the malice and ill-temper (vushâtı) of the priests, this also is not *the way* that they should cause progress as regards their own *business*.

27. And the proximity (nazdıtı) of a master of the house² *who* keeps away from all the religious rites requested *and* accepted—more particularly when the accepter accepts all the religious rites of the requester for that remuneration—is itself necessary; he may not be of a religious disposition, but it is yet requisite *for him* to be where this is requested

¹ M14 has '*it* is not eminence in wealth;' but the meaning is evidently that there is no real saving when the expenditure is reduced, because the good effect of the rites is also diminished when they are insufficiently paid for.

² Or, khânǝpânǝ may mean 'a keeper of the sacred table,' or low stone platform on which the ceremonial vessels are placed, which is often called khân. In either case the orderer of the ceremony is meant, and the author evidently contemplates the probability of the order being given as a mere formal matter of duty, without any really religious feeling.

and accepted for that scanty remuneration of his, owing to the extent and impetus of *his* share of the duty.

28. Moreover, it is perceived by us in Pârs *that* they who would accept the work for half the remuneration which was requisite as profit for it formerly would seize the remuneration. 29. And the reason of it is this :—The peasants relied upon the corn of the field (khânö) *which* has not come, *and they* said : ‘We are hurried ; we never obtain *anything* even on a single one of various debts, and by this payment we *shall* save *our* lives for the time ; so we calculate that whatever we seize in the manner of a debt or two, when the corn arrives *and* we sell the corn, we *shall* make *as* profit on that business¹ ;’—and it seemed to me very desirable *for* such a man.

30. If, also, they should approve that scanty remuneration of that disciple, it is an injury of all the religious rites, of which the forgivers² *have* to cast the consideration of the unequally-shared advantage out of the body³. 31. All the religious rites ordered of him who is a better performer, owing to not diminishing the proper remuneration, *having* proceeded unaltered, the remuneration of righteousness *one* does not approve is important as regards such as they solemnize and conduct in the period⁴.

¹ This parable justifies the taking of religious stipends by force, in cases of necessity, by a practical appeal to the sympathies of the enquirers ; but it really evades the question proposed in § 7, which refers to seizures not justified by necessity.

² Probably the priests who appoint atonements for sins confessed and renounced (see Sls. VIII, 1, 2, 5, 6).

³ Of those who have obtained a disproportionate share of the profit of the good works by not paying properly for them.

⁴ There are several doubtful points in the construction of this section.

32. Since, for the 350 dirhams, all the religious rites which they conduct once with holy-water are, it is affirmed, all the religious rites caused to be conducted twice with holy-water in that same place *and with* the same good effect, it is more important to order of *them* who shall allow all the religious rites twice; for, with as much wealth, as much efficiency, and as much good effect, more ceremonial is good.

33. The worthiness of the disciple, which is owing to himself, is the preparation; *and* the priest is worthy, of whose performance in the religion *you have* spoken¹; therefore, supreme worthiness is unattainable by either of them; so it is more significant when the disciple is the preparer, *and* the priest, *as* director, becomes a demander of good effect; both strive for good progress, *and* through many kinds of participation they may be worthy. 34. And both of them, praising together—whereby the participation is brought *to* an end—may authorisedly seize²; but that worthiness of theirs is owing to the duty and the praise therein—this *one* in preparing, *and* this *one* in superintendence (*avar-madīh*) of the recital—*and* the after discourse and petitioning, *and* other good done.

¹ See § 1.

² Probably the remuneration, if it be withheld; provided always they do their duty thoroughly, as mentioned in the concluding clause.

CHAPTER LXVII.

1. *As to* the sixty-sixth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: What is this appearance¹ which is girded on the sky?

2. The reply is this, that *it is* a mingling of the brilliance of the sun with mist and cloud that is seen, of which *it is at* all times and seasons, moreover, a characteristic appearance, whereby *it has* become their sign above from spiritual to earthly beings.

3. That which is earthly is the water above to which its brilliance is acceptable; and the many brilliant colours (gunakân) which are formed from that much mingling² of brilliance and water, and are depicted (mânâkî-âftö), are the one portion for appearing³.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

1. *As to* the sixty-seventh question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: What is this which, when the sun and moon *have* both come up, is something⁴

¹ Reading dîdanöñh; but the word can also be read sad-vânñh, which might stand for sad-gûññh, 'a hundred-coloured existence,' a possible term for the rainbow, but the Persian dictionaries give no nearer term than sadkas, or sadkês.

² M₁₄ has 'that mingling of many portions and few portions.'

³ Reading dîdanökö; but it can also be read sad-vanakö, a similar alternative to that in § 1.

⁴ The only probable reading for this word is mindavam, 'a thing;' it occurs three times in this question, but is a very vague term for the phases of the moon, probably referring to a supposed body covering the dark part of the moon's disc.

come, *and* comes on as *it were* anew when it (the moon) becomes new, *and* men want the thing to go down from the place *where it* is becoming apparent?

2. When it *has* been several times, what is then the thing *which* comes up *and* exists, and how is its motion by night and day?

3. The reply is this, that the sun and moon are always seen¹ there where they stand, and they exist for men and the creatures. 4. The sun is swifter-moving² than the moon, *and* every day becomes a little in advance; at the new moon the sun is shining, and the moon owing to diminution backwards, on account of the slenderness of the moon by much travelling³, and on account of the brilliance of the sun, is not apparent. 5. As the sun goes down a light which is not very apparent is the moon, and not *having* gone down the moon is seen⁴; and each day the moon increases, comes up more behind the sun, *and* goes down more behind, *and* is, therefore, more seen. 6. When increased to the utmost, which is approaching a likeness of the sun, it comes spherical (aspiharakö), and is seen the whole night; to diminish anew it comes back to the companionship of the sun, and goes into the splendour of the sun.

¹ The MSS. have *astî-hênd*, 'have remained,' instead of *khadî-tunî-hênd*, 'are seen;' but the difference between these words in Pahlavi letters is merely a medial stroke.

² Apparently so, as the moon rises and sets about 48 minutes later every day, on the average.

³ A very anthropomorphic mode of accounting for the waning of the moon into a slender crescent.

⁴ Most Orientals consider the day of the new moon to be that in the evening of which it is first possible to see the moon; this is usually the first, but sometimes the second, day after the actual change of the moon according to European ideas.

CHAPTER LXIX.

1. *As to the sixty-eighth question and reply, that which you ask is thus: When something takes hold of the moon or sun what is then its residence (khânö), and whence does it always seize upon it?*

2. The reply is this, that two dark progeny of the *primeval* ox¹ move and are made to revolve from far below the sun and moon, and whenever, during the revolution of the *celestial* sphere, they make *one* pass below the sun, or below the moon, it becomes a covering which is spun (*ta d*) over the sun, *and* it is so when the sun or moon is not seen. 3. Of each of those two progeny of the *primeval* ox—one of which is called 'the head,' and one 'the tail'—the motion is specified among astronomers²; but *in* remaining upon those luminaries, and producing that covering, they do not attain unto those luminaries

¹ Supposing the reading should be 2-ân gôkîhar-î târ here, and 2-ân gôkîharân in § 3. Gôkîhar is a supposed planetary (and, therefore, malevolent) body, connected with the sun and moon and having a head and tail, which falls on to the earth at the resurrection (see Bd. V, 1, XXVIII, 44, XXX, 18), and is here described as the cause of eclipses. Its name implies that it sprang from, or contained, the seed of the primeval ox, the supposed source of animal life (see Bd. XIV, 3), and in its Av. form, gao-kîthra, it is a common epithet of the moon; in Pers. it has become gôzihr or gavazkîhr. As the words stand in K35 they look more like 2 andôg dâlan-î târ, 'two dark store-lobbies,' or 2 andôg gâl-î târ, 'two clusters of dark spiders;' and in § 3 the word hanêfnö is substituted for the nearly synonymous andôg. In M14 the words seem to be 2 ângûn kîharânö-î târ, 'two such dark faces.'

² M14 has 'in the calculations of astronomers.'

within that covering. 4. *There* occurs no difference whatever of the descending *rays*¹ from those luminaries into a place of purity and freedom from disturbance far below those luminaries, except this, that the light which they divert to the world, and their activity as regards the *celestial* spheres are not complete *for* so much time, *nor* the coming² of the light to the earth.

CHAPTER LXX.

1. *As to* the sixty-ninth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: What are these river-beds³, and what is the cause of them; whence do they always arise, *and* why is *there* not a river-bed everywhere *and in* every place where *there* is no mountain?

2. The reply is this, that any place where a mountain is not discernible and a river-bed exists *it* is a fissure (*askûpö*); and it is declared as clear that, even before the growth of the mountains, when the earth was all a plain, *by* the shaking of the world the whole world became rent (*zandakö*)⁴. 3. Even

¹ Literally 'fallers.'

² Assuming that *mâdârîh* stands for *madârîh*. The meaning is that an eclipse produces no harm beyond a short interruption of the descent of the sun's or moon's rays to the earth.

³ There is some doubt as to whether the word should be read *zôgakö* (comp. Pers. *zôgêh*, 'a river'), or *zandakö* (comp. Pers. *zandah*, 'fissured'), but the meaning is tolerably certain from the context.

⁴ When the evil spirit rushed into the earth it is said to have shaken, and the mountains began to grow (see Bd. VIII, 1-5); and at the resurrection it is expected that the earth will recover its original perfect state of a level plain (see Bd. XXX, 33).

Frâsiyâv of Tûr¹ *was* specially mighty by causing the construction of channels (vidarg) there where *it* is mountainous, *and* also *in* low-lands², in which there is no mountain, and the shaking in its creation *was* the formation of great sunken³ springs and river-beds. 4. And if it *has* been prepared *in*, or if *it be* in a ravine (sikaftö) of, the mountains, the cause, too, of the contraction, thundering, and tearing of a river, if *its* confinement *be* in the earth, is the resistance which it *meets* in seeking a passage; and as it is a spring of the waters of the earth, so also it is in the earth, whose contraction *and* panting are mighty *and* full of strength. 5. And when *it is* a time that they would make a constructed channel at the outside of its ravine, as regards the contraction which is within it, the resistance by which it is contracted at the outside of the ravine is the ground⁴.

CHAPTER LXXI.

1. *As to* the seventieth question and reply, that which you ask is thus: Is anything which happens

¹ Frangrasyan, the Tûryan, in the Avesta; called Afrâsiyâb in the Shâhnâmah (see Bd. XXXI, 14). He is often mentioned as constructing canals (see Bd. XX, 17, 34, XXI, 6), but being a foreign conqueror he was considered as specially wicked by the Irânians.

² Assuming that sîtan is a miswriting of sîpöân, occasioned by joining two of the letters, just as harvispö, 'all,' is often written harvist.

³ Or, perhaps, 'hidden.'

⁴ That is, a watercourse which is confined by its natural rocky channel in the mountains, when carried across the plain in a canal, is confined only by softer soil.

unto men through fate or through action, is exertion destiny *or* without destiny, *and* does anything devoid of destiny happen unto men, or what way is it? 2. *As to* that which they say, that, when a man turns unto sinfulness, they ordain anew a new death¹; *as to* that which they say, *that* anything which happens unto men is a work of the moon², and every benefit is connected with the moon, and the moon bestows *it* upon worldly beings; and *as to* what way the moon *does* this, and bestows all benefits, order *some one* to decide the literal explanation of how and what way it is, by the will of the sacred beings.

3. The reply is this, that the high-priests³ have said thus, that there are *some* things through destiny, and there are *some* through action; and *it* is thus fully decided by them, that life, wife, and child, authority and wealth are through destiny, and the righteousness and wickedness of priesthood, warfare, and husbandry are through action. 4. And this, too, is thus said by them, that that which is not

¹ This reference is to a phrase in the Pahl. commentary on Vend. V, 33, which commentary contains a good many of the statements made in this chapter, excepting those relating to the moon. The reading aôsh, 'death,' given by K35, is probably more correct than aûbas, 'for him,' given by our modern MSS. of the Vendidâd; but M14 has amended it, and states 'then many new *things* are ordained by it for him.'

² Assuming that vidanâg, 'time,' stands for bidanâg, the Huz. of mâh, which means both 'month' and 'moon.' In the following phrases the word mâh is used.

³ It may be noted that most Pahlavi writers, when quoting the Pahlavi commentaries on the Vendidâd (as the author is doing here) or any other Nask, speak of them merely as the utterances of the high-priests, and reserve the term dînô, 'revelation,' for the Avesta itself; thus showing that belief in the inspiration of the Pahlavi translations of the Avesta is a very modern idea.

destined for a man in the world does not happen ; *and* that which is destined, be it owing to exertion, will come forward, be it through sinfulness *or* slothfulness he is injured by it. 5. That which will come forward owing to exertion is such as *his* who goes to a meeting of happiness, or the sickness of a mortal who, owing to sickness, dies early¹ ; *and* he who through sinfulness and slothfulness is thereby injured is such as *he* who would wed no wife, *and* is certain that no child of his is born, *or* such as *he* who gives *his* body unto slaughter, and life is injured by his living.

CHAPTER LXXII.

1. *As to* the seventy-first question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus : What are the heinous sins of committing unnatural intercourse, is it proper to order *or* perform the *sacred* ceremony for him who shall commit unnatural intercourse, *and* is it then proper to practise sitting together and eating together with him who shall commit *it*, and shall commit *it with* a longing for it, or not ?

2. The reply is this, that of the evil Mazda-worshippers²—who *were* the seven evil-doers of sin of a heinous kind³, whose practice of Aharman's *will was* as much as an approximation to *that of*

¹ M14 has 'which comes forward owing to sickness.'

² M14 has 'of a like evil practice, in inclination for sins, *were* the very heinous in the religion of the Mazda-worshippers.'

³ Reading girâi van vinâs, and assuming that van is a mis-writing of gûn.

Aharman *himself*—two are those whom you have mentioned, who are defiled with mutual sin. 3. For, of those seven evil-doers, one *was* Az-1 Dahâk¹, by whom witchcraft *was* first glorified; he exercised the sovereignty of misgovernment, and desired a life of the unintellectual (ahangân khayâ) for the world. 4. One *was* Azl Sruvar², by whom infesting the highway *in* terrible modes, frightful watchfulness (vîmag-bîdârîh)³ of the road, and devouring of horse *and* man *were* perpetrated. 5. One *was* Vadak⁴ the mother of Dahâk, by whom adultery *was* first committed, and by it all lineage is disturbed, control is put an end to, and without the authority of the husband an intermingling of son with son⁵ occurs. 6. One *was* the Vîptak⁶ ('pathic')

¹ See Chap. XXXVII, 97.

² A personification of Av. azi srvara, a serpent or dragon thus described in the Hôrn Yt. (Yas. IX, 34-39):—' (Keresâspa) who slew the serpent Sruvara which devoured horses and men, which was poisonous and yellow, over which yellow poison flowed a hand's-breadth (spear's-length?) high. On which Keresâspa cooked a beverage in a caldron at the mid-day hour, and the serpent scorched, hissed, sprang forth, away from the caldron, and upset the boiling water; Keresâspa Naremanau fled aside frightened' (see Haug's Essays, pp. 178, 179). The same account is given in Zamyâd Yt. 40.

³ M14 has bîmînfârîh, 'terrifying.'

⁴ See Chap. LXXVIII, 2. There is possibly some connection between this name and the Av. epithet, Vadhaghana, which is thus mentioned by the evil spirit, speaking to Zaratûst, in Vend. XIX, 23:—'Curse the good Mazda-worshipping religion! and thou shalt obtain fortune such as the Vadhaghana sovereign obtained;' and Mkh. LVII, 25 calls him 'the Vadagân sovereign Dahâk.' The Pahlavi writers seem to have taken this epithet as a matronymic, owing to its form, but whether the mother's name be really traditional, or merely manufactured from the epithet, is doubtful.

⁵ Reading levatman barman barman, instead of levatman bûm barman. M14 omits bûm.

⁶ Av. vîptô (p. p. of vip, 'to sow, to fecundate'), used in the

in the intercourse of males, the infecundity of which is the desire of men ; and by him the intercourse of males *and* the way of destroying the seed *were* first shown unto males. 7. One *was* the Vîptîndak¹ ('pæderast'), the male by whom the use of females *was* first brought among the errors (khazdag) of the male, and *was* despised (dûkhtō) by him ; he who is a cherisher of seed is delivering *it* to females, and that which is destroying the seed is the flowing of stench into the prescribed vessels² for it, the delivering *it* to males by a demoniacal process, and carrying on a practice which effaces (âhangêdō) *and* conceals the race³ of the living. 8. One *was* Tûr-î Brâdar-vakhsh⁴, the Karap *and* heterodox wizard, by whom the best of men *was* put to death. 9. And one *was* he by whom the religions of apostates⁵ *were* preferred—through the deceitfulness of the perverted text and interpretation⁶ which they themselves utter—to the law which the righteous

sense of 'a pathic' in Vend. VIII, 102. This name, as well as the next one, is used here more as representing a class than an individual.

¹ The p. p. of the causal form of vîptanō, 'to fecundate,' used as an equivalent of the Av. vaêpayō of Vend. VIII, 102.

² Assuming that pavan pavan pavan mûdragânō stands for pavan farmûd ragânō ; but there is some doubt as to the correct reading of several words in this section.

³ Or 'seed.'

⁴ The eldest of five brothers who were wizards of the Karap race or caste, and deadly enemies of Zarâtûst (see Byt. II, 3). He is said to have slain Zarâtûst in the end.

⁵ Aharmôkô, Av. ashemaogha, means literally 'disturbing the right,' and is a term applied to an ungodly man specially under the influence of the evil spirit, as an apostate is naturally supposed to be.

⁶ The Avesta and Zand.

has praised, that existence *which* would have procured a complete remedy, *and* would have become the eternity of the records which bestow salvation, through the good righteousness which is owing to the pure religion, the best of knowledge.

10. And they who are defiled by a propensity to stench are thereby welcoming the demons *and* fiends¹, *and* are far from good thought² through vexing *it*; and a distance from them is *to be maintained* of necessity in sitting and eating with *them*, except so far as *it may be* opportune for the giving of incitement *by* words for withdrawing (padâlisnô) from *their* sinfulness, while converting *them* from that propensity. 11. *Should one* die, to order a ceremonial for him is indecorous, and to perform *it* would be unauthorised; but if *he were* to do so penitently *one* would then be authorised to perform his ceremonial after the three *nights*³, for it is the remedy for atonement of sin. 12. And so long as *he* is living *he* is in the contingencies (vakhtagânô) owing to the sickness through which *he* is in that way an infamous *one* (akhamîdâr), and *there* are no preventives (bôndagânô) and medicinal powder for it; these are teachings also for the duty and good works of a ceremonial for the soul⁴.

¹ Who are supposed to seize upon them and pervade them; hence the necessity of shunning such men, to avoid contamination from the demons who possess them.

² That is, from what is personified in the archangel Vohûman.

³ During which the soul is supposed to remain on earth, hovering about the body, after death (see Chaps. XX, 2, XXIV, 2, XXV, 2).

⁴ That is, they are warnings to him to repent.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

1. *As to* the seventy-second question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: Does the stench of him, stinking withal, who commits unnatural intercourse proceed to the sky, or not; and to what place does the wind of that stench go *when* it goes *anywhere*?

2. The reply is this, that the material stench goes as far and in such proportion as there are filthiness and fetidness in the stinking existences, and the spiritual stench goes unto there where there are appliances (sâmânǎ) for acquiring stench, a miserable place; on account of the separation (gardîh) of the sky, everywhere where it goes in the direction of the sky it does not reach to the undisturbed existences¹. 3. Information about the stench is manifest in the omniscient creator, whose omniscience is among the luminaries, *but* that persistent creator *and* the primeval angels *and* archangels are *free* from its attack; and *his* information about the deception which is *practised* upon that labourer *for* hell and mind *allied* with the demons² is certain.

¹ The sky being divided into three parts, and the uppermost part being inaccessible to evil (see Chap. XXXVII, 24, 25).

² Reading avâ-sêdâ-mînîsnôîh, but it is possible that avâ may have originally been khavdak, for the Av. khavzô, 'male paramour,' of Vend. VIII, 99, 103 (trans. D.).

CHAPTER LXXIV.

1. *As to* the seventy-third question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: Is *there any* discomfiture (*vânîdârîh*) of the archangels from that stench, or not?

2. The reply is this, that the archangels are immortal and undistressed; their place, also, is in that best existence of light, all-glorious, all-delightful, *and* undisturbed; and the strength of the stench due to the demons¹ does not reach unto *anything* pertaining to the archangels. 3. The archangels are omniscient², friendly to the creatures, persistent, *and* procure forgiveness; they know that heinous practice which is the heinous practice³ of that wretched dupe (*frîftakö*) who *has* become defiled in that most filthy manner (*zîsttûm ârang*), which is like that which is provided *and* which is applied to him even in the terrible punishment⁴ that *has* come upon him from the demons; and then, on account of *their* friendliness to the creatures, it *has*

¹ Reading *az-sêdâîkö*, but it may be *âz-sêdâîkö*, 'of the demon of greediness,' or it may stand for *khaṽdak-sêdâîkö*, 'of a male paramour of the demons,' as mentioned in the last note.

² Omniscience with regard to what is taking place in the world being an indispensable characteristic of any being to whom prayers are addressed, or whose intercession is implored.

³ These words are thus repeated in K35, and the repetition may be correct.

⁴ Referring probably to the punishment of such a sinner, detailed in AV. XIX, 1-3, as follows:—'I saw the soul of a man, through the fundament of which soul, as it were, a snake, like a beam, went in, and came forth out of the mouth; and many other snakes ever seized all the limbs.'

seemed to them severe, and thereby arises their forgiveness which is according to whatever anguish is owing to the torment which galls him.

CHAPTER LXXV.

1. *As to* the seventy-fourth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: Do the angels have *his* dead *body* restored, or not?

2. The reply is this, that *there* was a high-priest who said that the angels do not have *his* dead *body* restored, because of the sin of the mutually-polluting, full of stench, and inglorious victims (khvâ-plâdân)¹, the terrible kind of means for the exculpation of creatures², and that practice when males keep specially imperfect in *their* duty; it *being* then suitable for mankind to become *free* from him who—like Az-î Dahâk³, who wanted many most powerful demons—resists *and* struggles, and is not possessing the perception to extract (patkasistanö) a pardon, owing to the course of many demoniacal causes.

3. But innumerable multitudes (amarakânthâ), happily persevering⁴ in diligence, have with united observation, unanimously, *and* with mutual assistance (ham-bangisnâhâ) insisted upon this, that they have the dead *bodies* of all men restored; for

¹ Victims of the deceptions practised by the demons (see Chaps. LXXIII, 3, LXXIV, 3); but the reading is uncertain.

² Probably the punishment of the wicked in hell.

³ See Chap. XXXVII, 97.

⁴ Reading farukhvö-tûshisn, but it may be perkhûntö dahisn, 'having begged the boon;' and M14 has pôryôdke-shânö, 'of those of the primitive faith.'

the good creator, granting forgiveness *and* full of goodness, would not abandon any creature to the fiend¹. 4. In revelation (dñnô) it is said that every dead *body* is raised up, both of the righteous and of the wicked²; *there* is none whom they shall abandon to the fiend.

5. And this, also, is thus decided by them³, that even *as to* him *who* is most grievously sinful, when he becomes mentally *seeking* pardon *and* repentant of the sin, *and, being* as much an atoner as *he* is well able, *has* delivered *up his* body *and* wealth for retribution *and* punishment, in reliance upon the atonement for sin of the good religion, then it is possible *for* his soul, also, to come to the place of the righteous⁴.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

1. *As to* the seventy-fifth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: *As to* him who shall slay those who shall commit unnatural intercourse, how is then his account as to good works and crime?

2. The reply is this, that the high-priests, in *their* decision, *have* thus specially said, that all worthy of death are *so* by the decision of judges and the

¹ Except for temporary punishment in hell. All ideas of the vindictiveness of implacable justice are foreign to the Mazda-worshipper's notion of the good creator.

² Compare Bd. XXX, 7.

³ Probably by the 'multitudes' of § 3.

⁴ By delivering up his body and wealth to the will of the high-priest, as an atonement, and mentally renouncing his sins, he is saved from hell, and the beneficial effect of any good works he may have performed returns to him (see Sls.VIII, 5).

command of kings, whose business is execution. 3. Whoever shall slay him who *has* heinous sins¹ after controversies three times with him, about the decision of those acquainted with the religion *and about* the command of kings, when he *has* thus remained in the sin in defiance of his own relations—and not inimically to the man *and* injuriously to the religion, but inimically to the sin *and* in order to keep away intercourse with demons—is to consider *it* as a great good work. 4. No command is given about the decision of *what one* is to do *in* the same matter, more heedfully and more authorisedly in *cases of* doubtful attention, for the good work exists undoubtedly more *and* more abundantly².

CHAPTER LXXVII.

1. *As to* the seventy-sixth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: Will you direct *some one* then to make the heinousness of this sin of unnatural intercourse clear to us?

2. The reply is this, that the first material creature *was* the righteous man, the smiter of the fiend, the righteous propitiator; so, also, in the world *he* is more recognising the sacred beings, more completely (*hamâktar*) for the production of creatures,

¹ Reading *vinâsânô*, as in M14, instead of the doubtful word *vashkîsn*, which might perhaps be compared with Pers. *buzhis*, 'opposition.'

² The meaning is that no one is bound to put such sinners to death until they are condemned by the authorities, but should one do so upon his own responsibility, entirely for the good of the faith, and certain of the impenitence of the sinners, he is not only free from blame, but has done a meritorious deed.

and with more provision for the creatures¹. 3. And with the manifestation of knowledge the best duty is that which *exists* in lawfully practising procreation, *and* the complete progression of righteous men arose therefrom.

4. In like manner he who is the omniscient creator formed mankind in the first pair, who were brother and sister, *and* became Mashyâth and Mashyâyôth², and all races of material life *exist* by means of acquiring sons and *his* omnisciently causing procreation. 5. The man and woman *were* also made to lust (gâmîntdö) by him, and thereby *became* the father and mother of material men; and he naturalized among primitive man the qualities of a desire (âlûdanö) for acquiring sons together through glorifying. 6. And the law *and* religion authorised it as a proper wish, so long as *they proceed* from those who are their own *relations*, not from those who are not their own; and with those whom next-of-kin marriages³, original duties, and desires for other sons have formed, complete progress in the world is connected, and even unto the time of the renovation *of the universe*⁴, it is to arise therefrom. 7. And the birth of many glorious practisers of the religion, those confident in spirit, organizers of the realm, arrangers of the country, *and* even accom-

¹ Reading val-dâm-nivârisnôihâtar; the syllables -âtar being written separately M₁₄ has val dâm-nivârisnîh aîyyâd-tar, 'more remembering the provision for the creatures.' Promoting the increase of, and providing maintenance for, good creatures are considered to be important good works.

² Here written Mashyâ and Mashyâyâôth, but see Chaps. XXXVII, 82, LXIV, 2.

³ See Chap. LXV.

⁴ See Chap. II, 8.

plishers of the renovation of the universe, which arises from those same to whom that practice shall be law—and when it occurs lawfully—is a miracle and benefit of the world, the will of the sacred beings and the utmost good work discernible, because the complete progress of the righteous arises therefrom, and the great female faculty (nakedth) is manifested.

8. So when the opponent of the same, by whom the source of seed and procreation is spoiled, is intent upon a way for the death of progeny—and the intention is certain—its annihilation is owing to him¹; and he is the devastating fiend², whose will is a desire of depopulation and ruin, and by the power of his Ntyâz (*demon of 'want'*)³ he turns imperceptibly the esteem of the very indispensable production of men from the position of wishing for sons to a creature⁴ who is opposed to it, through whom have arisen its ruin and corruption. 9. And the nature and power which are his cherishing of progeny are not suitable for receiving seed, and misrepresented (drôkîniðö) by him is the accompanying evil intercourse, so that emitting the seed (shûdak), in delivering it at that time into that burning place, full of stench, is to produce its death, and no procreation occurs.

10. The dupes⁵ turn the living seed from mingling with women and seeking for births, just as in the like vice of any demon, connected with a longing

¹ A free translation of *agas lôîtö*, which phrase is placed at the end of the section in the Pahl. original.

² The evil spirit.

³ See Chap. XXXVII, 52.

⁴ M14 has 'to a member.'

⁵ Of the fiend.

for the dupes¹, they shall abandon that advantage of the world, the delights (vâyagânö) of a son². 11. He who is wasting seed makes a practice of causing the death of progeny; when the custom is completely continuous, which produces an evil³ stoppage of the progress of the race, the creatures *have* become annihilated; *and* certainly, that action, from which, when it is universally proceeding, the depopulation of the world must arise, *has* become and furthered (frârâstö) the greatest wish of Aharman⁴. 12. Such a practiser is the greatest wish of Aharman, through the demon's excretion⁵ of doubt *in* the practice, owing to intercourse with the emitter, *which* is most filthy and most fetid, and the emitting member, which is causing death; and the demoniacal practice⁶ is perceptible even from the same practice, and whatever is the heinousness *of* the sinfulness is clear to observers of the dead *body*.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

1. *As to* the seventy-seventh question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: *As to* the nature of the heinousness *and* sinfulness of committing adultery, *and* the worldly retribution specified *for it* in revela-

¹ Such men are said to become paramours of the demons (see Vend. VIII, 102-106), as further alluded to in § 12.

² M14 has 'seeking a son.'

³ Reading dahêd vad, but M14 has yâityûntö, 'brought a,' and may be right.

⁴ See Chap. XXXVII, 10.

⁵ Reading rîkhîh, but M14 has râsîh, 'course.'

⁶ In hell.

tion, *will* you then direct *some one* to point out to us the modes¹ of retribution for it?

2. The reply is this, that it is adultery, heinous *and* vicious, which first Dahâk *used* to commit, and *he* is known by the illicit intercourse which *was* his desire with Vadak², who *was his* mother, in the lifetime of Aûrvadâsp³, who *was* his father, without⁴ the authority of Aûrvadâsp, who was the husband of Vadak whose practising of sin, unauthorisedly *and* injudiciously, *was* itself heinous *and* very frequent.

3. And its modes *of* theft or spoliation are just as much more heinous than other theft *and* spoliation as a man *and* that which arises from his procreation of man are greater than the position of property.

4. One is this, that *it* is important to consider with steadfastness the courtesan life of the adulteress *and* the bad disposition assuredly *and* undoubtedly therein; she causes pillage unauthorisedly, and in *her* practice, also, intercourse during menstruation, owing to *its* resembling the burning of seed, is a frightful kind of handiwork (dastô).

¹ M14 has 'the various modes.'

² This is evidently the name written Udaî in Pâz. in Bd. XXXI, 6, who was, therefore, the *daughter* of Bayak; the fact of her being the mother of Dahâk is more clearly expressed in the Pahlavi text of Chap. LXXII, 5.

³ This is the name written Khrûtâsp in Bd. XXXI, 6, which is a Pâz. reading, though confirmed by the Pahl. form in TD (as Udaî is, to some extent, by the Pahl. Aûd of TD). This Aûrvadâsp, whose name can also be read Khûrûtâsp, must be distinguished from his namesake, the father of Vistâsp, whose name became corrupted into Lôharâsp (see Bd. XXXI, 28, 29).

⁴ K35 omits *avik*, 'without,' here, but has it in Chap. LXXII, 5. Without this particle the meaning would be 'who *was* the high-priest of his father, Aûrvadâsp.'

5. One is this, that it may be *that* she becomes pregnant by that intercourse, *and has* to commit on her child¹ the murdering of progeny.

6. One is this, that it may be in pregnancy, *by* her coming to intercourse *with* another man, *that* the living child which is in her womb has died through that intercourse.

7. One is this, that it may be that she becomes pregnant by that intercourse, *and* the pregnancy *having* given indications, through shame or fear she swallows a drug² [and seeks a remedy, and murders the child in *her* womb.

8. One is this, that it may] be that a woman who is foreign or infidel, and becomes pregnant by that intercourse, gives birth to a child, *and* it has grown up with the child which is known *to belong to* the husband of the woman, *and* remains in foreign habits (an-aīrīh) or infidelity. 9. The committer of the illicit intercourse is as unobservant and grievously sinful as *he* who shall lead his own child from *his* native habits (aīrīh) and the good religion into foreign habits and infidelity; as to the sin which that child may commit in childhood *he* is the sinner, and as to that which it may commit in manhood *he* is equally sinful with it. 10. Also, if that child be put to death in childhood, *and* be passed through water, rain, *or* fire, *or* be buried in the well-yielding earth³, *he* is an equally vicious murderer, *and* is defiled thereby through *being* the invisible causer.

¹ M14 has '*and* with the assistance of another man *she has* so to commit on her child of that pregnancy.' The interpolation is clumsy, and does not make the sentence easier to translate.

² The passage which follows, in brackets, is from M14; there being evidently something omitted from K35 at this point.

³ The contamination of water, rain, fire, or earth, by contact with

11. Likewise, if he who is a man of the good religion accustoms a woman to illicit intercourse, *and* through adultery a child is born and grows up, even then to practise undutifully that which undutifulness committed is to make a wretched *and* clandestine connection. 12. On account of the birth *having* occurred through illicit intercourse *it* is grievously sinful; through propriety *it* is praiseworthy, and through falsity *it* is sinful¹, *and* it is said that a bastard is not appointed in superintendence over *any one*. 13. *If* it be done so that pregnancy does not occur, even then every single time—not to mention the text (avistâk) *as to* the matter regarding the destruction of his own living seed²—*it is a sin of* two Tanâpûhars, which are six hundred stîrs³; *and* regarding that emission *it* is inexpressible (atanâpûhar)⁴.

a corpse, being considered a heinous sin (see Sls. II, 9, 50, 76, XIII, 19).

¹ That is, procuring the birth of a legitimate child is highly meritorious, but an illegitimate birth is sinful.

² Referring probably to Vend. VIII, 77–82, which states that the voluntary waste of seed is an inexpressible sin, as mentioned at the end of this section.

³ A Tanâpûhar (Av. tanuperetha) sin was originally one that required the sinner to place his body at the disposal of the high-priest, in order to atone for it; but it was not necessarily a sin worthy of death, or mortal sin. At the time when the Vendidâd was written, such a sin was punished by two hundred lashes of a horse-whip or scourge (see Vend. IV, 72). Subsequently, when the Vendidâd scale of punishments was converted into a scale of weights, for estimating the amounts of sins and good works, a Tanâpûhar sin was estimated at three hundred stîrs (σταιήρ) of four dirhams (δραχμή) each (see Sls. I, 1, 2). The weight of 600 stîrs was probably about that of 840 rūpîs, or 21½ lbs. (see Chap. LII, 1 n).

⁴ That is, a sin which cannot be atoned for even by giving up one's body for execution. Anâpûhar in Pahl. Vend. VIII, 82.

14. As much on account of the conversation as on account of the companionship *of* the man who goes unto various women, for the sake of a man's sin, and is unatoning, *should* his own body be also defiled with bodily refuse (hīgar-hômōnd)¹, or *should* those kinds of harm be not *kept* away from another², even then every single time of the bodily refuse bringing harm to his own body is *a sin of sixty stirs*³, and through making his own body defiled with bodily refuse is each *time a sin of sixty stirs*; and if he washes with water that defilement with his own bodily refuse, or that which is harmed *thereby*, every single time *it is a sin of six hundred*⁴ stirs.

15. And if it be a foreign or infidel woman, apart from the sinfulness *about* which *I have* written, *it* is a sin of sixty stirs on account of not controlling the sins *and* vicious enjoyment of the foreign woman.

16. And, finally, the other various sins which are owing to *this* sin are very numerous, *and* grievous to thousands of connections, and *it* is thereby contaminating to them *in* a fearful manner.

17. The retribution is renunciation *of sin* in procuring pardon; and the renunciation in his turning from equally grievous disobedience⁵, every single

¹ See Chap. XLVIII, 19.

² M14 has 'or he does not wash those harmful kinds of bodily refuse,' which is inconsistent with what follows.

³ This is the estimated weight of a Khôr sin, originally the crime of inflicting a severe hurt, ranging from a bruise to a wound or broken bone not endangering life (see Sls. I, 1, 2). The weight was probably equal to that of 84 rūpīs.

⁴ M14 has 'three hundred.'

⁵ Reading asrûstīh as in M14, instead of the aītrôistôih of K35. Possibly the latter word might be read 3-trôistôih, 'the

time that *he turns* from similar viciousness, and as an atonement for the sin, is to arrange, or order, four (arbâ) marriages of the next of kin to his own wife, lawfully, authorisedly, and most hopeful of offspring. 18. Through fear of the grievous sinfulness which *I have* recounted, *in case of* a child of those of the good religion who has no giver of shame¹, and to keep lawfully in subjection a child who is under control, he who is unnurtured is lawfully given nurture, *and* is nominated for lawfully bringing up. 19. And to turn a man *or* woman of bad disposition, by eulogy and entreaty, or ² *by* distress (fangîm) and fear and other representations, from that bad disposition *and* vicious habit; to order next-of-kin marriage³ and all the religious rites (hamâk dînô), the Dvâzdah-hômâst⁴, the ceremony *in honour* of the waters⁵, and the *presentation of* holy-water to the fires⁶; to remove the burden of offspring⁷ which is distressing those of the good religion, and to force them from the infidelity acquired, which is a very atoning atonement for such sins, are extremely proper proceedings (avîr-farhakhtîkîh).

passing away of the three *nights*,’ referring to the Av. phrase thrityau khshapô thraosta, ‘on the passing away of the third night,’ in Hn. II, 18; the three nights are those immediately after death, while the soul is supposed to remain hovering about the body, thinking over its sins, and dreading the approaching judgment of the angel Rashnu; but previous renunciation of sin would relieve it from much of this dread.

¹ That is, one not born in shame, but a legitimate child. M14 has shîr, ‘milk,’ substituted for sharm, ‘shame.’

² M14 has ‘woman of family with extending sins or bad disposition.’

³ See Chap. LXV.

⁵ Probably the Âbân Nyâyis.

⁷ By assisting in their support.

⁴ See Chap. XLVIII, 25.

⁶ Probably the Âtas Nyâyis.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

1. *As to the seventy-eighth question and reply, that which you ask is thus: What is the decision about water with the word Ithâ¹ and him who shall drink it?* 2. When a man *has performed his ritual and does not take the prayer (vâgð) inwardly, but drinks water with the word Ithâ, what is the decision about this efficacy² of which he takes up one half and abandons one half, how is it necessary, or not, to consider it, and what is the sin of it?* 3. *As to him who performs half, or less than half, of the efficacy, and drinks water with the word Ithâ, what is the retribution for this sin when he shall commit it occasionally, and what is good in order that this sin, when he shall commit it, may depart from its source?*

¹ The first word of Yas. V, 1, 2 which forms the first portion (after the invocation) of the inward prayer, or grace, to be muttered before eating or drinking. This first portion may be translated as follows: 'Here then we praise Ahura-mazda, who gave (or created) both cattle and righteousness, he gave both water and good plants, he gave both the luminaries and the earth, and everything good.' This is followed by three Ashem-vohûs, each meaning as follows: 'Righteousness is the best good, a blessing it is; a blessing be to that which is righteousness to the angel of perfect rectitude.' After muttering these formulas, or 'taking' them inwardly as a protective spell, the mutterer can eat or drink, and after washing his mouth he 'speaks out' the spell or vâg by reciting certain other formulas aloud. This chapter refers to those who mutilate the vâg by muttering only its first word or words, which matter is also treated in Sls. V.

² Supposing that this word, which may be twice read mâânâê and four times mâênâê, represents the Ar. ma'hni, but this is by no means certain.

4. *As to him who has performed his Nâbar¹ ritual, and drinks water with the word Ithâ, not muttering (andâkô) the inward prayer (vâgô), and performs a ceremony (yastô), though he does not order a ceremony of Gêtô-kharid² for himself, is the decision then about him anything better, or not; and does the good work of this ceremony of Gêtô-kharid become just the same as that of the Nâbar ceremony, or not?* 5. *As to him who orders a ceremony of Gêtô-kharid for³ himself, what is then his good work, and what is the value⁴ of his worthiness when he does not himself perform because he orders that they should perform for him?* 6. *And as to him who has not performed his ceremony, and is fifteen years old, what is then the decision about him?*

7. The reply is this:—When a man *who has chanted the Gâthas ('hymns')⁵ drinks water with the word Ithâ, if, moreover, being preservable from suffering⁶, he be not a righteous one overwhelmed by impotence, it is thus said that, when in order to consecrate the sacred cake (drônô)⁷ it is not possible*

¹ The initiatory ceremony of a young priest, written nâfbar or nâgbar in this chapter, and sometimes nônâbar (Pahl. navak nâfbar).

² This ceremony, which means 'the world-purchased,' and by which, according to the Sad-dar Bundahis, 'heaven is purchased in the world, and one's own place brought to hand in heaven,' lasts three days, and is performed by two priests; the first day's ceremonies are those of the Nônâbar, those of the second are of the angel Srôsh, and those of the third are of the Sîrôzah, or angels of the thirty days of the month (see Bd. XXX, 28 n).

³ Reading râf instead of lâ, 'not.'

⁴ Reading var-kâ, instead of va naked, 'female,' which is much like it in Pahl. letters.

⁵ And is, therefore, an initiated priest.

⁶ M₁₄ has 'from impotent suffering.'

⁷ See Chap. XXX, 1.

to take the prayer *inwardly*, and *there* are no presentations of it for the tasting of the virtuous *with inward* prayer¹, or for the sake of relieving the sickness of a righteous person, which has come severely, when it is possible for him *to say* 'Ithâ' and one 'Ashem-vohû²', or it is possible for him to say 'Ashem,' *he* is to recite that which it is possible for him to speak, and *he* is to drink or eat³ the water, or food, or medicine which is discreetly his, and may be the custom of his body and life⁴.

8. But the sinfulness of *him* who *has* drunk water with the *word* Ithâ, not owing to suffering, is much the most sinful, except this efficacy of which *you have* written that, *having* taken up⁵ one half, they shall abandon one half; for, when in eating the efficacy is possessed in that manner, *it* is then a chattering meal which is a very grievous sin⁶. 9. Every single drop (pashan)⁷ which in that manner comes to the

¹ Reading *vâgö atôfdâdagân-î nadûgânö*, which M14 has altered to mean 'and if in his state of hunger and thirst.'

² Merely the first words of the two formulas which constitute the inward prayer, or *vâg* (see § 1 n).

³ M14 has only '*he* is to eat.'

⁴ M14 has 'and is authorisedly to preserve his own body.'

⁵ Reading *frâg*, as in M14 and § 2, instead of *pavan*, 'in;,' though the reading 'in taking up' is quite possible.

⁶ The sin of *drâyân-gûyisnîh*, 'eagerness for chattering,' which arises from talking while eating, praying, or at any other time when a prayer (*vâg*) has been taken inwardly and is not yet spoken out. The sin arises from breaking the spell of the inward prayer (see Sl. V).

⁷ Comp. Av. *parshuya* and Pers. *pashang*, *bashang*. This word has been misread *yazisn*, 'ceremony,' in Sl. V, 3, 4, which ought to stand as follows:—'It is unseasonable chatter for every single drop; *for* him who has performed the ritual *it* is a Tanâ-pûhar *sin*; *for* him who has not performed the ritual *it* is less,

mouth *as* a new taste is *a sin* of three stirs¹, and every single *thing* which is spoken like that word² is a sin of three stirs, which is mentioned as the minimum.

10. The retribution is that way well perfected when, in renunciation of that sin which attacks, a proper efficacy is prepared *and* becomes a vestige (vûnakö) of the sin of the performer. 11. Whoever is not able to arrange it in this manner is to entreat the prayers of three men with a donation of wealth, and is to solemnize his Nônâbar *ceremony*³, or he is to consecrate a sacred cake every day in the ceremonial place, to eat food lawfully, *and* to order the proper maintenance of the efficacy. 12. The assistance of performing the proper rituals through ordering the Nâbar *ceremony*, and the helping existence of discharging the burden of the trouble of a populous household seem to me suitable for the atonement of such-like sin, through the will of the sacred beings.

some *have* said three Srôshô-karanâms. The measure of unseasonable chatter is a Tanâpûhar *sin*; this is where every single drop, or every single morsel, or every single taste is not completed.'

¹ The stir is evidently taken here as equivalent to the Srôshô-karanâm of Sls. V, 3 (see the last note). A sin of three Srôshô-karanâms, 'lashes with a scourge,' is called a Farmân, and is usually the least degree of sin of which notice is taken; its amount is variously estimated (see Sls. IV, 14, X, 24, XI, 2, XVI, 1, 5), but the value given here, in the text, is very likely correct, and is equivalent to about 4½ rūpîs, either in weight or amount (see Chap. LII, 1 n).

² The word Ithâ. M14 has 'every single time it is spoken in tasting with an efficacy like that word,' but the meaning of this is not clear.

³ See § 4.

CHAPTER LXXX.

1. *As to* the seventy-ninth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: Concerning him who does not order *ceremonies* what is then the decision?

2. The reply is this, that, excepting those among which is specially the selected religious rite (dînô) of him whose ceremony is not performed—who, even though *having* many good works, does not afterwards attain unto the supreme heaven, which is determined¹—this, moreover, is thus said, that he who is not able to perform his ritual himself, when he orders a Gêtdô-kharid² *ceremony* and they shall perform *it*, can become *fit* for the supreme heaven (garôdmânfkô); this is greatly to be commended.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

1. *As to* the eightieth question and reply, that which you ask is thus: What is the purpose of this *ceremony for* the living soul³, *and* why⁴ is it necessary

¹ It is the general opinion that if the proper ceremonies are not performed during the three days after a death (see Chap. XXVIII) the deceased cannot attain to the highest grade of heaven; this is, however, denied by some of the commentators (see Sls. VI, 3-6).

² See Chap. LXXIX, 4 n.

³ Dastûr Peshotanji Behramji, the high-priest of the Parsis in Bombay, informs me that every Parsi is bound to perform, or get performed, every year during his or her lifetime, ceremonies for three days in honour of his or her soul, analogous to those performed during the three days after a death. These Zindah-ravân, or Srôsh, ceremonies are generally ordered on the first three Fravardîgân holidays, extending from the twenty-sixth to the twenty-eighth day of the last month of the Parsi year.

⁴ Reading maman râf, as in M14; K35 has lâ 'not,' instead of râf, 'for.'

to order *it*? 2. And, whenever *one* orders it, how is it necessary then to order it, how is it best when they celebrate *it*, and what is its great advantage as a good work?

3. The reply is this, that worship with the ceremonial *for* those newly passed away, *during* the three days which *they spend* in the account¹, is suitable for the discreet, just as the protection with nourishment of those newly born, in their infancy, is also much more suitable for the discreet. 4. He is a truly discreet man through whom *there* is ceremonial for the three *days*, on account of his own father, and privileged wife, and infant child, *and* well-behaved servant, on *their* passing away; and it is indispensable to order the triple ceremonial of the three days.

5. This, too, is said: where it is not possible to solemnize his three *days*, or they solemnize *them* afterwards, when information *of the death* arrives², three days are to be solemnized as a substitute *for* those three. 6. For the good work of the ceremonial which is ordered by him himself, or bequeathed by him, or is his *through* consenting to it by design³, exists—even though it is thus possible that it will be conducted afterwards—whenever it comes into progress; therefore he is exalted for it at his account

¹ See Chaps. XXIV, XXV.

² M14 has 'or they do not solemnize *them*, after which the information arrives,' which is clearly inconsistent with the context. When a person dies away from home, and the ceremonies are not performed on the spot, they must be performed at his home immediately after information of his death arrives, and the three succeeding days are considered as representing the three days after the death (see Sls. XVII, 6).

³ Comp. Chap. VIII, 5.

in the three *days*, and it comes on for his *being* exalted. 7. When that which is conducted afterwards comes on for aiding *his being* exalted in the three *days* of the account, that which *was* conducted by him himself beforehand is more hopeful *and* more certain of being exalted in that position.

8. On account of there being also a diminution (altö-*k* gahtdârlh) of risk about their own souls, in the event of (min zak algh hat) their children not ordering the three *days' ceremonial*, or it not being possible to solemnize *it* at that time, it is desirable to order, in their own lifetime and *at* their own convenience, *the ceremony for* their own living souls, advisedly, without doubt, and *having* appointed the *mode of* life of the three *days*, and also to appoint by will him who is to conduct *it* in the end. 9. And when both are conducted, the increase of good works and exaltation, though the end is not possible, or is not proceeded *with*—and the previous good works are commendable, and, therefore, preservatory—*has* reached even unto the most lordly wishes.

10. *As to* the man *with* great *and* powerful children, to whom the ceremonial of the three *days* for himself *at* the final day, *and* also the progress of many good works *have* seemed certain, *but* on account of yet another way to freedom from doubt effectually (frârâstlhâ) existing, he *has* bequeathed the conduct of the three *days' ceremonial*, and also other good works, unto *his* children, in order that *the ceremony for* the living soul *may be* conducted *at* the final day, with him the angels are in triumph, the glory of the religion in the most lordly glory, *and* the solemnizers of ceremonial worship are many.

11. Then, moreover, owing to the contest of the

demons—so unjust that *on* the day of his passing away it is due to the uncleanness (apâdyâvîh) which has attained unto its full extent¹—all the solemnizers in the country, of the acts of worship solemnized, may have become thoroughly doubtful of the worship, and until it goes on to the disciples, and the ceremony is prepared, it is not proper to perform the whole ceremonial; in that way is manifested the great advantage and commendableness which arises from that ceremony for his living soul.

12. The nature of the ceremony ordered for the living soul is a counterpart of the three days, so it is needful that at all times of the three days and nights, successively emancipative (avadîgtînisnik), a ceremonial in honour of Srôsh² be always conducted, and that it proceed; and a fire is lighted in the ceremonial, and the clean ligature of the limbs is to be tied. 13. As a rule it is so considered that³ in the three days there are fifteen⁴ ceremonies (yastanô) in honour of Srôsh, and three sacred cakes (drôn)⁵ which are consecrated in each dawn (bâm-1) with various dedications; and the fourth day they solemnize the Visparad⁶, the portion⁷ of the righteous guardian spirits (ardât fravardô). 14. And there

¹ The corpse being considered utterly unclean.

² See Chap. XIV, 4.

³ The following clause, about the three days, is omitted in M14, which skips from 'that' to 'the fourth day.'

⁴ The Pers. Rivâyats merely say that four priests are employed, two at a time, so as to relieve each other in the continuous series of ceremonies for three days and nights.

⁵ See Chap. XXX, 1.

⁶ Here written Visparêdô (see Chap. XLV, 6).

⁷ Reading bôn, instead of nûb; M14 omits the word.

are fugitives of families of the period, *and* other still further diminishers¹ of good works, who *have* wished to produce the wealth which is necessary to perform advantageously, as a custom of the soul in those three days, one *celebration* of all the religious rites (hamâk dînô) *in honour* of Srôsh, *and* the consecration of three sacred cakes for Srôsh every day; and the third night, at dawn², the consecration of a sacred cake *dedicated in* three modes. 15. In accomplishing the *consecration of the* sacred cake specially for the righteous guardian spirits, *on* the fourth day, *one* is supposed to order a Dvâzdah-hômâst³ *in honour* of the righteous guardian spirits, *and* the rest of the ceremonial.

16. And *he* who *has* intended much more laudably is declared *as* the more devout and more judicious of worshippers; and for the sake of the ceremonial he is cleansed by the Bareshnûm ceremony⁴, *and* is to practise other descriptions of cleanliness as regards *his* body and clothing. 17. While in the performance of the ceremonial, bread *made* from corn which is ground *by* those of the good

¹ M14 has 'there are ghostly observers of the families of the period, *and* many other teachers.' But the original meaning was, no doubt as in K35, that there were many persons at that period who would have been glad to possess the means of ordering even a small portion of the proper rites for the dead.

² That is, at dawn on the fourth day. The rites here mentioned seem to have been considered as the minimum that could be approved.

³ See Chap. XLVIII, 25.

⁴ A tedious ceremony of purification, lasting nine nights and detailed in Vend. IX, 1-145 (see App. IV). Its name is the Av. word which commences the instructions for sprinkling the unclean person (Vend. IX, 48), and means 'the top' of the head.

religion, wine from that made *by* those of the good religion, *and* meat from the animal¹ which is slaughtered in the ceremonial are eaten; *and one* is to proceed into the abode of fires² and of the good, *and* to abstain from the rest of the other places which are dubious³ *and* food which is dubious. 18. And with that thorough heedfulness *one* is to conduct and order that ceremonial in the abode of the ever-growing fire, or other fire of Varahrân⁴; whereby his numerous good works are effectual, *and* the path of good works⁵ is very broad. 19. Concerning⁶ the suffering of *him* whose capability in that which is his preserving efficacy⁷ is less, it is thus revealed, that not he who is righteous is overwhelmed, as *it were* unwilling, by incapability⁸.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

1. *As* to the eighty-first question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: *As* to a man who shall order a ceremonial *and* shall give the money (diram), and the man who shall undertake his ceremonial

¹ A goat or sheep is meant by gôspend here.

² The fire temple, in, or near, which the priests ('the good') reside.

³ Or, var-hômand may mean 'open to choice,' but it is generally used as the opposite of aêvar, 'certain.'

⁴ Sacred fire (see Chap. XXXI, 7).

⁵ Over the Kinvad bridge (see Chap. XXI, 5).

⁶ Reading râf, instead of lâ, 'not,' here, and *vice versa* further on in the sentence, as in M14.

⁷ That is, in good works. M14 omits the word 'less.'

⁸ The construction of this quotation is suggestive of its being a literal translation from the Avesta.

and shall take his money, *but has* not performed the ceremonial, what is then the decision; and what is then the decision *about* the man who ordered the ceremonial?

2. The reply is this, that the merit of a ceremonial not performed is not set going, and does not come to the soul of the undertaker who shall take money for it, *nor* even *to* that of the orderer who gave money for it. 3. But, *as to* him who is the orderer, since his mental meritoriousness is so steadfast that he gave his money, the efficacy (tûbân) of the good work, mentally his own, *has* not stayed *away* from him, because he gave money authorisedly for the good work; the decision, then, *about* him is such as *about him* to whom harm occurs in performing a good work for the religion. 4. It is said that the angels so recompense him that he does not consider it as *any* other harm; and as much as the good money given¹ for the sacred feast² *and* ceremonial is then the pleasure *which* comes unto his soul, as much as would have been possible to arise in the world from that money.

5. And he who shall take his money, and did not perform his ceremonial, is just as though he had abstracted from the angels³ and the righteous guardian spirits, *and* destroyed, as much propitiation as would have been possible from that ceremonial; and he is, therefore, overwhelmed by it⁴, and expiates *it* in the soul.

¹ M14 has 'the money given by him,' which may be correct.

² See Chap. XLVII, 1.

³ K35 has 'the good.'

⁴ Or, we might perhaps read 'thereby it is his overwhelming (astarîdö),' supposing astarîdö to be a technical term implying a

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

1. *As to* the eighty-second question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus : Is it necessary for a priestly man ¹ *that* he should undertake all the religious rites and other ceremonials, or in what way is it ?

2. The reply is this, that a priestly man should necessarily undertake all the religious rites *and* other ceremonials, because the deciding and advising performers of the ceremonial, *these* same priestlymen, well understand the merit *or* demerit, the propriety *or* impropriety, of the ceremonial. 3. When the undertaker *and* conductor of all the religious rites is a priestly man, *one* is more hopeful of *their* progress in merit.

4. *As to* the priestly man who shall undertake all the religious rites, if *he be* living comfortably (hû-zîvisnô) on a share of our house-rulership²,

flogging, as appears probable from a passage in Farh. Okh. p. 34, ll. 1, 2, which, when restored to its form in the oldest MSS., runs as follows:—Astarîdanô âskârîh astaraspân snas pavan vinâs, which may be translated 'the manifestation of "overwhelming" is the blow of horsewhips for sin;' assuming that astarasp is equivalent to aspô astar, the usual translation of Av. aspahê astraya, 'with a horsewhip.'

¹ The term magavôg-gabrâ probably means strictly 'a man of a priestly family,' as distinguished from a priest appointed from the laity, an appointment that seems to have been occasionally made in former times (see Bd. Introd. p. xxxiii, note 1). According to the Nîrangistân any virtuous man or woman can perform certain priestly duties under certain circumstances (see Sls. X, 35), but would not, of course, be magavôg, 'priestly, or of priestly family.'

² Reading mânpatîh, instead of magôpatîh, 'priesthood,' which words are often confounded in Pahlavi, being written very nearly alike. And assuming that hatôm, 'if my,' stands for hatômân, 'if our;' M14 has atûkshh, 'without exertion,' but hatôs, 'if his,' would be a more probable emendation, as it occurs in the next section.

village-rulership, tribe-rulership, and province-rulership, and his needful support of religion remain the consideration as to his living comfortably, and he have no need for the stipend of all the religious rites, then the rule for him is to distribute properly that recompense of the sacred feast¹, which is to be given *for* all the religious rites, among the solemnizers². 5. If *it be* needful for him, the priestly man, as he is suitable, is not changed—whereby good management is not attained—and *if it be* needful even for his consideration of all those religious rites, his performance in the duty and ministration is then an approval of worthiness *and* management. 6. When they shall act so, all those religious rites are more meritoriously managed; and one day the solemnizers are brought from the fag-end (sar) into the rank of priestly manhood, which is the stipend for all the religious rites that they shall expressly take authorisedly, and are, therefore, worthy of it³.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

1. *As to* the eighty-third question and reply, that which you ask is thus: Is it desirable to give

¹ See Chap. XLVII, 1.

² That is, if the chief priest has already a sufficient income, he is not to appropriate the fees for such occasional ceremonies, but to distribute them among his assistants, who are the actual solemnizers.

³ That is, when the chief priest requires the fees for his own support, the reward of his assistants must be the fact that they are rendering themselves competent to undertake the responsibility of the chief priest at some future time.

in excess the gift *for* the ceremonial *which* it is not desirable to diminish?

2. The reply is this, that *it* is proper not to diminish a gift where *it is* the gift¹ for a ceremonial, and the reasons for it are many. 3. One is this, that a gift is the money which in another good work suffices for the accomplishment of the good work, *and* the good work of a righteous gift² is a great good work, *and* not to diminish *it* is sure worthiness among the explainers. 4. When the sacred feast³ *and* the gift for the ceremonial are supplied in excess, even that which is an excess of gift is an excess of liberality to the performers of the ceremonial, *and has* realized (frârâstö) an excess of good works that is commendable.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

1. *As to* the eighty-fourth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: *As to* a gift for the ceremonial *which* they do not reduce, and while they give *it* in excess, in what manner is then its great advantage, *and* how *and* in how many modes is it possible to occur?

2. The reply is this, that the advancement of the ceremonial of the sacred beings is by so much as the gift is more fully given; and the great advantage of the good work is more, and its reasons many, therefrom. 3. The desire of this wealth, which *has* come for the sake of the good work, is an experience

¹ M14 omits the repetition of the words aigh dahisnö-î.

² See Chap. XLIV, 19.

³ See Chap. XLVII, 1.

of the comfortable living of the angels, by whom the solemnizers are aggrandized, and is proper apart from *its* great judiciousness; to diminish *it* is improper.

4. When the gift *for* the ceremonial is abundantly given, the performers of the ceremonial, who, with much trouble annoying them, *have* solemnized the Avesta *and* chanted the hymns (Gâthas), and obtain the stipend of their solemnizing from the remuneration *of* the solemnization, are living comfortably, thriving, and blessed. 5. And also the undertakers of all the religious rites who, by means of the hope of rightful religion, render *one* certain as to the way *to* the distant awful place¹, and tempt the longers for righteousness into the religion², undertake all the religious rites *and* ceremonial *of* the sacred beings for the sake of the stipend of proper diligence.

6. And reasoning thought is cognizant as regards the advantageousness due to the undertakers and solemnizers of all the religious rites, and a great stipend is more obtained and observed *for them* than for *any* other profession. 7. The sons, too, of priests and disciples strive for the words prayed³, and are more eager for their prayers; and many, likewise, shall engage for all the religious rites, and become more diffusive of the religion (dīnō bālis-nīktar); and, in like manner, the proper, more attainable, *and* more propitious path of the good for saving the soul becomes wider⁴.

¹ The place of account (see Chap. XX, 3). Or, it may be, 'render one certain, in the course of time, regarding the awful place (hell).'

² M14 adds 'and acquire good works.'

³ That is, they are more diligent in learning the prayers by heart.

⁴ Referring to the *Kinvađ* bridge (see Chap. XXI, 5).

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

1. *As to* the eighty-fifth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: What is possible to become the harm of a gift *that* is reduced?

2. The reply is this, that since *those things* are to be properly given which are for the religious rites of the ceremonial¹, and are the consideration of the undertakers of all the religious rites, and are also the stipend of some solemnizers, both² are living comfortably *by* the ceremonial. 3. The sons of the disciples *who* wanted approval for the words prayed, become so much the more to be ordered *and* to be accepted; and the ceremonial of all the religious rites becomes more progressive.

4. So, moreover, when they go to undertake the well-operating activity of the ceremonial for a diminution of remuneration *and* gift, and owing to undertaking *and* ordering again³, by way of routine (pavan dôr râs), they do not request so much stipend, *it is* as though they should buy my linen *and* should sell *it* again for their own payment (dâdanö). 5. *As to* the performers of the ceremonial, likewise, who *have* to acquire approval with much trouble and words prayed, and obtain a remuneration which, for the soul even, is as little *for* the ceremonial as though *one were* annoyed—whereby

¹ M14 has merely 'since the proper donation for the ceremonial.'

² That is, both the undertakers and solemnizers, the chief priest and his assistants.

³ Referring to a priest who undertakes ceremonies and then directs inferiors to perform them (see Chap. LXVI, 4, 6).

living is difficult—they become sorry for enduring the trouble, owing to lukewarmness (afsurdö-minisnñ) *in* the same profession. 6. And even the sons of the disciples shall sell linen for wages, and they rejoice *that* it is possible to learn other callings *with* less pains; and thus they make *them* become lukewarm *and* meditating retreat (avâz-âhang) from the words of fresh paragraphs continually prayed¹, from the approval requested of the learned (âzân), *and* from all the religious rites they should undertake *for* the contented.

7. *As to* those, moreover, who, through fervent-minded undertaking of *what* is ordered, request less *for* all the religious rites, *and have* not obtained² even that which is due *to them*, it is not even as though they ordered *of them* for the fiends³. 8. And the disgrace, too, of the orderers of good works of lukewarmness is the exaltation of the profession of the disciples; and its deficient progress becomes the paralysation of the ceremonial of the sacred beings for saving the souls of the good from the deadly *one* (mar).

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

1. *As to* the eighty-sixth question and reply, that which you ask is thus: How is it good when they give a gift *for* the ceremonial?

¹ Literally 'prayed *and* prayed.'

² Reading ayâft, instead of the unintelligible ayâdt, as *d* has, no doubt, been written for *f*.

³ Meaning that the orderers would act more liberally if they wanted a ceremony even in honour of the fiends.

2. The reply is this, that as it is necessary, so that the ceremonial of the sacred beings *may* be more advanced, and such wealth *may* more come on to the good work, for the proper stipends of the undertakers *and* solemnizers—*that* they *may* become less lukewarm as regards the accompanying proprieties, and thereby diligent *in* performing *them*—and there is not in *it*¹ an express connection manifested with different work, and with that *which has* proceeded from so many previous good *people*, I deem the introduction *of it*² more expressly better.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

1. *As to* the eighty-seventh question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus : *As* family householders we of the good religion of Irân, before each *celebration* of all the religious rites with holy-water³ which they have provided in the land⁴ of Pârs, have then always given for it a gift of 400 dirhams, *or* 350 dirhams⁵ *at* least. 2. And now if *we* should be needy, when we deduct something from the 400 dirhams, or from the 350 dirhams, of the gift for them, they would then not accept *it* from us, and speak thus : 'Less than 400, or than 350, dirhams we do not⁶ accept.' 3. *But* there are needy *men*

¹ The ceremonial. ² The gift. ³ See Chap. LXVI, 17.

⁴ Reading bûm, as in M14, instead of the barmanô, 'son,' of K35.

⁵ About 140 or 122½ rūpīs (see Chap. LII, 1 note). As in Chap. LXVI, the actual value of these sums of money depended upon the price of the necessities of life in the ninth century.

⁶ K35 repeats the negative, but whether this is a blunder, or intended to intensify the negation, is uncertain.

who always come to us themselves and speak thus : ' For 350 dirhams we will always twice conduct all the religious rites *and* ceremonial with holy-water such as *those* which you have always ordered before for 400 ; only order us.' 4. Would a needy *one*, *apart* from the priestly men *who* always say that they are not, be authorised, or not ?

5. The reply is this, that the priest *to whom* *your* predecessors *have* given a gift of 400 or 350 *dirhams*, for all the religious rites with holy-water, it is proper to consider particularly virtuous *and* faithful, when there is nothing else *about* him, on account of which he is otherwise. 6. A *celebration* of all the religious rites with holy-water, in which they shall use four pure animals¹—*and* just according to the teaching of the high-priests they present *to* every single fire from one animal *and* one holy-water—and the offering of holy-water unto the fire whose holy-water *it is*, and bringing it on to another fire *apart* from that holy-water, and the *ceremonial* cleansing of the holy-water they maintain by agreement in thy name, the superiors solemnize with approval, faithfully, and attentively ; *and* the remuneration of 350 dirhams would be a balancing of when they conduct the religious rite *at* the place of undertaking *it*, *and* when *it* is undertaken as regards a distant district².

7. In Artakhshatar-gadman³, within my memory,

¹ Sheep or goats.

² That is, it is a fair average charge.

³ The Huz. form of Ardāshîr-khurrah, the name given by Ardāshîr son of Pâpak, the first Sasanian king, to the city and district of Gôr, subsequently called Pîrûzâbâd (see Nöldeke's *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, pp. 11, 19), about seventy miles south of Shîrâz.

they who would accept less than 300 dirhams¹ for it made a memorandum (*farhâng*), to keep in remembrance *that* 350 dirhams for all the religious rites performed *was* to be the rule declared by those of the religion *in* Artakhshatar-gadman. 8. Likewise, the glorified Âtûr-frôbag², *son* of Farâkhûzâd, who was the pre-eminent leader of those of the good religion, decided *in* the same manner.

9. And now, too, they always conduct those *rites* which are without holy-water for 150 dirhams, *or* even for 120 dirhams³; and the reason of it is the neediness of the disciples who, owing to that need, *and* in hope of obtaining more employment, always diminish *their demands*, *and* through deficient remuneration always become more needy, more importunate, and more moderate in desiring remuneration; and, in the course *of* the employment of resources and requesting *the charge* of all the religious rites, the labour and endurance of discipleship are exhausted.

10. And *as to* him who undertakes to conduct all the religious rites twice for 350 dirhams, if *he be* properly working *and* thoroughly reliable *for* the 350 dirhams *which* are always given him for the ceremonial of all the religious rites—just like those who would always undertake *them* once—and all the religious rites are conducted *and* secured twice, on

¹ About 105 rûpîs.

² The name of an early editor of the *Dinkard*, whose selections from various religious writings form the fourth and fifth books of that extensive work in its present form. He lived after the Muhammadan conquest of Persia, and probably in the eighth century of the Christian era.

³ That is, 52½ or 42 rûpîs.

account of the merit due to the continuous ceremonial of the sacred beings it is more authorisedly ordered of those who solemnize all the religious rites twice¹. 11. But *as* to *him* who would undertake all the religious rites twice for 350 dirhams, *but* is not able to conduct *them* unless he puts to it *some* of his own wealth, so that the progress *may be* acceptable to him as they conduct *them* through repetition, he should not undertake *them* owing to the reasons written in another chapter of ours², since *it tends* much more to neediness.

12. And more like unto the ancient sceptics (vimānakō) *have* become the disciples, among whom disagreement *and* enmity are produced, as is written in the same writing (khadû-gûn nâmakō)³; *and*, owing to admonishing words, these *become* enviousness and maliciousness unto the disciples, *and* trouble *and* disagreement less becoming among you and more contentious about you. 13. And at the time *in* which a great stipend existed, *they* contended with him through whose greatness *and* abundance of stipend their conflict was caused, one with the other, through envy; and now, too, they always squabble *about* his deficient stipend, by which they will tempt them, on account of *its* inadequacy, for the sake of a way for preserving life, as was shown by my metaphor in the other chapter⁴. 14. When those who, through need of *employment in the rites of* religion, or the recitations⁵

¹ This is also stated in Chap. LXVI, 32.

² See Chap. LXVI, 24-26.

³ Ibid.

⁴ See Chap. LXVI, 28, 29.

⁵ It is uncertain whether these are the correct technical meanings of kêsh and dôr.

which are its wisdom, would at once produce enmity, and the friends of religion, are for each *of* two sides, *it* is important to look to the procuring of forgiveness, kind regards, and the progress of the elect (pasandakânö) in the duty of the faithful.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

1. *As to* the eighty-eighth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: When a man resolves within himself thus: '*In* the summer¹ time I *will* go into Pârs, and will give so much money for the high-priesthood, on account of the fires *and* other matters which are as greatly advantageous,' though he himself does not come into Pârs, *but* sends the money according to his intention, *or* in excess of it, unto the high-priests—so that he is like the great *who* send in excess of that unto the high-priests²—that, as the benefit is greater which is more maintained, they may provide for the fires of every kind *and* other matters, is then his proceeding of sending to Pârs, for that purpose, a sin, or not?

2. The reply is this, that if his coming be indispensable for the design he would undertake, then it is indispensable for him to accomplish his own mental undertaking; but in suffering which is excited *and* not avoidable, when *there* is really no possibility

¹ Assuming that hâ mân stands for hâ mînô.

² Mr 4 omits this phrase.

of his travelling himself, any one whom he sends in his place, more particularly on *that* account, is not acceptable by the approval of the angels who *have* realized the affliction in *his* good thought, but the good work is to be eagerly well-considered. 3. Good gifts, and every office (gâs) about good works which it is possible to perform, are what are commendable *in* the well-housed *man* that is not able to work *himself*¹; *they are* avoidable by him when not of good race, and are not indispensable for him whenever the good work is not announced. 4. When able to manage *it* himself *it* is better; and when otherwise, his appointment of a faithful *person* over *its* preparation, and *his* accomplishment of the work of selector are expedient.

CHAPTER XC.

1. *As to* the eighty-ninth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: Who, and how many are they who are without the religion (adînôth) *but* are made immortal, and for what purpose is their immortality? 2. Where is the place they, each one, possess sovereignty, and *in* the place where they possess sovereignty are *there* people of the good religion of every kind, or how are they; are *there* sacred fires² and appointed worship, or how is

¹ M₁₄ adds, 'he longs for good giving *and* good consideration; important *and* virtuous is he when able to do it;' but the sentence is hardly grammatical.

² Literally 'fires of Varahrân' (see Chap. XXXI, 7).

it; and for what purpose is each one of their sovereignties?

3. The reply is this, that the immortal rulers of the region of glory, Khvantras¹, are said *to be* seven: one is Yôstô, son of Fryân²; the Avesta name of one is Yakhmâyûsaz³, son of the same Fryân; the name of one is Fradhakhstô, son of the Khumbîks⁴; the name of one is Ashavazang, son of Pôrûdakhstôh⁵; one is the tree opposed to harm⁶;

¹ The central one of the seven regions of the earth, which is supposed to contain all the countries best known to the Irânians, and to be as large as the other six regions put together (see Bd. XI, 2-6). The name is here corrupted into Khvanâîras.

² Av. Yôistô yô Fryananâm of Âbân Yt. 81, Fravarân Yt. 120, who had to explain ninety-nine enigmas propounded to him by the evil Akhtya. In Pâz. this name is corrupted into Gôst-î Fryânô, whose explanation of thirty-three enigmas propounded by Akht the wizard, and proposal of three enigmas in his turn form the subject of a Pahlavi tale published with AV. He is not included among the immortals mentioned in Bd. XXIX, 5, 6, and Dk. (see § 8, note), but is one of those specified in Byt. II, 1.

³ No doubt, the Av. Ashem-yahmâi-usta ('righteousness for which be blessing') who precedes Yôistô in Fravarân Yt. 120. He is the Asâm-î Yamâhust of Bd. XXIX, 5, who is said to reside in the district of the river Nâîvtâk; but he is not mentioned in Dk. The names Yakhmâyûsaz, Fradhakhstô, and Ashavazang are written in Pâzand, which accounts for their irregular spelling.

⁴ Av. Fradhâkhsti Khunbya of Fravarân Yt. 138. In Dk. he is said to be ruler on the Nâîvtâk waters, but in Bd. he is called Parsadgâ Hvembya residing in the plain of Pêsyânsaî.

⁵ Av. Ashavazdang the Pourudhâkhstiyân of Âbân Yt. 72, Fravarân Yt. 112. He is the Ashavazd son of Pourudhâkhst in Bd., and is said to rule in the plain of Pêsyânsaî in Dk.

⁶ The many-seeded tree, said to grow in the wide-formed ocean, and also in Airân-vêg, on which the Saêna bird (simurgh) is supposed to sit and shake off the seeds, which are then conveyed by the bird Kamrôs to the waters gathered by Tistar, who rains them down on the earth with the water; hence the growth of fresh vegetation when the rainy season commences (see Rashnu Yt. 17, Bd. XXVII, 2, XXIX, 5, Mkh. LXII, 37-42).

one is Gôpatshah¹; *and* one is Peshyôtanû², who is called after the Kîtravôkô-mîyânô³.

4. The reign of Gôpatshah is over the land of Gôpatô⁴, coterminous with Aîrân-vêg⁵, on the bank (bâr) of the water of the Dâîtîh⁶; *and* he keeps watch over the ox Hadhayâs⁷, through whom occurs the complete perfection of primitive man⁸. 5. The reign of Peshyôtanû is in Kangdez⁹, *and* he resides in the illustrious Kangdez which the noble Stîyâvash¹⁰ formed through his glory, *he* who is called the erratic youth¹¹ of the illustrious Kayânians. 6. And through his powerful spirit *arose* increase of cultivation and the ruler Kat-Khûsrôî¹² among the highest of the mountains in the countries of

¹ Either a title or son of Aghrêrad, brother of Frâstîyâv of Tûr (see Bd. XXIX, 5, XXXI, 20-22). He is a righteous minotaur according to Mkh. LXII, 31-36.

² Here written Patshâyôtanû, but he is the Peshyôtanû of Chap. XXXVII, 36.

³ The Kâtru-mîyân river in Kangdez (see Bd. XX, 31).

⁴ Which is a non-Aryan country according to Dk., but Bd. (XXIX, 5) calls it 'the land of the Saukavastân,' and Mkh. (XLIV, 24-35, LXII, 31) places Gôpatshah in Aîrân-vêg.

⁵ See Chap. XXI, 2.

⁶ Av. Dâitya, a river which flows out of Aîrân-vêg (see Bd. XX, 13).

⁷ See Chap. XXXVII, 99.

⁸ Referring either to the complete peopling of the earth by emigration on the back of this ox in ancient times, or to the immortality produced at the resurrection by tasting an elixir, of which the fat of this ox is one of the ingredients.

⁹ A settlement east of Persia formed, or fortified, by Stîyâvash (see Bd. XXIX, 10, Byt. III, 25).

¹⁰ See Chap. XXXVII, 36.

¹¹ Or kang-î raftâr may mean 'jaunty youth;' but it is evidently an attempt to account for the name Kangdez as 'the fortress of the kang ("youth").'

¹² The son of Stîyâvash (see Chap. XXXVI, 3, Bd. XXXI, 25).

Irân *and* Tûrân; the purity of the sacred fire¹ of great glory *and* the recital of the liturgy exist there, *and* the practice of religious rites (dînô) is provided. 7. The custom, also, of him (Peshyôtanû) and *his* companions *and* coadjutors (ham-bâr), in the appointed millenniums, is the great advancement of religion and good works in other quarters likewise².

8. But, secondly, *as to* the whereabouts of the places which are theirs—just like his—of which *there* is no disquisition by me, this also is even owing to *my* not remembering³.

¹ Literally 'fire of Varahrân.'

² He is expected to be summoned by the angels to restore the religious rites to the world, after the conflict of the nations in a future age (see Byt. III, 25-42).

³ In the detailed account of the contents of the Sûdkar (or Stûdgar) Nask, given in the ninth book of the Dînkard, the latter part of its fifteenth fargard is said to have been 'on the seven immortal rulers who are produced in the region of Khvanîras, and also about the determination of their glory, and the goodness, too, of *their* assistants and living sovereignty in both worlds. The tree opposed to harm is on Aîrân-vêg in the place of most excavations (frêh-nigânân?). Gôk-patô is in the non-Aryan countries. Peshyôtanû son of Vistâsp is in Kangdez of the hundred-ribbed shape (sad-dandakô kerpîh?), in which a myriad of the exalted, who wear black marten *fur* (mûn sîyah samûr yakhsenund), are righteous listeners out of the retinue of Peshyôtanû son of Vistâsp. Frâdakhstô son of the mortal Khûmbîks, who is sovereign on the water of Nâivtâk. Ashavazd son of Pôrûdakhstô, who is sovereign over the most manifest among uplands, the plain of Pêrinâs. Barâzd the causer of strife. And of the father-in-law's race (khast-tômagag?) of the famous Vistâsp is *he* who is called Kaî-Khûsrôî, who produces even an advance of *thy* religion of the Mazda-worshippers, *and* also understands about *it*; *and* who gives my good practices further blessings, so that the world maintains my doings with benedictions. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.'

In this list of the immortal rulers of ancient times, the names of Barâzd and Kaî-Khûsrôî are substituted for those of Yôstô and

CHAPTER XCI.

1. *As to* the ninetieth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: From what is the sky made, *and* with what is it prepared?

2. The reply is this, that the sky is a dome (*gardûn*), wide *and* lofty; its inside and whole width and boundaries (*âkhyakîhâ*), besides its material existence, are the stone of light, of all stones the hardest¹ *and* most beautiful; and the grandeur of its spirit *and* even *its* internal bow² are like *those of* mighty warriors arrayed. 3. And that material of the sky reached unto the place *where* promise-breaking words exist³, *and* was without need of preparation; *as* it is said *of* places such as those—where wisdom is a witness about *them*—that *that* which is not even itself a place, and its place does not yet exist, is without need of any preparing⁴.

4. The light is for existing things, and they cherish a faculty (*ntîyûth*) of motion also of two

Yakhmâyûsad in our text. *Barâzd* is the *Ibairaz* of Bd. XXIX, 6, and, possibly, the *Av. Berezvarsti* of *Fravarân* Yt. 101.

¹ The same notion as that indicated in *Genesis* by the word 'firmament.'

² The rainbow.

³ Probably meaning that the sky extends downwards, below the horizon, as far as the second grade of hell, that for 'evil words,' *Dûr-hûkht* (see *Sls. VI*, 3, note).

⁴ The word *dîvâk*, 'place' (*zîvâk* in the Sasanian inscription of *Naqs-i Rostam*, but traditionally pronounced *gîvâk*), seems to be here taken in the etymological sense of *zîvâk*, that is, 'a living-place.' The text refers to the period, in the beginning, when the sky was indefinite space unprepared for the residence of creatures and merely a region of light (see Bd. I, 2), the light mentioned in § 4. Its preparation is referred to in §§ 8, 9.

kinds, *that* causing motion *and that* of movables¹; as mobility is mentioned about thought² and immobility about material things. 5. Immovables are not moved, while movables are moved by their power of movement; and those movables, that way causing motion, are afterwards themselves a moving secret cause of motion, and then a cause of motion is not moving the movable, since *it* is not incapable of causing motion secretly by movement of itself. 6. Just as the force (kûnîsnö) of a movement exists *and* does not become a force; only then it is declared by wisdom, that the causers of motion have been the causing of motion by force before movement, *and, being* unmoved, they are subsequently made to move by the force; later on, the causers of motion *have* to cause motion, by their power of causing motion, *in* the non-causers of motion, from which it is certain though the force of a movement exists it does not become a force; but, finally, that *which* is prepared with a source of activity³, before force, becomes unmoved.

7. Natures without need of the trouble of a preparer are distinguished from such; where movement occurs through every force, the championship of a position (gâh) not made to move—except, indeed, *of that* whose force, when it is unmoved by other force, is its own—is unmoving and thirstless⁴. 8. *It*

¹ M14 has 'movables *and* immovables' instead of this clause.

² Perhaps we should read 'the spirits,' by inserting an additional medial stroke in the Pahlavi word.

³ Reading tûkhshînikîhâ, instead of the unintelligible tûkhshîkîhâ. The author has so nearly lost sight of his argument in the mazes of his verbiage that there is some uncertainty about the translation of this paragraph.

⁴ That is, the guardians of a place exposed to all attacks (as

was restored immovably when *there was* an approach to the sky of that actual contender for the place, the fiend, and the sky *was* shaken by him; for connected with the sky *were* arranged so many possessors of all resources, dignified (afrankîd) by their own all-powerful position and that well-operating, mighty, undrawn bow¹, righteous *and* well-discoursing (hû-fravakhsh), and many good spirits, gloriously co-operating for the preparation of the sky. 9. For that which *was* not even itself a place², when *it* is thus henceforth really a place, is *in* want of preparing; *and*, in the preparation *of* that visible³ place, with the material of the sky is mingled that triumphing, powerful spirit who made its existence a seeking for principle *and* seeking for intention, drawing up from below *and* drawing down from above, so that through that seeking for principle it becomes a concord, the resting-place of united champions, and unadmonishable through that power of seeking for intention; such as this *it is* if, indeed, *it be* the will of him, the creator of all goodness.

10. And it is said summarily that the sky *was* shaken in the *period of* disturbance and restored *with* trouble; and, if the guardian spirits are in freedom from disturbance through the glory *of* the creator, when there is not even a place for it prepared by themselves⁴, and *their* nature and own

the sky is supposed to be), unless it is a stronghold in itself, must be always on the alert.

¹ The rainbow; reading atang darûn.

² That is, 'a living-place' (see § 3 n).

³ Reading dîdö, 'seen;' but it may be stô for stî, 'material.'

⁴ That is, while the sky was still indefinite space, the region of light, but no dwelling-place; although the guardian spirits had

strength are approving the trouble of preparation, it is not moved¹, except by the creatures of *his* will, a will which is subduing.

CHAPTER XCII.

1. *As to* the ninety-first question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: Of waters and rivers, and whatever water is good, is Arekdvisûr² the greatest (mas), or *some* other water or good river; and, again, where is the place of Arekdvisûr?

2. The reply is this, that *it is* the water of Arekdvisûr; and *what has* gushed from Arekdvisûr is as large a mass as all the water in the world³ except the Arvand⁴; within the wide-formed ocean⁵ *it is* dominant over the thousand cascades (pashan) *and* thousand lakes⁶ of the waters, and its place is most *renowned* throughout the spheres. 3. There flows the water of Arekdvisûr in a forest, the source of all seeds, whereby the species *which* plants possess are assimilated (aêdûnagîdô) by it, *and* healing existences of all kinds are mingled *with it* from medicinal plants. 4. The abundant power of the

been created as representatives of the creatures, both spiritual and material, which were to be afterwards produced (see Bd. I, 8).

¹ That is, when afterwards prepared as a dwelling-place the sky remains unmoved by evil beings.

² See Chap. XXXVII, 118.

³ Compare Yas. LXIV, 12, Âbân Yt. 3.

⁴ A name of the river Tigris (see Zs. VI, 20).

⁵ As this ocean is supposed to encircle the world, the whole earth is within it.

⁶ Compare Yas. LXIV, 17, Âbân Yt. 4, 101.

coming of healing to the purifying water is like the nature of the existences which it acquires, *and* then the nature which it thus acquires for its own the water draws up by the power which is drawing water to itself.

5. The water of Arekdvisûr is on Albûrz¹, and flows even to the summit of the star station during the coming of the healing of purification, even unto Hûkhîr the lofty², all-gorgeous *and* brilliant; thence *its* flowing is effected³ into the lake of a summit to Albûrz, Mount Aûs, hindûm⁴, which is in the middle of the wide-formed ocean. 6. And from that flowing of waters that destined river, the utter destruction of every night, comes on in the light of a dawn; by the sprinkling of spray (pash-pashanô) it extends through the seven regions *of the earth*, and from it arise the growth of their plants *and* the coming of the healing of purification; that which is called a drop (srîsk) of the primeval creatures *being* a particle (aham) of water of the bulk of a horse⁵.

¹ The chain of mountains supposed to surround the world and reach to heaven (see Chap. XX, 3, Bd. XII, 1, 3); owing to its height any water from its summit must flow downwards to reach the lowermost grade of heaven, called the star station.

² Av. Hukairyâ berezô, the Hûgar of Bd. XII, 5, XXIV, 17, probably a western summit of the mythic Albûrz.

³ Mr₄ and J have nikûnî-aîtô, 'is precipitated,' instead of kûnî-aît.

⁴ The Av. us Hindvad, 'up the Hindva,' of Tîstar Yt. 32, a mountain summit where the clouds gather; it is the Aûsindôm mountain of Bd. XII, 6, XIII, 5, said to be of the ruby material of the sky. In Bd. XIII, 4 the lake is said to be on the summit of Hûgar.

⁵ Referring to the term aspô-kehrpa applied to waters in Haftân Yt. 13, Tîstar Yt. 8, 46.

CHAPTER XCIII.

1. *As to* the ninety-second question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus : From what place should Tîstar¹ seize the water ? How does it pass into a cloud, and how does he make the cloud move on ? How does it rain upon the world ? How can he carry on a struggle with demons, and with which demon can he carry *it* on ? How does this always happen with the hail and snow, whenever hail and snow occur ? And who can force away that hail and snow ?

2. The reply is this, that the high-priests have thus said, that Tîstar seizes a place *which* is called 'abysmal' (vârûnak)², that is the last place of filtration in the ocean, *and* there are no removal of *any* kind and causing rain from any other place. 3. And the cause of its (the rain's) establishment is spiritually active, more particularly, however, through two kinds of material agency : one is that which is the rule (mang) in the atmosphere of the earth, whereby it is drawn up in atoms similarly to smoke, *and* in larger masses, well-soaring from the rivers ; *and* one is that *which* blows with the power of the well-operating wind, and the blowing of the great united breath (ham-vâê) and strength of the com-

¹ The angel who is supposed to produce rain, being a personification of the star Tîstar or Sirius. His production of rain and conflict with the demons of drought and thunder are detailed in Bd. VII, 1-13.

² Assuming that the word is meant as a translation of Av. vairya, a term which is applied to the depths or depressed basins of the ocean in Yas. LXIV, 17, 18, Âbân Yt. 101, Zamyâd Yt. 51.

munity (*kandġânōth*) of spirits¹, from the fully perfect distillation (*pûr-hû-zûhtġth*) of the mighty ocean to the upper *regions*, and thereby the clouds are blown.

4. Afterwards, it (the rain) speeds in the cloud, through the great strength of the mighty wind, to where *there* is a necessity *for it*, to divert *it* from where *there* is no necessity; and so long as *there* is a necessity *for it* it (the cloud) discharges. 5. And when *there* is a necessity and it causes rain, and the necessity is *for no more* acquisitions of water, and the advantage is the effect of water upon the place, and it distributes *it* to the existing rivers for the use of the sea, and it causes rain *again*, it thereby produces even new water, new flowing, new coming of healing to plants, new growth, new golden colouring to lands, new purification to animals, new procreation, new proper breathings for other creatures, new dawn, and new *things of* that description. 6. The thriving of the world makes the advantage *and* perfection of the good creation increase; and, apart from a great craving for the effect of the glory of the spirits in the operations of cultivation and the performance of spiritual mysteries, *it* is said labours are aided even for *one* gloriously destined.

7. And Tġstar in seizing the water should seize upon the great strength of the wind of whirlwinds (*gardġnâkân*), which is figuratively (*mġnisnġk*) the dragging *and* blowing that follow the whirling; *and* the purified water is expanded *and* carried up aloft to the higher *regions* of the atmosphere, just as that

¹ Altering *mġnisnō*, 'thought,' into 'spirits' by inserting an extra medial stroke, as in M14 and J.

which is seen where it reaches up with the heaviness and weight of earth, and then is discerned in the plain¹ accompanied by the dragging of the whirling wind *which* would carry *it* afar to settle like *that* which is owing to dust ; it (the atmosphere) is called Andarvâê ('the intermediate air'), and the wind is a whirlwind. 8. As the water is lighter, and owing to the more strongly dragging wind on the ocean than that which exists on the plain, so, also, the water from the ocean is much more in proportion, and transportable farther up than the dust² from the plain. 9. And as in the midst of a plain a medium whirlwind of wind is expanded into the wide plain by a medium dragging of the wind, and plenty of much buffeting is the violence of the dragging of winds, a whirlwind of wind which is seen very lofty and large is unknown ; so, also, *one* is ignorant of what is spreading among the movements of the sea. 10. The water of that full and abundant flowing—which is through the power and glory of the heavenly angels and Tîstar's control of the work—is blown up, both by the well-characterised water-drawing power, and also by the force of *various* kinds, the dragging, and upward blowing of the winds, into the atmosphere ; and thence it rains the complete rain, as they *have* recounted from observation and much full evidence.

11. The demon who resists the *doings* of Tîstar—and the glorious Tîstar, meeting him, properly drives back such improper resistance of his—is

¹ Referring to the frequent small whirlwinds, sweeping up the dust, which accompany every complete change of wind in dry climates.

² K35 omits the first two letters of a frâ, 'dust,' by mistake.

a demon *of* the name of Apâôsh¹, which is interpreted *as* 'the destruction of water' (âp-aôsh). 12. He contends, moreover, with the uppermost *and* lowermost water; and desirous of *its* destruction that demon contends at three periods: first, for the non-existence of rain; secondly, for converting *it* *into* a cause of damage to a place; *and* thirdly, at the place of producing *it* with advantage; and the struggling is like a tree (vanô) which is set moving.

13. The seizers of the feminine² pure water are a benefit *for the existences* of the whole world; and the formation of rain, and the triumph and ascendancy of Tîstar over the demon, through that seizing (falânîh) of water, are due to the creator who strengthens him³, the archangels who have him assisted⁴, the religious who reverence him, *and* the worldly beings who glorify him. 14. Very properly do the archangels propitiate *him*, *and* mankind promote the strength and power, which are *engaged* about the business, by glorifying *and* invoking the good spirit who increases them in consequence of glorifying *and* worship, *and* through which

¹ Av. Apaosha, the demon of drought, who, in the form of a black horse, is said in the Tîstar Yast to fight with Tîstar in the ocean. Here his name is written Apâhôsh, but see Bd. VII, 8-12.

² Reading mâđagîk. According to Bd. XVI, 6 the sky, metal, wind, and fire are always male, while water, earth, plants, and fish are always female, and all other creations are of both sexes. Water and earth are also personified as female angels.

³ In his first encounter with Apâôsh, Tîstar is vanquished, and attributes his defeat to his not being invoked by name in the ceremonies, whereupon Aûharmazd invokes him by name so as to give him enormous strength, when he returns to the conflict and conquers the demon (see Tîstar Yt. 20-28, Bd. VII, 8-10).

⁴ Reading âyyârînênd, as in M14 and J; in K35 it is written like âyênd rîvênd, 'they come *and* liberate.'

arises that advantageousness¹ of his—which owing to that benefit is the benefit of every one else—for this advantageous business.

15. And Tistar shall gradually (*padmanīkthā*) seize upon the water to distribute *it* liberally, assiduously a similitude *of* that which a learned ruler said, in extolling a wise high-priest, that, 'just as the wind draws the up-flying water from rivers and springs *and* from seas, Tistar, through his own liberality, bestows the prepared apportionments of the whole production for the advantage of the creatures *by* the will of the sacred beings, and makes *it* rain. 16. And through that which he shall purposely seize to distribute suitably he distributes the water purified, he moistens the pleasant *existences* of animals *and* plants and spares² the polluted, he provides for the thirsty³, he causes harm to the dye-like bloody *one*, and he makes the world thrive. 17. When that wide-*spread* liberality of his, the production of rain, is from the pure, healing water which he shall thus seize gradually and with just apportionment, *and* when through that acquiring of water-seizings the rivers, springs, *and* other existences (*shavandagānō*) are well-expanding, and even the diminution which is owing to the wasting (*ātrīkhtagīh*) of rivers and springs does not occur thereby, *it is* thus, too, the lordly, by a law (*dādō*) moderate and varied—if the regulation (*gūn*) is to reach *away* from the region—are as much contributing, as

¹ Reading *sūdakīh* instead of *ī yūdakīh*, 'which is unity.' M₁₄ has *nādūkīh*, 'benefit.'

² Or 'forgives' (*bakhshēdō*).

³ M₁₄ and J have 'he causes the thirsty to drink.'

Tīstar is by causing rain for the region and the good, to the aggrandizement of the many grades¹ and the replenishment of the region and creatures².

CHAPTER XCIV.

1. And³ those of the primitive faith, the ancients of those acquainted with the religion⁴, thus considered, *that* in the *spirit* of life (ahvô)⁵ there is

¹ Or 'to the great aggrandizement of the grades.'

² Reading dām, as in M14 and J, instead of gadman, 'glory.' The chapter appears to break off here, without any reference to the queries about hail and snow; but it is uncertain if any portion of the work be here omitted (owing to loss of folios in some older MS.) because the author does not always reply to all clauses of the questions, as may be noticed in Chap. XXXVII. One reason, however, for supposing that some of the text is here lost is the allusion, in Chaps. XVII, 20, XVIII, 2, to a chapter no longer extant in Dd.

³ The first eleven sections of this chapter are quoted from the beginning of the sixth book of the *Dīnkar*, which commences as follows:—'The propitiation of the creator *Aθharmazd* is even in the benedictions of the religion of *Mazda*-worship; this, too, *was* the settled decision of those of the primitive faith. The sixth *book* is on a compendium (*vasang*) which *was* prepared by those of the primitive faith to maintain about the sayings of the religion of *Mazda*-worship;' and then proceeds as in our text, with the variations and additional matter mentioned in the foot-notes. It is hardly probable that these quotations were intended as a conclusion to any reply, the beginning of which may be lost, as they refer to a variety of subjects; but they may have been selected by the author as authoritative opinions sufficiently comprehensive for his general peroration. At any rate they show that the *Dīnkar* must have been in existence in its present form before the *Dādistān-i Dīnik* was written. All the MSS. have this peroration written continuously with the preceding chapter, without stop or break of any kind to indicate a change of subject.

⁴ Dk. has 'the ancients of the wise.'

⁵ Dk. adds 'of men.'

a thought and one appointed who¹ holds the position (gâs), *and* there is a fiend who stops² the way; and in the thought there is a word appointed which holds the position, *and* there is a fiend who stops the way³. 2. In the *spirit of life*⁴ is a thought *and* Spendarmad⁵ ('bountiful devotion') holds the position, *and* the fiend Tarômat⁶ ('scornful thought') stops the way; in the thought is a word *and* Ard⁷ ('the righteous') holds the position, and Varenô⁸ ('lust') stops the way; in the word is a deed *and* Dînô⁹ ('religion'), the good, holds the position, and self-conceit

¹ Dk. has 'which is appointed and,' &c.

² Literally 'holds.'

³ It is evident from the context that something is omitted here, and Dk. supplies the following:—'and in the word there is a deed *for* the appointed position, *and* there is a fiend who stops the way. And in the *spirit of life* is a heart (vâlôm) *and* Vohûman ('good thought') holds the position, and Akômanô ('evil thought') stops the way; and in the heart is a will *and* Srôsh ('attention') holds the position, and Aeshm ('wrath') stops the way.' It seems probable that the author did not mean to quote the latter sentence of this passage.

⁴ Dk. has 'and in the will.'

⁵ The female archangel, who is a personification of Av. spenta ârmaiti, and has special charge of the earth and virtuous women (see Bd. I, 26, Sls. XV, 20-24).

⁶ Here written Tarôkmatô (Av. tarômaiti); he is the archdemon of disobedience, also called Nâûnghas (see Bd. XXVIII, 14, XXX, 29).

⁷ Av. areta, a title of the female angel Arshirang or Ashirang (Av. ashis vanguhi, 'good rectitude'), whose name is given to the 25th day of the Parsi month (see Bd. XXII, 4, XXVII, 24, Sls. XXII, 25, XXIII, 4).

⁸ Av. varena, 'desire,' personified as a demon (see Bd. XXVIII, 25).

⁹ Av. daêna personified as an angel whose name is given to the tenth month and 24th day of the month of the Parsi year, and is also coupled with the names of other angels to form appellations

(khûd-dôshagth) stops the way. 3. We men of all descriptions¹ have to become very² cautious that, while we do not desist from that way³, we do not go on to the way of the demons *and* fiends⁴. 4. For the struggling of men⁵ is *in* these three⁶ ways and paths; *and* whoever is saved in these three⁶ ways and paths is saved from every place, and whoever is misled there comes into the hands of the demons *and* fiends⁷, and is thenceforth not master (salitâ) of himself, except when he shall do that which the fiends order him⁸.

5. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that that nature only is good when it⁹ shall not do unto another whatever is not good for its own self¹⁰; and that wisdom only is good when it thoroughly¹¹ understands *how* to utilize the advantage¹² of that happiness which has occurred, *and* shall¹³ not suffer vexation *on account of* harm which has not occurred; and that intellect only is good which

for the 8th, 15th, and 23rd days (see Bd. XXV, 3, 11, 20, Sls. XXII, 8, 15, 23, 24, XXIII, 4). Dk. omits the epithet 'good.'

¹ Dk. omits the words 'of all descriptions;' it also places § 3 after § 4.

² Dk. omits 'very.' ³ Dk. has 'from the way of the angels.'

⁴ Dk. has 'go after the fiends.'

⁵ Dk. has 'and the struggling of the fiend with men,' and places this section after § 2.

⁶ Dk. has 'such' instead of 'three' in both places.

⁷ Dk. has 'comes then to the hands of the fiends.'

⁸ Dk. then proceeds with § 3, 'and we men have to become cautious,' &c.

⁹ Dk. has 'which,' instead of 'when it,' both here and in the next clause.

¹⁰ Dk. has 'for itself.'

¹¹ Dk. omits 'thoroughly.'

¹² Literally 'to eat the fruit.'

¹³ Dk. has 'does.'

understands that it does not understand that which it does not understand.

6. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that *one* is to become¹ a friend of every one, and this is thy nature²; also, bring them on into³ goodness, and this is thy wisdom; also, consider them as thine own, and this is thy religion; also, through them it shall produce⁴ happiness, and this is thy soul⁵.

7. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that, when⁶ *one* shall do even that which he knows to be sin⁷, that is disobedience, *and* disobedience is the nature of the adversary; when *one* shall not do even that which he knows to be a good work, that is cupidity (*varenôîkîh*), *and* cupidity is the wisdom of the adversary⁸; *and* when *one* shall do⁹ even that which he does not know *to be* a good work or a sin, until it comes fully to¹⁰ *his* knowledge,

¹ Dk. has 'it is the becoming.'

² Dk. has 'wisdom.'

³ Or 'through.' Dk. omits this clause, substituting 'and this, too, *was* thus considered by them.'

⁴ Dk. has 'do thou produce.'

⁵ Dk. continues as follows:—'And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that nature is that which deceives no one, wisdom is that which does not deceive itself, and religion is that which is whatever knows where *one* should perform good works.'

⁶ Reading *amat*, instead of *mûn*, 'which,' in all three clauses (see Chap. LXII, 4 n); Dk. omits the word altogether.

⁷ Dk. has 'shall not do even that which he knows to be a good work,' as in the second clause which it omits.

⁸ This clause is omitted by M14, J, BK, and the oldest MS. of Dk.; later MSS. of Dk. give it as follows: 'should they do even that they know to be a sin, that is lustful (*varenôîk*), and lustful is the wisdom of the adversary.'

⁹ Dk. has 'does.'

¹⁰ Dk. has 'before it comes unto.'

that is self-conceit, and self-conceit is the religion of the adversary¹.

8. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that Aharman² would do everything for the injury of Aûharmazd, *but* when it is done by him³ *it* is then an injury of him himself, *and* an advantage of Aûharmazd; and Aûharmazd would do everything for his own advantage, *and* when it is done by him *it* is then, indeed⁴, an advantage of him himself, *but* an injury of Aharman⁵.

¹ In Dk. the following is here inserted:—‘And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that in *one’s* nature there is no wisdom, *but* in wisdom *there* is nature, and in religion are both wisdom *and* nature. It is known *how* to manage the affairs of the spirit by the nature, they are preserved by wisdom, and the soul is preserved by a union of both. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that shame is that which should not allow *one* to commit sin, and disgrace is that it would not allow to cause. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that the essential thing of the primitive faith is freedom from sin. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that *one* becomes diligent about that *with* which *he* is conversant. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that the good thoughts that are in the records of the religion of every kind *one should* always put fully into practice, so far as he understands *them*. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that Aûharmazd, the lord, produced these creatures through *his* nature, maintains *them* through wisdom, and forces them back to himself through religion.’

² The evil spirit (see Chaps. II, 11, XIX, 1).

³ Or ‘when he has done it,’ which would be expressed by the same words.

⁴ Dk. omits ‘indeed.’

⁵ In Dk. the following is here inserted:—‘And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that people are to keep an eye most diligently on the world *for* these three things: that which is realisable *by* a sinner through sin, a follower made famous, *and* to beg the recompense of good works from the spirits: and keeping their eye on the world is said *to be* this, that *it is he* who observes himself, so that *a part* of whatever he really desires he should always perform. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that three

9. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that a person of whatever description is to be kept¹ in remembrance of the affairs of the spirit at every period and time, and *of* the happiness of heaven *and* misery of hell at that period when comfort, happiness, and pleasure have come to him.

10. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them², that happiness, indeed, would be there, in the heaven of light³, when even here *it* is so happy, though, owing to many *things*⁴, Aharman—with whom the happiness there is not connected—is even here so happy at the time when distress, vexation, *and* misery have come hereto; *and* this, too, *was* thus considered, that evils, indeed, would be there, in hell, when here is such misery, though even here much *of* the earthly happiness *of* Aûhar-

things which are very difficult to do are even such as these: one is not to render the sinfulness famous by the sin; one is not to exalt the opinions of the fiend, and the various sovereignties of the evil one, for the sake of wealth; and one is to beg the recompense of good works from the spirits, *and* not from the world.'

¹ Dk. has merely 'keeps.'

² Dk. has 'this, too, is to be considered,' as a continuation of the preceding section.

³ Dk. omits 'of light.'

⁴ The oldest MS. of Dk. has 'though *some* of the much happiness of Aûharmazd,' &c., as in the latter part of the section, omitting the passage referring to Aharman and hell; later MSS., however, insert a modified version of the omitted passage, and read as follows: 'When even here *it* is so happy at the period when it should be distressing *and* the mischievous vexation, of much pain has come; this, too, is to be considered, that misery, indeed, is the calamity (âfatô) there, in hell, when even here *it* is so, though *some* of the much happiness of Aûharmazd,' &c., as before. This interpolation in Dk. is evidently modern (as the word âfatô is Arabic and not Pahlavi), and was probably composed by a copyist in India who was acquainted with the text of Dk.

mazd—with whom the misery there is not connected—is here so evil.

11. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that that person is the more fortunate¹, in whom are soundness of body, happiness, and energy (*râynisnō*)²; *who* has done those things *about* which the last wish of him who departs from the world is then thus: 'I *will* strive to do more;' *and who* shall have exercised much complete abstinence from those things *about* which his last wish, when he departs from the world, is then such as 'I *will* strive to do less, and it would have occurred more comfortably for my soul³.'

12. Do you good people of those of the good religion of these countries of Irân keep in use the laws appointed *by* those of the primitive faith who *were* high-priests, so that your bodies *may* become more renowned, *and your* souls more perfect, in the radiant supreme heaven which⁴ is the seat of Aûharmazd and the archangels, *of* the angels *and* all the guardian spirits of the righteous. 13. So these are so many answers of the questions provided, and are given explanatorily from the exposition of the religion *and* the statements of the high-priests *of*

¹ Dk. has 'that a person is most fortunate in that.'

² M14 and J have 'are the appearance of health of body and pleasure;' Dk. has 'is the appearance of perfection.'

³ Dk. concludes as follows: '*who* has done those things which are done, *about* which *on his* last day—when the things of the world depart—his wish is then thus, that 'more endeavour should be made by me;' *and has exercised* much abstinence from those things *about* which his last day's wish is this, that the endeavour made should not be made.' The quotations from Dk. end at this point.

⁴ Reading mûn, as in M14 and J, instead of amât, 'when,' (see Chap. LXII, 4 n.)

those of the primitive faith, and *are* the nature of the teachings *that* Mânûskîhar, son of Yûdân-Yim¹, pontiff (radö) of Pârs and Kirmân², and director (farmâdâr)³ of the profession of priests, ordered to write.

14. Steadfast in the propitiation and praise of the creator Aûharmazd is the righteousness of obtainments of prayers, perfect is Zaratûst, *and* one *only* is the way⁴ which righteousness obtains, the others are no ways; homage to the exalted pontiff *sent* from the creator Aûharmazd, the heavenly, most righteous Zaratûst the Spitamân.

15. Completed in peace and pleasure, joy *and* delight; happy for him who reads, *and* happier for him who keeps *it* in use and shall take his duty therefrom⁵, if they exist unto time eternal.

¹ See p. 3, note 2.

² The two southern provinces of Persia, bordering on the Persian Gulf.

³ This title seems to be always spelt in Pahlavi with â in the middle syllable, so that the form framadhâr in Nöldeke's *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, p. 9, must be looked upon as an Arabic corruption, and the idea that it means 'a pre-ceder or one who has precedence' can hardly be maintained. It probably stands for farmâfâr, 'a director or commander,' not in a military sense. It occurs also in Bd. XXXIII, 2, where the title 'great farmâdâr' is evidently equivalent to 'prime minister, or grand vazîr,' but applied to a priest, as farmâdâr is here and in Chap. XLV, 5.

⁴ Reading râs, as in M₁₄, instead of ra, which is merely an imperfect word. This clause of the sentence is a slight modification of a well-known quotation (said to be taken from the lost part of the Hâdökht Nask) which is often used in perorations.

⁵ Or 'who keeps to duty and shall do his duty thereby.'

EPISTLES
OF
MÂNÛSKÎHAR.

- I. TO THE GOOD PEOPLE OF SÎRKÂN.
II. TO HIS BROTHER, ZÂD-SPARAM.
III. TO ALL OF THE GOOD RELIGION IN IRÂN.
-

A. D. 881.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. For all divisions into chapters and sections the translator is responsible, as the manuscripts are written continuously, with very few stops marked, and even those are often misplaced.

2-6. (The same as on page 2.)

7. The manuscripts mentioned are:—

BK, an old imperfect copy of K35 written in Kirmân, but now in Bombay.

J (about 60 years old), belonging to Dastâr Jâmâspji Minochi-harji in Bombay.

K35 (probably written A. D. 1572), No. 35 in the University Library at Kopenhagen; upon the text of which this translation is based.

M10 (about 150 years old), a Persian Rivâyat, No. 10 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich.

EPISTLES OF MÂNÛSKÎHAR.

EPISTLE I.

TO THE GOOD PEOPLE OF SÎRKÂN.

THROUGH the name and assistance of the creator Aûharmazd and the whole of the sacred beings, all the angels of the spiritual *and* the angels of the worldly *existences*.

A copy of the epistle of the priest Mânûskîhar¹, son of Yûdân-Yim, which *was* composed by him for the good *people* of Sîrkân², on the contents of the precepts (*vigîr-kardö*) which the priest Zâd-sparam³, son of Yûdân-Yim, prepared.

CHAPTER I.

1. *In* the name of the sacred beings, who sent you a soul with long life, with provision for proper progress, *and* with the protection of increase of righteousness and wisdom, may such works and

¹ The high-priest of Pârs and Kirmân (see the heading to Dd., p. 3).

² Written Sîrkân once, Sîrkânö twice, and Sîrgânö four times, in these epistles. It was a town of considerable importance in former times (see Onseley's Oriental Geography, pp. 138-145), about thirty parasangs south of Kirmân.

³ He was high-priest of Sîrkân and brother of Mânûskîhar (as expressly stated in the heading to Ep. II), both being sons of the same father.

mysterious dignity, encompassed with¹ happiness, now possess increasing prosperity and a complete share of pre-eminent welfare and great exaltation in both worlds.

2. The epistle² which *was* wisely, properly, and with religious demeanour ordered by you, *and* sent by a courier (paṭkḥ), *has* come, and *has* enveloped *and* assailed (gastḥ) me, indeed, with appalling intelligence on other subjects; and if even a portion³ of the vast importance and great value, as regards your heavenly *concerns*, arrangements, and natural *and* unpremeditated (avarṭk) prodigies⁴, which are for my knowledge, for the sake of courteous (drûḍṭk) information, *be* owing to intelligence for which the courteousness *and* proper courageousness are among you, special pleasure is received *therewith*. 3. And praise is, thereupon, recited by me to the sacred beings, as regards the conflicting affairs even of this disordered (gûmê zisṭkḥ) existence; worldly possessions, as much as are suitable for the assistance of wisdom, are proper⁵, and the gift of virtuous pleasure is the gain of the undeserving good work *or* prayer they (the sacred beings) shall accept; it causes aggrandizement *and* is as deserving as even that which the decision of

¹ Or, 'sent down in,' according as we read parvastḥ or frôstḥ.

² An epistle complaining of certain heretical teachings of their high-priest, Zâd-spam, which is no longer extant.

³ Reading va hat vâhar-iḥ.

⁴ The epistle which he had received from his brother, Zâd-spam, some time before, seems also to have mentioned certain omens (see Ep. II, i, 3).

⁵ J omits shâyedḥ, 'are proper,' because it follows the other shâyed, 'are suitable;' but it is not always safe to assume that the repetition of a word is a blunder.

the wise has said about *it*, that even from the management of disordered possessions which are impaired *there* is advantage through the power of wisdom; *and* they (the sacred beings) select and cleanse and uplift the good works *in* such manner as a precious stone (sag khêl) from the water, and gold brocade¹ from the dust.

4. My pleasure, also, is as much increased through the information due to the same courtesy, *and I have* a new *and* great desire for the arrival of information, continuously from henceforth, about the perfect courageousness, enduring humility, good works, worshipping, favouring position, and eagerness of soul of you who *have* recounted *your* great thoughtfulness for religion *and have* provided good works.

5. On account of the universal renown (aspôh-rakânîh) of the good *people* of Khvanîras², which is yours, owing to the favour that is your complete happiness, ardently *and* joyfully most desired, and constantly *so*, when *there* are opportunities of seeing you—though it is supposed *to be* the advantage of your own religion, joy of soul, courteousness, *and* proper constancy—since my will *resides* among you, you make known *and* command my actions, through the will of the sacred beings.

¹ Reading dîpakô-î zahabâ.

² The central region of the earth, containing all the lands best known to the Iranians (see Dd. XC, 3).

CHAPTER II.

1. Then comes that itself¹ which is dictated *in* the middle of your epistle, *and*, thereupon, it lays hold of me, and, owing to its hellish gloom, pallid appearance, *and* hellish effect, benediction is perplexedly dispensed by me in terror for *my* heart *and* mind; I *have*, also, grievously repented, as regards my own former arrangements in my warfare of violence—which *were* undeceptive in the balance pertaining to Rashnū²—of any real falsity of the co-existent *one*³ I *may* have produced.

2. *Responsible* for the malice *and* annoyance of unjust kinds which are encountering *us* is the fiend of great strength, who is unobserving, seductive, astute in evil, eager for causing annihilation (*gastō-kûn-varen*), *and* full of deceit, so that *it* is possible for him to render doubtful, *when* so deceived, even him who is most a listener to essential righteousness, most desirous of steadfast truth, most performing proper religious customs, most acquainted with good ideas, most amazingly careful of *his* soul, most approved in the most wounding hell-brought conflict, *and* most at home (*khânagîktûm*) in truth of all kinds, *and* to show him a semblance of reality in unreality, *and* of unreality in reality. 3. Just as even that similitude which is mentioned in revelation thus: 'He intends righteousness *and* considers

¹ J has 'the writing.'

² See Dd. XIV, 4.

³ The evil spirit who is supposed to be, for a time, co-existent with the beneficent spirit of Aûharmazd.

about it thus: "A good work is done by me," and he acquires fiendishness—that is, it becomes a source of sin for him—who shall bring forth water without holy-water to *one* contaminated by dead matter (nas-hômand), or who shall bring *it* forth without holy-water on a concealed *or* dark *place* in the night¹.

4. And about this I *have* no doubt, that the wish of that spirit is not coincident with righteousness, for it is realised, understood, *and* known that, as regards his own *creatures*, *he* is not careful for the proper movement of body and for the long living of life; so that the furtherance *and* continuance of these, which are his original resources of body and activities (khopârânô) of life, become, for him who is among them (the fiend's creatures), an increase of the propitiation of the sacred beings, of the practice of religion, and of the advancement and benediction of the teachings of just high-priests².

5. *It* is also manifest from the constantly-operating arrangement of manuscripts and synodical statements, about which Afarg³ *wrote* without falsifying the religion *and* apart from controversies; because among them (the fiend's creatures) is *he* who *has* said they are like unto that which is now written

¹ Quoted from Pahl. Vend. VII, 194-196, with some slight variations from the existing text. The meaning is that it is quite possible to commit sin by doing a good action in an improper manner.

² That is, even the wicked, when they seek welfare, have to take to religious practices.

³ A commentator whose opinions are frequently quoted in the Pahlavi translations of the Avesta (see Sls. I, 3). J has 'about which the splendour (afrand) of the religion is without falsehood.'

by him himself about it, and it has arranged much deliverance *from sin*¹.

6. Of this, too, I am aware, that, except there where a purifier is in no way reached, his great duty—which is just the purification *in* which there is a washer who is cleansed (*mastāḍ*) in the religious mode for the profession of the priesthood—is then a means which the high-priests should allow². 7. A washing which is not religiously ritualistic is ranked as an operation among the useless *ones*; *it is* vicious *and* grievously criminal, because the special means which, by preserving the soul³, is the perfect happiness of men, is the puri-

¹ That is, any one who explains the scriptures in a new fashion to suit his own purposes, which he thereby represents as beneficial, is merely carrying out the wishes of the fiend. The author is here, referring to the heretical teachings of his brother, regarding purification, which are further described in the sequel.

² That is, whenever a properly-qualified purifier is procurable, the priests should require him to purify any one who happens to be defiled by contact with dead matter by means of the Bareshnūm ceremony (see App. IV). It appears from the sequel, and from Eps. II and III, that the heresy of Zâd-spāram consisted chiefly of a misinterpretation of Vend. VIII, 278-299 (see App. V), which passage directs that a man in the fields, who has touched a corpse not yet eaten by dogs or birds, shall wash himself fifteen times with bull's urine, that he shall then run to some village, asking three different men on the way to cleanse him with the proper ceremony, and if they decline they each take upon themselves a share of the sin; when arrived at the village he shall ask a fourth time to be cleansed, and if no one will perform the ceremony he must wash himself with bull's urine and water in the ordinary manner, and shall be clean. The erroneous teaching of Zâd-spāram was that the fifteen times' washing was sufficient, without the subsequent ceremonial cleansing; and the object of these epistles was to combat that view of the law.

³ The ceremonial purification is supposed to cleanse the soul,

fication of men. 8. *It* is said¹: 'The purification of men cleansingly is a something (aitō) for the soul that should be after perfect birth; when they have been fully born the purification of others is the one thing which is good for the soul.'

9. And it is shown *in* another place that it is possible to obtain possession of purification also for the soul through purification of the body, even as it is said that a purifier is requested by him. 10. And it is necessary for him to speak thus: 'I have thus stood close by the body of him who is dead; I am no wisher *for it* by thought, I am no wisher *for it* by word, I am no wisher *for it* by deed; which is the reason—that is, on account of pollution—it is not possible to seek good works by thought, word, *or* deed, *and* it demands purification for me, that is, wash me thoroughly²!' 11. As it is thereby declared that when he whose body is not purified, until they thoroughly wash him, is not able to seek good works by thought, word, *or* deed, and is not able to purify his soul, it is then a matter for the truly wise *to seek* even for purification of the soul by the purification of the body, *for* whose religious purification are those *things* which are unsubdued (asikand) in the religious ritual.

12. When these are thus the statements of former upholders of the religion *and* high-priests of the religion, he who is more intelligent *and* more active

whereas ordinary washing cleanses the body only, and is spiritually useless.

¹ In Pahl. Vend. V, 65, X, 35, being a translation of a quotation from the Gāthas or sacred hymns (Yas. XLVII, 5, c).

² Quoted, with some variation, from Pahl. Vend. VIII, 283, 284 (see App. V).

in the religion of the Mazda-worshippers in every house, village, tribe, and province—*and*, very much more the man who is righteous, of fluent speech, speaking the truth, who *has* chanted the *sacred* hymns, acquainted with the ritual, trained for the work, of renowned disposition, and a friend of the soul—is *competent* for the purification which *it* is very important to prepare, to think of, *and* to promote.

13. When the period is so unworthy, the fiend so abundantly contentious, and the hasty preparer of holy-water of such base origin (dûs-vêkh)¹—which *happens*, moreover, when the good are equally low-minded (ham-bâstō-mñisnō)—we strive for *what* encourages the preparation of that even which is a collectively virtuous profession. 14. Then, too, *there* remains such rising in strength of many new *things* from very many countries, which is particularly grievous distress and danger to us; they deliver tokens *of them* to us applaudingly, *and* the expansibility of the words of the delivering diffuser of these and also other religious customs, as the sacred beings' own persistency and complete glory, is a great *and* powerful capability.

CHAPTER III.

1. This, too, I am begging of you, that *you* may be desiring the truth, and *that* Vohûman², who,

¹ This seems to be an allusion to the unworthiness of some of the priests of the period (compare Ep. II, i, 13; v, 14).

² The archangel personifying 'good thought' (see Dd. III, 13).

when a ruler (shah) of yours, is an interpreter (pâkûkô) about the writing which¹ I write, *may* as regardfully *and* accommodately observe *and* direct as the variety of dispositions *permits*. 2. For you are of like opinion with me, to inform again the most initiated²; so that I am more steadfastly-determined (aûstîkânô-minîsntar) thereon. 3. And if there be *anything* that seems to you otherwise, direct *some one* to point *it* out again, with the reason *for* maintaining *it* which occurs to you, just as a household companion is a responder *and* has spoken again for the sake of pointing out again; for there are many reasons, on account of which your kindly-regardful observation is needful, which are to be written about.

4. The first is this, that the penmanship of the spirits is not the profession of me and others³; *and as to* him by whom a theory (farhâng) not universally operating is disseminated, which is *distinct* from his more indispensable occupation, *there is* then no command for his teaching *and* apostleship therein. 5. On that account, too, the wise *and* the seekers for truth uphold the body of opinion about the statements of the writing of the spirits⁴, and, therefore, direct less of the ingenuity of preparing again the penmanship of various tidings.

6. The second is this, that, in the distress (dahyakô) of this grievous time, he to whom

¹ Reading † instead of va, 'and.'

² That is, to severely admonish their high-priest, as he does in Ep. II.

³ That is, he disclaims all pretensions to inspiration on the part of himself and his contemporaries.

⁴ The inspired scriptures.

adherence *and* much indebtedness even as to his forefathers *have* remained, is well-lamenting, owing to the proposals (dâdanō) of the unfriendly, and much harm has occurred through the conflicting (ârdīkō) offer of remedies *and* lawful provision of means, full of trouble, except, indeed, to the upholder of religion who is more worldly-managing; and investigation by opponents is grievous danger, full of things inopportune *and* unnecessary for accomplishment¹.

7. The third is this, that a wise *man* who is a high-priest of the spirit-retaining² religion *and* acquainted with opinions, when also himself properly humble, fearless, and benedictive in the world, is then even, owing to his estimating³ pardonings *and* long-continued dexterity (dêr zīvakakīh), united with the good creations in affliction *and* vexation. 8. And, on account of information about the worldly *and* spiritual misery of former evils of many kinds—always as much in the religion, *and* in the thoughts of others⁴, as *one* delivers up his heart to ingenious verbiage and for the preparation of phrases—he speaks as in the question *in* revelation, thus⁵: “Who in the bodily existence

¹ Referring to the risk of unfriendly and destructive criticism of the scriptures.

² J has ‘spirit-observing,’ by changing gīrisnō into nigīrisnō.

³ Reading andasīh; the reference being to the sympathy acquired by a high-priest through performing his duty of appointing atonements for sins confessed to him.

⁴ Assuming that aīranō stands for aīrānō.

⁵ J has only ‘as *one* speaks out his heart for ingenious verbiage and phrases, thus.’ The question and reply here quoted seem to be no longer extant in the Avesta.

is more quickly fortunate?" *and* it is answered thus : "The youth who is observant *and* humble, O Zaratûst! who, as regards both that which has happened and that *which* happens, also sees that which is evil and good with gratitude, just like that also which *happens* unto another;" because he knows this, that from this is a benefit, for he knows happiness and also misery¹. 9. The glorified leader of those of the good religion, Hêr-Frôvag², son of Farukhû-zâd, wrote: 'It is he understands the consequence of his own action; and *it* is his great household attendant, and the worldly desire provided at the *Kînvad* bridge³ becomes less watchful.'

10. The fourth is this, that I *am* more universally hoping about the property of the profession *and* the much duty fit for the truly wise, *in* such manner as even that *in* which the glorified and greatly-learned leader of those of the good religion, Yûdân-Yim⁴, son of Shahpûhar, always urged on a priestly man with many sons *and* equally clever⁵ discourse.

¹ It is doubtful whether this last clause be a portion of the quotation, or not.

² This name is corrupted into Hê-Fôrvag in the MSS., but Âtûr-Frôbag is probably intended. He was the compiler of a great part of the *Dînkard*, and is also mentioned in Dd. LXXXVIII, 8. The names Âtûr and Hêr are synonymous, both meaning 'fire.' The passage quoted in the text has the same form (beginning with the word *hômandô*, 'it is') as nearly all the sections of the third book of the *Dînkard*, but it has not yet been discovered among them.

³ Here written *Kîs-vidarg* (see Dd. XX, 3).

⁴ So written in J, but K₃₅ and BK have the syllable *dân* somewhat corrupted. The person meant, both here and in Chap. VII, 5, was probably the author's father, though Bd. XXXIII, 11 seems to make Yûdân-Yim the son of Vâhrâm-shâz.

⁵ Reading *ham-gôkô*, but J has *ham-dûdakô*, 'of the same family;' it also omits several other words by mistake.

11. That *was* through my instigation, alone and with little assistance, in the beginning; and, on account of the deficiency of warriors¹, the abundance of opponents, the very rapid arrival of disturbance, *and* the fourfold supplication for keeping away the ruin *or* hasty unlawful maintenance of the fires of the Mazda-worshippers, my constant distress is such that most of my time speaks of the same subject².

12. They may leave the abundance of despondency and thoughtfulness of the bodily existence to such remedial writing of his, unto whom the pleasantly comfortable thought of an evaded (vīrikhtô) seizure is requisite, but *there* is little worldly leisure for me for writing more *in* this direction (hanâ-runtar).

13. And specially in this passing *time*—when, alike limited by the coming of the period of giving daily *supplies* to the performers of worship, *and by* the ever-triumphant fire and *its* produce³, it was necessary for me to go to Shirâz⁴ on account of some indispensable provision of means—the work was much *and* the leisure little.

¹ From this and Ep. II, v, 14 it would appear that the priests at that time maintained a body of troops for the protection of their followers.

² That is, regarding the proper maintenance of the priesthood, which had already engaged his anxious attention during the lifetime of his father.

³ The word var may either mean 'ashes' (see Sls. II, 49), alluding to clearing out the fire, or it may mean 'ordeal' (see Sls. XIII, 17).

⁴ See Dd. I, 17. This name is written Shirâsô once, Sirâsô thrice, and Sirâsô four times in K35. Mânûskîhar appears to have come to Shirâz on this occasion to hold a general assembly of the priests and leading members of the community, and he wrote this epistle from that city (see Ep. II, i, 11; v, 10).

14. The fifth is this, that the custom of providing for all the duties even of the *sacred* fire (â tûr) by me, and my own desire¹, trained hand², unhardened mind, and unhardened heart *for* managing many *things* should have become the joy of *my* mind.

15. Then, too, from *having* read such writing *and* such news the healer of distress would be thoroughly connected with my heart and mind, *owing* to which my intellect would have become quickly fatigued (mândakö) by a limited preparation of phrases.

16. The sixth is this, that even he who is a rescued³ *and* better-operating (hû-dâgtar) man—when, owing to the writing of a learned *man* of the realm who is desiring the truth, *he* is so perplexed⁴ on account of a doubt of increasing the after-tearing of the same perplexity—*has* no doubt of the falsity *and* little training existent in the worldly.

17. The seventh is this, that if none of these six *of* which I *have* written should exist, even then your approved cleverness (stvagdârth), extolled freedom from strife, hereafter-discerning and complete mind-

¹ Reading kâmakö, instead of the unintelligible kâmûn.

² The MSS. omit the last letter of yadman.

³ That is, delivered from contamination or sin; vîrikhtô is probably to be traced to Av. vi+irikhta, rather than to vi+rikhta (Pers. gurêkht).

⁴ K35 has a blank space here, and again a few words further on, but it is doubtful if any words be missing. The spaces are filled up in J and BK, apparently by guess, as follows: J has 'he sees so perplexing a chance, concerning which, owing to the increase of after-tearing of the same perplexity and the arrival of evil, *he* is doubtful, *has* no doubt,' &c. And BK has '*he* is so perplexed on account of no doubt of the falsity *and* little training *that* existed in the worldly for increasing the after-tearing of the same perplexity, *has* no doubt, &c.'

fulness, practised¹ attention to the good, and much affection² for the faithful—so kindly regarding, truly judging, *and* with a liking for praising (sr̥t̥danō), as regards whatever I write truly *and* with true conviction—are, I consider, to make provision, and *have* realised a preparation striven for.

CHAPTER IV.

1. I *have* also seen the spiritual life³ in the writing which is in such statements of incompleteness⁴, *and* owing to the same reason they should not cease from the operation⁵ of washing you—whom may the angels protect!—with the Bareshnûm ceremony⁶.
2. Because the ancients have said that, when it shall be discarded from use, every water, fire, plant, righteous man, *and* animal, and all the creatures of Aûharmazd are afflicted, diminished, and made to leap *away*. 3. As it is said in revelation that, *as to* him *who* stands *by* a dead body upon which the Nasûs⁷ has rushed⁸, ‘anusô zî, Spitama Zara-

¹ J has bûr̥s̥îdakō, ‘extolled,’ instead of var̥s̥îdakō, ‘practised.’

² Reading dūksharmîh as in J; the other MSS. have m instead of û.

³ Reading dîd̥ ahvôîh; but it can also be read stihânôîh, in which case the translation would be:—‘And my worldly condition.’

⁴ Meaning the incomplete kind of purification which their statements complained of, or his referred to.

⁵ K35 and BK omit the *r* in kardakō.

⁶ See App. IV.

⁷ The fiend of corruption (see Dd. XVII, 7).

⁸ The three Avesta passages here quoted, with their Zand (Pahlavi translation), are from Vend. IX, 161–163, and are freely translated (trans. D) thus:—‘It grieves the sun, indeed, O Spitama

thustra! aêsha yâ¹ paiti-irista avad² hvare â-tâpayêiti³, anusô hâu mau, anusô avê stârô⁴—discontentedly, moreover, O Zaratûst the Spîtamân! does the sun shine upon him who *has been* by the dead, so discontentedly [does the moon]⁵, thus discontentedly do the stars—khshnâvayêiti zî, Spitama Zarathustra! aêshô nâ yô yaozdâ-thryô, yad aêtem⁶ paiti-iristem frâ-nasûm kere-naoiti—the man who is purifying propitiates *them*, O Zaratûst the Spîtamân! when *he operates* on him *who has been* by the dead, on whom the Nasûs is put forth, *and* he has become *parted* from the sacred twigs⁷—he propitiates fire, he propitiates

Zarathustra! to shine upon a man defiled by the dead; it grieves the moon, it grieves the stars. That man delights them, O Spitama Zarathustra! who cleanses from the Nasu those whom she has defiled; he delights the fire, he delights the water, he delights the earth, he delights the cow, he delights the trees, he delights the faithful, both men and women.' The Avesta text is given according to the standard edition of Westergaard (IX, 41, 42), and all variants of any importance, in the three MSS. here used, are mentioned in the notes. These passages are also referred to in Ep. II, iii, 5.

¹ K35 and BK insert the last three words, anusô âvâ stârô, here.

² J inserts yâ here.

³ J has â-tâpayaêta, but K35 and BK omit the word.

⁴ K35 and BK have khshathrô-chinanghô, 'of a desire of authority' (which occurs in Fravardîn Yt. 112 as the name of a man) instead of avê stârô, which they have inserted earlier. They also leave a blank space for the words maman akhûrsandîhâ, 'moreover, discontentedly' (which begin the Pahlavi translation), as if they were descended from a damaged original.

⁵ All three MSS. omit the words in brackets, which are necessary to complete the Pahlavi version.

⁶ K35 and BK omit aêtem.

⁷ J has 'who has become polluted,' which separation from the sacred twigs (see Dd. XLIII, 5), or other ceremonial apparatus, implies. The phrase is omitted in Pahl. Vend. IX, 162.

water, he propitiates animals *and* plants¹, he propitiates the righteous man², he propitiates the righteous woman, both *of them*,³ as *in* the Avesta⁴ of it:—khshnâvayêiti âtareṃ, &c.

4. When *there* is no purifier all the angels of the worldly *existence* become afflicted *and* dissatisfied; and religious purifiers who are intelligent are even now not to keep backward the work of purification, just as *it has* come to them by practice from those of the primitive faith, and are not to diminish it.

5. To change a good work properly appointed they shall not accept a law which is not right, a good work not properly appointed⁴; not to do the work thereof is accounted very sagacious *and* perfectly wise; and through your freedom from inferiority⁵ the glorifying, commendation, praise, and blessing are your own. 6. For it is said that in all the work of forming and maintaining the law (dâdistânō) those of the primitive faith *were* very greatly particular about every single thing; and *as to* the whole operation of that proceeding into which they *have* entered, those of the primitive faith have become aware of the power which *resides* in true authority. 7. But, otherwise⁶, the routine which is brought out

¹ J has 'he propitiates plants,' as in Pahl. Vend. IX, 163.

² Literally 'male.'

³ The initial words of which here follow their Pahlavi translation, instead of preceding it.

⁴ J omits these six words.

⁵ Reading afrôtarîh, as in BK; K35 had originally avartarîh, 'pre-eminence,' as in J, but the copyist wrote afrô (=aparva) over the avarta, as a correction, leaving it doubtful whether he meant afrôtarîh or aparvarîh, 'want of education.'

⁶ That is, unless confirmed by the decisions of the ancients.

from revelation¹ and the teaching of the high-priests is then not authorisedly changed by that priestly man whose decree of the fifteen² *washings* is written in *your* epistle³; because, on account of the whole and any perversion (*gastakth*) of the same writing, not of similar utterance with revelation, before which the custom did not exist, I am without doubt as to that decree.

8. And in it⁴, moreover, is written, declared, *and* contained (*vangldō*) that once *washing* is mentioned⁵, until a purifier comes who is acquainted with the ritual, who washes just as declared in revelation. 9. *To be* so washed I consider just as a thing for which he is even now as *it were* a purifier who is a good washer⁶, that of which *it* is written below *and* clearly realised that it should not be decreed; *and* through the scanty deliverance written therein⁷ *it* is manifest it would not be the statement above⁸.

¹ J has 'which is brought out with knowledge of the *purifying* cup (*tâstlk*), with preservation of faith, *and* with manifestation from revelation.'

² All three MSS. have 'sixteen' in ciphers, but it is evident that Zâd-spâram and his erroneous teaching of the sufficiency of fifteen washings (see Ep. III, 1, 2) are here referred to.

³ Reading *semag*, a Huz. hybrid for *nâmak*.

⁴ The decree of Zâd-spâram, apparently.

⁵ Referring probably to Vend. VIII, 299, which provides a washing for the polluted person by himself, if he can find no one willing to purify him (see App. V).

⁶ That is, for such a purpose any ordinary washer would be sufficient.

⁷ In Pahl. Vend. VIII, 299, which states that, although pure enough for ordinary purposes, he must still abstain from engaging in ceremonies for others (see App. V).

⁸ That is, it is very different from the propitiation mentioned in § 3.

10. If learned knowledge, *relating* both to that about inferior matters (*agīrtarīhâ*) and that about superior matters, *be*¹ true authority praised *and* declared by the great primitive faith, former high-priests *and* those newly arisen (*navakgandakânō*) would be *and* would have been similarly forward; then, too, it would exist not so much with the priestly men *of* the time *as with* the learned officiating priests (*magôpatân*) of *Aûharmazd* *who* have been before. 11. And when, moreover, all the Avesta and Zand are easy *to* a priest², pre-eminently acquainted with the liturgy *and* a supreme Zaratûst, *he has* attained *unto*, *and* should remain with, *Aûharmazd* *and*³ the officiating priestship of *Aûharmazd*, and the supreme, world-managing, religion-observing (*hû-dîn-nikah*) sovereignty as to *religious* treatises⁴. 12. To change then their practice in the law would be entirely an outcry apart from deliberation, and a like violation of the unanimity of the spirits who are the heads *and* guardians⁵ of the religion, *and of* the unanimity of the source of opinion of the good themselves, for the sake of *what is* not acceptable.

13. But the statement above⁶ is, was, *and will* be that which remains a good idea well considered by them with the centre of thought, as to *its* well-

¹ J has 'because if even for that about superior matters, acquaintance with religion, and learned knowledge *there be*,' &c.

² That is, when he knows all the scriptures and commentaries by heart.

³ J omits '*Aûharmazd* and.'

⁴ That is, he has full authority to interpret the scriptures.

⁵ Reading *sarân sardârân*, but in K₃₅ the two words overlap, so that *sar-sardârân*, 'head guardians,' might be intended.

⁶ Probably referring to the quotation from the *Vendidad* in § 3.

operating characteristics, just contention, and complete powerfulness. 14. Also from the teaching of just high-priests, through the preservation of much evidence, and ascertained for the members of the assemblies of various provinces (shatrô shatrô), are shown the opinion *and* experience of most priestly men; and to make the various districts (kûstakô kûstakô) thrivingly steadfast, an unperverted *one* should be set up in all four quarters (pâd/kôs) of the same province.

15. And a semblance of it is apparent even from that which the glorified Nîshahpûhar, the supreme officiating priest¹, and also other officiating priests of Aûharmazd *have* said, *that one is* not to change any teaching of theirs thereon after *it is* provided, *and* not to render useless the statements of other authority thereon. 16. But that which they should accept *from* them as a certainty is to maintain the statements of other high-priests as pre-eminent; *and* not to change the operation of statements of another description *has* appeared lawful. 17. Even so it was as that *same* Nîshahpûhar, in the council of the glorified (anôshakô rûbânô) Khûsrô², king of

¹ This mōbad of mōbads is mentioned in Pahl. Vend. III, 151, V, 112, VI, 71, VIII, 64, XVI, 10, 17, AV. I, 35, and twenty-four times in the Nîrangistân (see Sls. I, 4 n). His name is spelt in various ways.

² King Khûsrô, son of Kavâd, who is best known by his title Nôshirvân, or Anôshirvân, 'immortal-souled,' reigned A.D. 531-579; and the statement that Nîshahpûhar was one of his counsellors (made little more than three centuries after his death, and, therefore, probably correct) is of considerable importance for fixing a limit to the age of those Pahlavi books in which he is mentioned. These books are the Pahlavi Nîrangistân, a late recension of the Pahlavi Vendidâd, and the Book of Ardâ-Vîrâf, in which last it is

kings *and* son of Kavâd,—by preserving old things (ligânō)—showed that way on whose thoughts they are established, and wrote them unaltered, so that such thoughts thereon became as *it were* decided; and their thoughts thereon, after such decree of his, have so become unanimous. 18. Through the importance *of his* assured rank, and the rest which *was* said by him in the work of sustaining the faithful, he maintains as much as the other statements, one *by* one, from the deliberative teaching of those high-priests.

CHAPTER V.

1. That writing which comes amid the writing of your epistle is a correct fragment¹ as regards the nothing in which *one* is to change the operation properly maintainable, and it is becoming; because, if it be even for him, by whom it is written from the

stated that Virâf was called by the name of Nikhshâpûr by some. From the statements made in our text it seems probable that the council was employed in revising the Pahlavi Vendidâd, in which they were careful not to erase the opinions of older commentators, and thus confirmed their statements by their own authority. It is possible that this council was that mentioned in Byt. I, 7, where the name Nishâpûr also occurs, but whether it refers to a man or a city is not quite certain. This council, which seems to have been summoned for condemning the heresy of Mazdak, was held probably two or three years before Khûsrô came to the throne (see Nöldeke: Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden, p. 465).

¹ Reading bangisnîh, but it may be bûgisnîh, 'deliverance from contamination.' The reference is to the decree of Zâd-spâram mentioned in Chap. IV, 7, the 'writing' alluded to in Ep. II, ii, 1; iii, 1.

statements of Mēdyōk-māh, Afarg, and Sōshāns¹, the several statements *and* teachings of the same high-priests, yet then the elaboration *and* publication thereof are not such as that which is sent down by his further elaboration². 2. And thereby it *has* seemed manifest *that it* is sent so that a wish for the spirit *may* proceed from the truth of *its* minister (padō), or *from* his thought for the desired decision; or his understanding *may* be of that kind which is warped (vukūstō), as though he believed it as other than the exposition of the religion *and* the teaching of the high-priests. 3. But until the unparalleled arrival of Sōshāns³ any one not sharing in complete knowledge is not appointed unto a patron spirit (ahvō), *and* the fiend specially contends more experimentally with the thoughts of the high-priests of the religion for a religious decision.

4. And even the recompense of community⁴ of property is that when *one* gladly observes pure thoughts; *and* the swift action of voluble (pûr) speakers and kind regard of religious characters for deliverance⁵ *and* for the noticeable undeceitfulness of the same spirit⁶—which is itself the desire of settled observation that is in it for the sake of the

¹ The names of three of the commentators whose opinions are most frequently quoted in the Pahlavi Vendidād (see Sls. I, 3). Each of them appears to have written a complete 'teaching' or dissertation upon the ceremonial laws, from which the quotations are taken (see § 6).

² That is, in collecting the opinions of the ancients, he has twisted them so as to suit his own views.

³ The last of the future apostles (see Dd. II, 10), not the commentator of the same name mentioned in § 1.

⁴ Literally 'fraternity.'

⁵ From pollution or sin.

⁶ See § 2.

same kind of full religious diffusion—are the swift action of the patron spirit, which, for the sake of preparing him for a deliverance that is not falsifying revelation *and is* without disputants, is a kind regard for the deliverance itself of *him* whose spiritual life (hûkō) it is.

5. *As to* that which is thought by him¹ of those deliverances sent down, completed, *and* announced, I consider more particularly about the meaning of one thing, which is their solemnized observance.

6. The solemnized observance of Mēdyôk-mâh is in the teaching² of Mēdyôk-mâh, and those of Afarg and Sôshâns are each one meditated *and* indicated in a teaching; and the pointedly superior position of each one of them is mentioned by him in *his* statement of any teaching and *of* the decision set up. 7. Also with a kind regard for his own choice he *has* thought it (the former teaching) imperfect, and, on account of *what* was not attained by it—which *was* a re-explainer of the same good ideas provided—*its* dissimilarity to it is not unnoticed³.

8. *But* when *one* hears the re-explainers of a true reply he is well protected (hû-zinhartdō) by complete mindfulness⁴, *and* is himself confident that the teaching of Mēdyôk-mâh is not the whole statement of Mēdyôk-mâh, for there are many opinions of

¹ Zād-spāram the writer of the decree mentioned in § 1.

² The word *kâstakō* means usually a written course of teaching or exposition, a commentary, dissertation, or manual of instruction.

³ Implying that Zād-spāram had been more inclined to enforce his own opinions than to examine those of the commentators.

⁴ The Pahl. translation of Av. ârmaiti, 'devotion,' which is usually personified as a female archangel protecting the earth.

Mêdyôk-mâh¹ *which* have decided *in* another manner; not *that* whatever Mêdyôk-mâh said is not good, *but* in the teaching of Mêdyôk-mâh *it* is certain that even *what* is not proper is mentioned many *times* as a possibility².

CHAPTER VI.

1. *As to* that which is written in that epistle, that in the teaching of Sôshâns he thus states, that 'of both the purifiers necessary he is suitable by whom the ritual is performed³,' they have been similarly very unanimous that when one is incapable (at û)⁴ it is the other *that* is suitable, who is written *of* in connection with him; and that, moreover, because the statement of Afarg is in a teaching of his⁵, and, on

¹ J inserts 'rules which are mentioned in the special teaching of Mêdyôk-mâh.' It appears probable that the author had access to much more complete commentaries than the fragments now extant in the Pahlavi version of the Vendidâd.

² Meaning, probably, that Mêdyôk-mâh was disposed to relax the rigid enforcement of the law in cases of doubt or difficulty, as the Avesta itself does in several cases.

³ Quoted from Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, δ, where it may be read either as an opinion of Afarg (as mentioned in our text), or as a statement of the Pahlavi translator, who would, therefore, appear to have been Sôshâns. A complete translation of the Pahlavi version of Vend. IX, 1-145 and the commentaries relating to the Bare-shnûm ceremony, which are frequently alluded to in these epistles, will be found in App. IV.

⁴ Perhaps 'impotent,' as the Rivâyats (M10, fol. 103 a) provide that a purifier shall be neither aged nor youthful, not less than thirty years of age.

⁵ See note 3, above; from this it appears that Afarg was the earlier commentator.

that account, that declaration of his seemed *to be* from him, which is as though *it were* decided by him. 2. Then, when *one* reaches the eulogistic (afrâsîñâkô) reply of his re-explainer, owing to his just will it is itself well perceived that Afarg comes into account as one of the high-priests; and that which is the special teaching of Sôshâns *has* mentioned that they have been very unanimous that when there is one he would be suitable¹.

3. That evidence, too, which many high-priests, and especially one teaching, are alike diffusing, is stated also in the teaching of Mêdyôk-mâh, that when he who is washing² understands the profession, then one purifier is plenty for him. 4. When it is abundantly declared, in particular by two teachings, *that* when there is one he is suitable, *it* is then not to be rendered quite inoperative through the solitary statement of Afarg; for Afarg only said, as it appeared so to him himself, *that* 'two purifiers are requisite'³. 5. The customs of another high-priest are not declared to exist with like evidence; and this is set aside (spêgtîdô) even by him himself, that another custom is not suitable to exist, because his own view is mentioned as it appeared to him.

6. Those of the primitive faith have been fully⁴ of the custom that other *one* selected, as to this, where *it* is the performance of the Vîkaya ('exorcism')⁵; because its explanation is this, that an

¹ See Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, *b*, but the earlier part of the section refers to statements no longer extant.

² That is, the person undergoing the purification.

³ See Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, *b*, Ep. II, ii, 7.

⁴ J inserts 'of the same opinion.'

⁵ That is, they have considered one purifier sufficient for reciting

opinion upon which the priests (*magavôgânö*) are without dispute is that which he says is the custom of a priest, *and* the business of the two priests, of whose other custom he speaks as much, is a performance by those two witnesses indicating the same as the priest.

7. This, too, is evident, that, by confession of Afarg, when there is *only* one purifier *he* is to be considered as being suitable¹; *and* an attainment *to* more evidence is that which is written by you, that Mêdyôk-mâh *has* said that every customary *part* (*pt̥sakö*) is to be washed three times², and now the purifiers *do it* once. 8. That teaching remains *in* the same manner as written by him, but the three-fold washing of Mêdyôk-mâh is not a washing to be striven for, but *one* to be well considered, *of* which he spoke; and this, too, is not said by him, that when *one* shall not wash three times it is not proper³. 9. Afarg said that when *one* shall⁴ wash once it is proper, and about this once the opinion of Mêdyôk-mâh is the after statement, and the opinion of Afarg is the prior statement; *and* since in the life of man the first *thing* to be considered is about purity, not the indispensability of washing, and, further, the

the passages from the Avesta (see Vend. VIII, 49-62, IX, 118) which are supposed to drive away the fiend (comp. Ep. II, ii, 7).

¹ See Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, *b*.

² See Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, *j*, where, however, the statement as to three times washing is attributed to Afarg, who is the prior authority quoted (as mentioned in § 9), and that as to once washing is attributed to Mêdyôk-mâh, who is the after authority.

³ Reading *lâ khalelûnêdö-ae lâ shâyedö* instead of *lâ khalelûnêdö a-lâ shâyedö*.

⁴ Reading *aê* instead of *va a*. This statement is attributed to Mêdyôk-mâh in Pahl. Vend. (see note 2, above).

pollution diminishes, about which it speaks in the religious cleansing, during so many times washing *as* is declared, then the consideration of it is a consideration about the one time which is the first computation¹. 10. That which mentions more than once washing is a contradiction of the prior deponent, not a declaration; *and* the consideration of that operation, so long as *it is* declared, is about the statement of him who *has* mentioned once washing with the opinion of a prior deponent², owing to the same *reasons*. 11. But if it be even that much washing which is the merit of the operation, then the statement of Afarg about these times³ is manifestly very preservative, *and* that of Mēdyôk-mâh is a necessity for declaration.

CHAPTER VII.

1. And *as to* that which is written⁴, that 'in the teaching of Afarg *it* is thus declared, that "for every single person, at the least⁵, one cup of water *and*

¹ In Vend. IX, 48-117 the washings of the several parts of the body are mentioned only once, which is 'the first computation' here mentioned.

² Reading pēsmâl, as equivalent to the pēsmâl or pēsîmal previously used; but the word can also be read pasîmal, 'after deponent,' which would be inconsistent with the context. The two terms are very liable to be confounded in writing Pahlavi, and in Ep. II, ii, 6 they are again written alike, though put in opposition to each other. The 'prior deponent' is Afarg.

³ That is, 'about this one time,' as J has it.

⁴ In the epistle to which he is replying.

⁵ The words pavan kâmistîh, both here and in §§ 5, 6, would be better translated 'as a desideratum, or desired quantity;' but in

one cup of bull's urine, which are well alike (*vêh-mâl*)¹, are requisite;" *and in* the same manner it is said in the teaching of *Mêdyôk-mâh*, that "the water and bull's urine, when it is possible, are all to be thoroughly consecrated; when not—and, at the lowest, one cup of water and one cup of bull's urine, which are well alike, for every single person—*they* are to be set down *in* that place, and are afterwards to be mingled together²." 2. And since two teachings have so stated, are *we* to perform the operation more preservatively³ and according to a more correct opinion than this?'

3. Also, 'a correct apportionment is not understood by us, and clear reasons *have* not come to *our* knowledge that a less measure of the thing is proper.' 4. But I well imagine (*hû-minam*) this is not the operation of the *purifying* cup (*tâstîkô*), where a less thing is not proper, because the information with which they have existed—owing to that information of theirs, of which a former high-priest and deliberator *was* the communicator—is that which *was* heard by me, that there are *some* who, for the sake of diminishing the measure of water *and* bull's urine, speak of this apportionment thus: '*Vîkithrekid*'⁴, in everything the operation

Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, *c* the phrase is *pavan kamistîh*, which can mean only 'at the minimum, or least.'

¹ In Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, *c*, where this statement occurs, the first letter of this word is omitted, which converts it into *shumâr*, 'alike.' Either word may be correct, but *vêh-mâl* occurs twice in this section.

² This statement of *Mêdyôk-mâh* seems no longer extant in the Pahlavi Vendidad.

³ That is, in a way more delivering from pollution and sin.

⁴ This word, which probably means 'in whatever is varied,' was

which accomplishes this, that is, when *there is* as much as is discernible from his body¹, is proper.'

5. And the saying is not perceived by me *as* a correct apportioning, because the judgment of the greatly-learned leader of those of the good religion, the glorified Yûdân-Yim², and of other deliberators, the opinion of good thinkers, was thus, that that saying is spoken about that of which the measure is not declared as the least by the high-priests' teaching of revelation. 6. Finally, when it is really of the same origin *and* suitable, then less than the least of that, of which the measure is declared as the least, is not proper, if, owing to much evidence in the teaching which has mentioned *it* as suitable, *it be* more of a blessing, and the operation performed thereby *be* more legitimate; because that teaching is for confessing that the statements of high-priests are most evidence of the practice.

7. This is that which is equally perpetual: it is very important *for* the purifiers to keep the intellect of life in operation, *and for* the good to become mentally a powerful giver of aid to them; and now, too, a purifier is ordered to keep in use his own most universal equal measure. 8. That which is perceived by me, and *has* come to my knowledge, more particularly when washed by myself, is the keeping in use an equal measure³. 9. And even if there be a purifier who does not completely keep in use the

evidently the beginning of an Avesta phrase whose Pahlavi translation concludes the sentence. The phrase does not appear to be extant elsewhere.

¹ That is, just sufficient to wet the body.

² His father (see Chap. III, 10).

³ That is, the two liquids should be provided in equal quantities,

consecrated water and bull's urine, still then *it* is not worse than when it does not really arise *from* the same origin¹, and its religious rite also does not take place.

10. Also the words of both the solemnization of the Vendidad and the recitation of the Avesta are likewise to be uttered by him; because² 'Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd *about* it thus: "How *shall* I purify³ where he does not attain unto the Airyemâ⁴—there are *some* who say *where* everything is anusô ('discontented')⁵? 11. How as to the fire, how as to the water, how as to the earth, how as to animals, how as to plants, how as to the righteous man, how as to the righteous woman, how as to the stars, how as to the moon, how as to the sun, how as to the endless light, how as to the independent light⁶, how as to all the prosperity, created by

which differs from the present practice, as stated in the Persian Rivâyats; thus, M10, fol. 104 a, mentions $3\frac{1}{2}$ mans of water and $1\frac{1}{2}$ man of bull's urine as suitable quantities to be provided. This section is omitted in J, probably by mistake.

¹ Apparently deprecating the use of mingled liquids derived from various sources.

² The passage quoted here is from Pahl. Vend. XI, 1-5, with a few variations.

³ Pahl. Vend. inserts 'as to the abode.'

⁴ The Airyemâ (written Airyê mê in the MSS.) is Yas. LIII, which commences with the words 'â airyemâ ishyô,' and is the last of the Gâtha spells mentioned, in Vend. X, 22, as having to be recited four times in order to exorcise the fiend. The meaning of the question in the text, therefore, is: how is the purification to be effected when all the spells are not recited?

⁵ Referring to Vend. IX, 161-163 (see Chap. IV, 3).

⁶ This clause is omitted in Pahl. Vend., being merely a repetition of the preceding one, the Av. anaghra raokau being first translated by asarag rôshanôih, and then partially transliterated by

Aûharmazd¹, which is a manifestation of righteousness?" 12. And Aûharmazd spoke to him thus: "Thou shalt chant the purification *liturgy*, O Zarâtûst!—that is, fully solemnize a Vendidad *service*—then he becomes purified, &c.," as mentioned by me *above*². 13. Where they do not make *them* solemnize a Vendidad so that they keep in operation that which is written of it as a rite, this does not drive *pollution* from any *one*; and then, too, they should abandon the commands of a decree of leaders who are not over *them*³.

14. Keep the Bareshnûm *ceremony*⁴ in operation, so that the consecrated water and bull's urine are in the proportion *which* is taught by the high-priests of the religion, unless a scarcity occurs as regards these. 15. Then *together* with it, also, this is *to be observed*, that what is mentioned in two teachings is certainly more correct; afterwards, too, where a possibility for it is not obtained by them, *there* is *what* is mentioned as suitable by one teaching, and I do not decide *that it* is not an expediency.

16. And *as to* that, also, *which* is written concerning the three hundred pebbles⁵ that, sprinkled

anagrag rôshanô. As sar means 'head, end' in Pahlavi (hardly ever 'beginning'), the only meaning common to the two terms asarag and anagrag seems to be 'without a head or superior, independent,' that is, in this case, independent of the light of other luminaries.

¹ K35 has 'righteousness, created by Aûharmazd,' but this is evidently a mistake, as 'righteousness' does not translate the original Av. vohû.

² That is, as to the fire, &c. mentioned in § 11.

³ Referring to the heretical decree about which he is writing.

⁴ See App. IV.

⁵ See also Ep. II, iii, 12. The word generally used in these

in *ceremonial* ablution (pâdyâvö), are cast into (val) the bull's urine and water, that is taught even *in* the same manner ; the *inward* prayer (vâgö)¹, even for when *one* does not cast *them*, is in the existing teaching, which is proper. 17. Then, too, on account of the cheapness² and harmlessness of the pebbles the purifiers are less curtailing as to them, *and* to drink the thing so is well-curative in performance. 18. In the existing teaching of imperfect purifiers it should be very advantageous to maintain it as easy ; moreover, it is not said of it *that it* is not suitable, and in the teaching of Afarg it is said that it is proper.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. *As to* that which is written³, that it is declared in the Sakâdûm Nask⁴, that the consecrated bull's

epistles is sang, 'stone,' but Chap. IX, 6 has sagtākō, and Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, c mentions sagkāk, 'a pebble,' as being cast into (dên) the consecrated water and bull's urine, without specifying any number. The practice appears not to be mentioned in the Persian Rivâyats, and seems now obsolete ; the addition of a small quantity of the ashes of the sacred fire to the bull's urine, which is tasted at the beginning of the rite, is, however, mentioned in the Rivâyats.

¹ See Dd. LXXIX, 2. The prayer or grace has to be taken inwardly, that is, murmured, before the drinking mentioned in § 17. According to this text provision seems to have been made for not using the pebbles, by means of a special prayer.

² Or 'value,' as argānfh means both.

³ In the epistle to which he is replying.

⁴ This was the eighteenth of the lost books of the Mazda-worshippers (see Sls. X, 25, note). It was one of the seven law books, and treated of many legal matters. Among the contents of its first thirty sections the following items are mentioned by the Dīnkard,

urine, when it becomes fetid, is to be stirred up (*barâ agârdōtnisnō*), *and* they should not carry *it* forth so to the fire, so that the stench extends to the fire; because, if that stench extends to the fire, on account of the moisture *and* through carrying bodily refuse (*hīgar*)¹ on and forth to the fire, it overwhelms it; that is taught *in* like manner lest, and owing to what is said, it then seemed to one that the bodily refuse and pollution of fetid bull's urine is on account of the stench. 2. But it is proper to observe it more fully mindfully, perfectly completely, *and* with better understanding, because that which is said by it, that the carrying of bodily refuse forth to the fire overwhelms *it*, is not on account of the pollution of the bull's urine, but the proportion of the sin through this; so that it becomes the origin of as much sin for him as that pollution of the bull's urine; but the stench, on account of moisture, is like *him* even who shall bring clean *and* purified water into the fire, *and* thereby becomes sinful².

and one of these passages probably contained the statement quoted in our text:—'On carrying forth the holy-water and also the pot (*dīgō-k*) to the fire, that is, *with* purified *and* thoroughly-washed hands; *and* the sin of carrying *them* forth with unpurified *and* imperfectly-washed hands. On preserving the pot and the other *things*, whose use is with the fire, from defilement with bodily refuse; when, through want of care, defilement occurs, *and* any one shall carry *it* unawares to the fire, he who is careless overwhelms *it* thereby. . . . On lawfully warming the bull's urine on the fire, *and* the sin when *it* is not *done* lawfully.'

¹ See Dd. XLVIII, 19, note.

² The argument is that the urine being a consecrated liquid, its corruption is not contaminating (provided it be not occasioned by foreign matter, as alluded to in § 7); but if the stench be sufficient to extinguish or injure the fire, it is as sinful to expose the fire to its influence as it would be to injure the fire with holy-water.

3. This, too, is a saying, that the proportion of the sin is mentioned not on account of the pollution of the bull's urine; it is said *to be* a counterpart even of that *which* is declared of the care of the *flesh of the* ass and pig, so that when they shall now carry unto the fire more than the proportion which is ordered, it overwhelms *it* through carrying bodily refuse forth to the fire, and even then that flesh, investigated as to purity, is mentioned as a supply for the season-festival¹.

4. The fetid bull's urine is itself likewise prepared, so that on this account it is ordered that *it* is to be stirred up, that so long as *it* is stirred up they *may* thereupon order the use of it; if then *it* is to be rendered quite useless, *there* is afterwards no necessity for stirring it. 5. The stirring is declared a purification as regards polluted *things*, where bodily refuse is only such that *it* is not endless, and so pure that it purifies even that of another.

6. When *it* is written of it itself, that *it* is thus declared in the Sakâdûm Nask, that consecrated bull's urine which is fetid is to be stirred up for the fire, *it* is afterwards declared that *it* is not speaking *only* of the bull's urine *which* is provided those three days²; but that, too, which is old *and* consecrated,

¹ So the damage to the fire is not occasioned by any impurity of the flesh of the ass or pig (which could be used for a sacred feast), but by the excessive quantity brought to it. The pig was formerly domesticated by the Parsis (see Sls. II, 58), but they have long since adopted the prejudices of the Hindus and Muhammadans as regards its uncleanness.

² Referring probably to the times of the three washings, subsequent to the chief ceremony, which take place after the third, sixth, and ninth nights, respectively, (see Vend. IX, 136, 140, 144.)

become fetid *and* is stirred again, when they keep it in use, is proper. 7. And that which the Sakādūm *has* declared is, specially, that one of the high-priests *has* individually said: 'That stench is mentioned with reference to the *occasion* when a stench reaches it of a different kind *from that* which exists naturally in it.'

CHAPTER IX.

1. And *as to* that which is written¹, that '*the teachings of Mēdyōk-māh, Afarg, and Sōshāns*² have all three come *and* remained, and, on that account, whoever *has* washed just as they always wash therein is certain that he is worthy.' 2. Also, 'should it have been as *it were* proper to them, would Mēdyōk-māh have said that "not even the purifier is single?"' 3. *And* the rest as written on that subject, which, on account of its acute observation, *has* seemed *to be* from their statements; they, however, *have* not decided it so by the teaching which is in their names, as *was* indicated by me before³.

4. But I do not so understand that 'if those should have been all the particulars of the peculiarity of all three teachings, would *the teachings* of Mēdyōk-māh and Sōshāns have said, concerning any one who should have so washed that the purifier was single, that it is suitable, because the high-priests have been thus very unanimous that when

¹ In the epistle to which he is replying.

² See Chap. V, 1.

³ See Chap. VI, 2-4.

there is one he is unsuitable¹? 5. And when it should be to them as *it were* proper that, apart from the hands, the other² customary *parts* (pîsakō) *should be* washed once by them, would Afarg have said it is proper³, because washing them three times is not mentioned in the Avesta? 6. And when it would have been as *it were* proper that the three hundred pebbles (sang) *should not be* cast into the water and bull's urine, *would* Afarg's *teaching have* said that it is proper⁴, because there is not a single use for a pebble (sagtkakō)? 7. And when it would be as *it were* proper that *he who* is washed at the ablution seats (mak) at which any one *has been* washed *during* the length of a year, is not injured thereby—only they shall take them away *and they* are again deposited⁵—would Mēdyōk-mâh's *teaching* have said that it is proper, because, when the stones (sagō) are again deposited by one, *it* is to effect the cleansing (vistarišnō) of some one,

¹ The writer says he does not understand this argument of his correspondents, because it differs from the view he takes in Chap. VI, 2, but it must be confessed that the meaning of the passage in dispute (Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, *δ*) is not very clear, as the word *ashâyed*, 'he is unsuitable,' can also be read *ae shâyed*, 'he would be suitable,' both there and in our text.

² K35 has one line blank here, but this was probably owing to the state of the paper, or some inadvertence of the copyist; as it is evident that none of the text is omitted.

³ Compare Chap. VI, 9-11.

⁴ Compare Chap. VII, 16-18.

⁵ This shows that the places for ablution during the Bareshnûm ceremony were, a thousand years ago, the same as now, namely, stones deposited on the ground, not holes dug in the ground, as directed in Vend. IX, 13, 14, 16. They are, in fact, the stones or hard material directed to be deposited at the holes in Vend. IX, 29, 30, but they go by the old name for the holes (*magh*).

and when a *shower of* rain occurs thereon so *that* the whole place shall be thoroughly wetted, inside *and* outside, it is proper? 8. And if some one says that this is the case of a rite by a teaching of authority, and the rule is by a teaching of private authority, is not the whole rite by any teaching proper, that *consists* in this washing which is thoroughly preserved as they keep *it* in practice¹?’

9. The reply is even this, that every rite (nīrông) is to be performed *in* such manner as *that* which is said *to be* most preservative, and most connected with the declaration of revelation *and* the testimony of the high-priests *concerning* it. 10. And not for the reason that Mēdyôk-mâh’s *teaching* is more preservative² as to one rite, and after that something of Afarg is more preservative, is the operation to be performed by the statement of Mēdyôk-mâh; *but* whatever is the more preservative of Mēdyôk-mâh’s is collected from Mēdyôk-mâh, all the more preservative of Afarg from Afarg, *and* that which is the more preservative of *any* other high-priest from that which *has* the most preservative approval of the high-priest. 11. That which those high-priests *have* said, which they decide by just authority, is the commandment of the learned of the realm, which has lawfully arisen over the provinces (shôhârânô); but even that statement opposing it *which* is much testified *and* manifestly more of a deliverance, or which is declared *as* an exposition

¹ This string of arguments appears to be quoted from the epistle to which the writer is replying, but as they are separated from their context it is difficult to understand the exact line of argument, or to be sure that they are translated correctly.

² From pollution or sin.

of the teaching of high-priests of the religion in a dissimilar case, they shall then¹ wholly accept, and *they* are to perform the operation authorisedly and preservatively thereby.

12. This, too, I so consider, *that* even if each separate teaching should be as *it were* proper, it would then not be determined by them as to the impropriety of the *purifying* cup, for Mêdyôk-mâh *has* stated, only as *it was* apparent to him, that every single customary *part* is to be washed for three times², and *has* not specifically determined that when all shall be *so* once it is not proper.

13. By the special teaching of Mêdyôk-mâh and the washing which is in the law that says—concerning those interpreting revelation—that whoever becomes quite polluted shall thoroughly wash by that law, so that his *being* washed is to be considered as *being* washed, it (the rite) is not performed by me if, also, that other high-priest *has* said, that every one who becomes quite polluted, and washes not by the law of the primitive faith, is not to be considered as washed. 14. Then, too, in the special teaching of Mêdyôk-mâh *it* is not said, *of* that washing which is washed by the law of those of a portion of the religion (pârak-dînôân), that it is not proper.

15. He who washes by the law of those of the primitive faith, which many high-priests maintain as excellent, because it is suitable, and imagines that regarding the threefold washing it should be said that it is not proper, even he—when he also

¹ That is, when the dissimilar case arises, or when it is manifestly more efficient.

² See Chap. VI, 7.

has become of the same opinion as to this, that the statements of the high-priests are on an equality, and the most evidence of the high-priests is the *right* course—would have attained to confidence about this, that in a doubtful matter *there* should be a high-priest¹, and also that *of* which Afarg and Sôshâns *have* alike understood a similar thing is proper.

CHAPTER X.

1. And *as to* the many other *matters to* which an explicit reply is not written by me—be it the determinableness of it, be it the flow of *inward* prayer², be it the pouring of the water, and likewise the rest which is written *to* me—the statements, when deliberation and conjecture about such arrangements become needful, are not *to be made* unto the multitude, but *unto* the priestly at once³. 2. And this much, also, which is written by me is on this account⁴, *that* when a writing has come to you which is the purport of my re-explanation, *and it has* seemed that it is written after *well*-weighed (sakhtakö) observations⁵, even so they *would* cause *some* of those of good desires to understand, who are thoughtful friends of the soul *and* observers of

¹ To consult about the matters in doubt.

² Reading *vâg-rêgisnôih*; but J omits the first letter, and thereby converts the word into *apardazisnôih*, 'want of leisure.'

³ J has merely 'the statements are when deliberation and conjecture become at once needful.'

⁴ Reading *hanâ râi*, as in J; the other MSS. have *hanâ lâ*.

⁵ Or, perhaps, 'strict observations' here, and 'strict observers' further on.

well-weighed ideas, in whose heart and mind, owing to that *other* writing¹, the existence of doubtfulness may fully remain; and, owing to that, this much re-explanation *has*, indeed, seemed to me good.

3. And then the desire² to sprinkle³ in many modes is also an incorrect presentation⁴, on which same subject there is this in consideration, that afterwards, peradventure, the same priestly man⁵ by whom it is written *may* come—whose assured wisdom⁶ may the angels make steadfast! *and* whom my approaching causing a purifier to travel for *various* quarters *has* occasioned to write it—so that while they are, therefore, awed by him, and shall provide more completely for use the full measure of water *and* bull's urine, the complete words of the Avesta, *and* other proper rites, they shall proceed more approvably. 4. And if *it be* even not auxiliary for the same purpose (âhanō) *that it was* written by him—except, indeed, through consideration of its details—no reason for a writing of that kind is to be assigned.

5. But if for the reason *it was* written by him *it be* manifest as an existence which is very little threatening, then I consider his opinion, which is in his decree, not so perplexing; and, till⁷ now, the perplexing consideration *was* more particularly as

¹ To which he is replying.

² Reading adfn gām, but this is doubtful.

³ The Huz. verb zerf kûntanō, 'to sprinkle,' is not found in the glossaries, but is readily traceable to Chald. ܣܪܦ.

⁴ Reading arashn f kō-āō-dahisn fh.

⁵ Meaning his brother, Zād-sparam.

⁶ The usual Pahlavi phrase for the Av. âsnô khratus or instinctive wisdom (see Dd. XL, 3).

⁷ Assuming that val stands for va/.

to that, when, owing to the great learning thereof to be seen by me, this was not doubtful, that *as to* the great opinion of the world *about* the existing law of the profession of the priesthood, *and* the practice of all those of the good religion of the realm, they should make a decree only by the deliberation of me and other priestly men *and* religious observers¹. 6. For if even he retorts a further statement² as to the appointed observance, *its* origin is then also a propagation from the diverse teachings of those great high-priests of those of the primitive faith, *who* were they *who* have been formerly great.

7. On account of the depth and much intricacy of the religion they mention many opinions *and* well-considered decrees *which were* likewise formed devoid of uniformity, *and* the utterance of the different opinions of the priests is with the reciters of the Nasks; but even among themselves the most supremely just high-priests were of a different opinion, different judgment, different teaching, different interpretation, and different practice only in the peace, mutual friendship, and affection which they had together. 8. Just as that even which *was* prominent about these chief priests (magôpatânô magôpatô), whose names *were* Âtûrô-Frôbagvindâd and Âtûrô-bûgêd, who have been, each separately, the high-priest of the realm of the true religion and the scholar of the age.

¹ Implying that the more learning there is manifest in an erroneous teaching, the more necessary it is to submit it to careful examination.

² Reading *frâgô vaḥ patô-yekavîmûnêd*, and assuming that the last word stands for *patô-îstêd*.

9. To many, when an opinion is afterwards so obtained, *pertaining* to the high-priests *in* the spiritual *existence*¹, *it* is as is said about Zarâtûst the Spítamân, that 'the first time when the arch-angels are seen by him, the Spítamân, *it* is then supposed by him that they are Aîndar, Sârû, Nâkistyyâ, Tâûtrêv, and Zâîrlê², who are most mighty³.'

10. From such as those the decree and its original perversity (bûn-gâstîkôh) and scanty preservative-ness are so written *and* prepared, and afterwards, also, your opinion is that way irritated by the habit of good thinking—of which there is so much manifest⁴ from those of the primitive faith and the high-priests—because even its words and those written with *it*, *and* the completeness of will *and* religion which is written, inclined the mind *away* from the teaching of the high-priests.

11. But as the same decree, *or* that which is resembling the same decree⁵, is appointed (vakhtô)

¹ That is, such as have passed away.

² These are the last five of the arch-demons who are the special opponents of the archangels, being corruptions of the Avesta names Indra, Sauru, Naunghaithya, Tauru, and Zairika (see Bd. I, 27). The name of the first arch-demon, Akôman, is omitted here, probably by the mistake of some copyist, as six names are wanted to make up the number of the archangels exclusive of Aûharmazd himself.

³ J continues as follows:—"of the demons." 10. Written with the wretchedness (vakhârîh) and savageness of such as those, the oppressiveness and disaster of a decree of that description, and its original perversity,' &c. (as in the text).

⁴ In the decree, which was so written as to appear to be directly derived from the teachings of the commentators, but, at the same time, so warped their statements as to lead astray. Hence, it might be compared to the conversion of an archangel into an arch-fiend through a mental hallucination, as mentioned in § 9.

⁵ J omits these last eight words.

and specially decided, and is not to be accepted *from* him, and the operation is not to be performed thereby, its position is then to be considered, *by* those steadfast *in* the practice of the pre-eminent religion, with the most advanced understanding and discernment, which are the thought of its true station in the religion of the Mazda-worshippers. 12. And other religious decrees, intelligently preservative of the soul, which are made known *and* declared from the teaching of truthful high-priests of the religion of the Mazda-worshippers, are to be suitably accepted *and* fulfilled. 13. And since this opinion (dâstakö) of mine is, moreover, from the writing of Afarg, even about the preservation of different interpretations and different teachings, not specially owing to unobtainable statements of this shattered¹ religion of the Mazda-worshippers, nor even *to* distress through simultaneous strife, but owing to the desire of true opinions which *has* existed, there is safety abundantly, but temporarily, from the scribbling of the opposing, partial, and injurious writing of that priestly man².

CHAPTER XI.

1. For completion little is observed by me; and a man of my own, *in* a position of authority (sōng gâh), comes with a second epistle³ for that priestly man, opposing, disputing, showing the harm, making

¹ Reading hanâ giring, but it can also be read ân adarog, 'that undeceitful.'

² Zâd-sparam.

³ Not Ep. II, but one which preceded it (see § 5, note).

aware of the deliverance¹, and applying for arrangement. 2. And the man who comes as a co-operator is announced by me, *and* the rite which is accomplished by him is *so* till further *notice*, which is for my further epistle²; because a double elucidation about that which it is necessary to arrange from afar is a custom more suitable for the discreet.

3. If *that* same priestly *man*³ should have been in the vicinity, then interviews *with* me, with a few words, *would have been* more preservative than *trying* to convert that wretchedness (vakhâr) into that which is customary (pîsakô) even by further writing and much information. 4. And even now my prospect is a well-considering demand for explanation, so that, if the duties which are suitable for the discreet *be* really disposable for it, it is proper so to arrange what it is possible for me to complete *for* three months; *and I may* go myself into the presence of *that* same priestly *man* for the arrangement of the indispensable duties, and *may* diffuse this arrangement properly⁴. 5. *But* there are many reasons for private reflection (nâhîdô) on account of which a descent from position is an evil resource; and *this* once a temporary epistle is written by me to him, and comes with this epistle⁵. 6. And Yazdân-

¹ From pollution, by means of the Bareshnûm ceremony.

² Probably referring to Ep. II, till the arrival of which (or that of Ep. III) they were to act as directed by the priest he sends with this epistle.

³ His brother Zâd-sparam.

⁴ This intended visit to Sîrkân is also mentioned in Ep. II, v, 5; vi, 4, 6; vii, 3.

⁵ Being apprehensive that personal interference might lead to altercations derogatory to his dignity, he prefers trying the effect of writing in the first place. The temporary epistle, here referred to,

pânak¹, a man who is instructed², shall come to him, *who* is friendly to custom (âfnag-tyâr), *and* of like rank with his own man who is faithful; *and* I *will* write further *and* more controversially to him, and give the information advisedly with which I *shall* acquaint him, so that *it may be* more explanatory to him.

7. But if through this which is written by me, or *through* myself³, he *should* come immediately (digandyts) unto Pârs, I *shall* then be seeking an opportunity even for the retirement of him himself; I do not abominate *it* (madam lâ mansôm) when it is necessary for them *and* private, as is better.

8. As to these other diffusions of arrangements which are pre-eminently the resources of that priestly *man*, and the acquaintance with revelation which is sought by him, for the sake of the advantage of the religion *they* should not be molested before⁴.

9. May the arrangement and restoration and benediction of the revelation (dînô) of the Mazda-worshipping religion reach a climax! *and* may the

could not have been Ep. II, as that was written after Ep. III, and was the further epistle promised in § 6.

¹ Or, perhaps, Yazdân-pahnak. This was a common Parsi name in former times, as it is found in two of the Pahlavi inscriptions in the Kanheri caves, dated A.D. 1009 (see Indian Antiquary, vol. ix, pp. 266, 267), and the very similar name, Yazd-panâh, occurs as the name of a Parsi convert to Christianity who was put to death about A.D. 541 (see Hoffmann's Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer, p. 87).

² Assuming that dinhârđō stands for zinhârđō.

³ If I should come personally.

⁴ Referring probably to further matters of complaint, which he did not think it advisable to notice seriously until the present controversy was settled.

eminence of you listeners¹ to the primeval religion consist in long-continued, supreme prosperity, through all happiness! then, through such thoughtful friends, the acquaintance *with* its difficult teaching and mighty words, which is to increase that gratitude of yours to me for my decisions, is made a blessing to you, if you observe therein a good idea which seems to you important, when it reaches your sight.

10. The correct writer *and* scribe is ordered that he do not alter *any* of² the words (mârtk), while he writes a fair copy of this epistle of mine, which is written by me to you, and he orders *some one* to give *it* to *that* same man, Yazdân-pânak, *along* with that epistle, so that it *may* come to him³, for there are *times* when I seem aware that *it* is better *so*. 11. And may the angels increase *and* enlarge your many new *things* with full measure and complete exaltation! the pleasure, peace⁴, righteousness, prosperity, commendation, *and* happiness *of* the powerful⁵ who are all-controlling *and* happy-ending.

12. Mânûskêhar, son of Yûdân-Yim, *has* written *it* in the day *and* month *of* Spendarmad⁶, in the

¹ Reading nyôkhshîdârânô, as in J, instead of avakhshîdârânô.

² Reading min, instead of mûn, 'who.'

³ To Zâd-sparam. This copy was that mentioned in Ep. II, vii, 1.

⁴ Reading s/am, as in J; the other MSS. have shnuman, 'propitiation,' the two words being nearly alike in Pahlavi letters.

⁵ Reading patûgânô; J has paðvandânô, 'connections,' by inserting a stroke.

⁶ The fifth day of the twelfth month of the Parsi year; and, as Ep. III (which was evidently written after further consideration) is dated in the third month of A. Y. 250, this must have been written in A. Y. 249. The date of this epistle, therefore, corresponds to the 15th March, 881.

enjoyment of righteousness, the glorification of the religion, trustfulness to the angels, and gratitude unto the creator Aûharmazd, the archangels, *and* all the angels of the spiritual *and* the angels of the worldly *existences*. 13. Praise to the month (mâh) of like kind which is exalted in its name with this.

EPISTLE II.

TO HIS BROTHER, ZÂD-SPARAM.

Copy of an epistle of the priest Mânûskîhar, son of Yûdân-Yim, which *was* prepared by him for the priest, *his* brother, Zâd-sparam¹.

CHAPTER I.

1. *In* the name of the sacred beings who shall keep exalted the pre-eminent success of *your* priestly lordship, accomplishing *your* wishes in both worlds, I am longing for the children—formerly promoting health of body—and *for* activity, and fully desirous, and in every mode a thanksgiver unto the sacred beings, for the well-abiding *eyesight*, peace, *and* understanding of *your* priestly lordship.

2. The epistle that came *from* you in the month Âvân², which Nîvshahpûhar³ *was* ordered to write,

¹ See the heading to Ep. I.

² The eighth month of the Parsi year, which must have been A.Y. 249 (see Ep. I, xi, 12, note). This month corresponded to the interval between the 11th November and the 10th December, 880; but it is evident from Chaps. VII, 2, VIII, 1 that this reply was written about the same time as Ep. III, that is, in the interval between the 14th June and 13th July, 881.

³ This appears to have been the original form of the name Nîkshahpûhar or Nîshahpûhar, applied both to a man (see Ep. I, iv, 15, 17) and to a city in Khurâsân, and in this place it is not quite

and by me from¹ and , would have been quite desirable to increase *my* gratitude unto the sacred beings *for* the health and salutation of *your* priestly lordship, though it had been *merely* to write intelligence of your own condition; for your writing of the epistle is not such as *that of* the distant who write in duplicate, but like *that of* neighbours who think that everything new should always be really mutual information. 3. *As to* that, too, which you ordered to write about omens *and* such occurrences—for which my form of words is not as is twice specified within the epistle, and from henceforth *one* should order to write intelligence more clearly—moreover, on account of want of leisure on many subjects, my heart is not disengaged even for the understanding of omens.

4. I apprise *your* priestly lordship that in this

certain whether a man or a city is alluded to. The text, as it stands in the MSS., is as follows:—‘Nāmakō zītanō dēn bidanā Âvānō mûn Nivshahpûhar nipistanō farmûdō va mađō.’ This can be translated as in our text, if the word *va* be omitted; but, if this word be retained and *mûn* be changed into *min*, the translation would be as follows:—‘The epistle which *some one was* ordered by you to write in the month Âvān from Nivshahpûhar, and *which* came.’ Now it is evident from Ep. I that Zâd-spāram must have been in Sirkân for some time previous to the date of that epistle, 15th March 881, and, therefore, probably in the previous November; but, at the same time, it must be noticed that there are allusions in this second epistle (see Chaps. I, 12, V, 3) to his having been formerly at Sarakhs and among the Tughazghuz, that is, in the extreme east of Khurāsân; it is, therefore, just possible that he may have been at Nivshahpûhar, on his way to Sirkân in the south, in November.

¹ J and BK attempt to fill up the blank with the words *kēshvar arg*, ‘the value of the realm;’ but the original text probably stood thus:—‘and *was received* by me from *so and so*,’ the names having been torn off in some intermediate MS.

interval (tâhîkô)¹ a written *statement* has come unto me that the good *people* of Strkân are, indeed, so enveloped by you *in* distress, despondency, and trouble that its counterpart *was* when *there was* a liberation of *our* glorified fathers from the state of material existence. 5. For such as the insufficiency of the whole life of such *was* then to me, so even is the wounding and damage which comes *now* to *my* understanding and intellect. 6. The whole life of such is on the confines of the pure existence, a contest *with* the complete incorrectness that remains contaminating the liturgy by which the greatest intelligence of the religion of the Mazda-worshippers is aided; a little also, finally, of sagacity and observance of the apportionment of the more grievous impostures and more frightful delusions.

7. And, first of all, as to when your completely vile idea first destroyed your own enlightenment, and quite subdued your seconding of me, is inopportune (avidanâ) for me; and that ordinance², which though it be also right, is then even grandeur, because *it* is a law of the realm and an opinion of the world. 8. When even in the mansion of various thoughts, the residence of the assembly of Pârs, *and* many other conventions to deliberate, and the united opinions of a thousand priestly *men* (magavôg) of the good religion thereon, it could remain unaltered, then, also, the various good thoughts *and* opposing considerations that, *along* with me, the

¹ Since he heard from his correspondent. The word cannot be tîsgakô, 'nine days,' as that would not tally with the dates of Eps. I and III.

² Referring probably to the Bareshnûm ceremony which Zâd-spâram wished to dispense with in many cases.

minds of other heads of the religion *have* promoted, *and* shaped *or* altered decisions thereon, *and* settled and issued orders thereon, could not have seen a grievance (*seg*) *therein*. 9. And this, too, should be observed among your requirements¹, that when the fattiness² of the body is in wrinkles (*kṛn*), so that four perfect *ones* of the period are provided, even then the opinion of a high-priest of the religion is greater than every opinion, *but* the law of the realm of *various* kinds³ is only through the deliberation of the same perfect *ones*; to make him decide then is not proper⁴.

10. And it would be desirable for you to take account of that which is said thus: 'Thou shouldst not practise that, O Zaratûst! when thou and three or four companions, in the village of a thanksgiver of the assembly, shall say this: "Such is an evil notion."' 11. These words of his are then not taken into account by you; and *it* is firmly and *with* acute observation determined by you, and thought preservative for yourself, that even the sin be not privately (*andarg*) declared by me unto the assembly which *has* deliberated at Shirâz⁵. 12. You order this, and

¹ J omits this phrase.

² Reading *mêsakh* or *miskhâ*; but it may be *masagth*, 'squeezing.'

³ J has merely the words, 'even then the opinion of the high-priest *for* the realm,' which gives a reverse meaning to the text.

⁴ It appears from this, that when a supreme high-priest became very old, his worldly duties were put in commission, by being intrusted to a committee of four of the most learned priests; but the opinion of the superannuated high-priest was still supreme in spiritual matters, though not to be trusted in worldly affairs.

⁵ Whither Mânûskîhar had specially gone to hold this assembly before writing Ep. I (see Ep. I, iii, 13).

it is known that if it were a statement of yours in the assembly of the Tughazghuz¹, *you* would have been still less a speaker in private.

13. I consider that you are as much under-hand (afr) about this, as regards yourself, as Zaratûst² the club-footed (apafrôbd) when he arranged his garments (vakhshakthâ), and his club-foot is itself overspread thereby even to himself, so that *he was* then approved *as good*³ by *some* of those of Kirmân⁴ when they heard *of it*, and those of Rât⁵ (Râzîkânô) wrote a reply that, if *he* should be appointed by you also at a distance, *he* would then be approved by them likewise *as good*. 14. This idea of yours is more heinous than that act of his, the reply from *various* sides is more mischievous, the disgrace among the people is more unslumberable, the load upon the soul is more consumingly heavy, and the

¹ The MSS. have Tughzghuz in Pâzand. Mas'âudî states (A.D. 943) that the Taghazghaz were a powerful Turkish tribe who dwelt between Khurâsân and China, in and around the town of Kûrân, and not very far from the supposed sources of the Ganges. They had become Manicheans, having been converted from idolatry to the heretical form of Mazda-worship taught by Mazdak (see Mas'âudî, ed. Barbier de Meynard, vol. i, pp. 214, 288, 299, quoted at length in a note to Sls. VI, 7). It would seem from the allusion in our text that Zâd-spâram had recently been among these Taghazghaz, and might have imbibed some of their heretical opinions, so as to lead to this controversy with his brother and the orthodox people of Sîrkân. That he had recently been in the extreme north-east of Khurâsân is further shown by the allusion to Sarakhs in Chap. V, 3.

² Evidently some recent pretender to the supreme high-priesthood, who had endeavoured to conceal the deformity that disqualified him for that office.

³ That is, fit for the dignity he aspired to.

⁴ Here written Gîrmân (see Dd. XCIV, 13).

⁵ Near Teherân.

severance *from*, and contest *with*, Aûharmazd and Zaratûst become more incalculably perplexing. 15. And this, too, is my summing up (khapîr)¹—when your own acquaintance with the religion and salvation of soul are *in* such force—by the parable (ângunt-aîtakö) of that physician of the body who, when they asked about destroying the toothache, thereupon gave his reply thus: ‘Dig it out!’ and they rejoined thus: ‘He is always wanted *as* our physician, so that he may cure even a tooth which is diseased;’ I *would* extract its teeth² more plentifully and *with* more suspicion than he.

16. And if, also, those of the good religion in the country of Irân be, therefore, always in want of the learning and acquaintance with religion of *his* priestly lordship, so that he disperses the profession and the preparation *and* management of the remedy³ of many diseases, then he throws it away as a profession, *and* there is not much of a necessity for the wisdom *and* learning of *his* priestly lordship. 17. For *there* are *some* of the *present* time would never vouchsafe approval of a presiding fire⁴, which is in many modes an advance of foreign habits; *and* of many *things* which are in writing, *of* a nature easier and more comfortable in a worldly *sense*, they offer and

¹ J converts the phrase into ‘very heinous to me,’ by reading *avîr* and adding *girân*.

² That is, he would drive the morbid ideas from his brother’s mind.

³ Meaning the practice of the Bareshnûm ceremony, for which the priests were specially required.

⁴ Probably because they saw no necessity for the presence of the fire at the sacred ceremonies. He is warning his brother that his heretical teachings would soon make the people imagine that they could dispense with the priesthood altogether.

always give more than he who is a priest; and, *at* last, no one ever accepts *any* except him who is astute in evil *and* wicked¹.

CHAPTER II.

1. I *have* also examined that writing² in detail, and *it* is very unprepared for the remarks of the learned and those acquainted with the religion, for the sentences concocted *have* to be divided, and the slender demonstration is disconnected (aparvan-dīdō); so I consider that *it* is not sent to be seen, as regards which such a course *would*, indeed, *be* a cause of terror to purifiers. 2. *It* is so written that, while on account of *that* same terror they are very much alarmed, and are thorough in maintaining the duty of the continuance of care for water and bull's urine³, and *of* the formula of the operation, they shall more fully perform *it* as a duty provided for high-priests; even from that I am more fully of opinion that your like judgment and own concession *have* produced this explanation.

3. When I saw in the decree, such as that which you have written, that each time *one* comes unto a purifier who washes *in* such manner as is declared

¹ That is, some priest who teaches such heresies. These terms are those applied to the demons themselves in Pahl. Vend. XIX, 140, 141, 147.

² The decree of Zād-spāram, a copy of which had been sent to him by the people of Sīrkān (see Ep. I, iv, 7).

³ The two liquids used in the purifying ceremony of the Bare-shnūm (see App. IV).

in revelation—which is evident, indeed, from *his* existence when *he* is a religious purifier, *and* also from *your* priestly lordship's knowledge of the rite; indeed, there is no use of *that* same decree unless the scripture of revelation, likewise, be so—*he* is to do *it with* very strict observation, *now*, since, owing to the reception of terror by the purifiers, that preparation is evidently to produce, as regards their own disposition and movements, much harm *and* irregularity, *and* perplexed thoughts *among* the people, the discredit of the decreer is generated therefrom, and it would have been more reasonable to consider the terror and doubt of the purifiers in another way.

4. That which is so explained by you as though it would remain accomplished *and* would be in notice—and this is written by you like as it were from a teaching of *some* description—is not proper; because, thus, every rite in the performance of the desired operation, even by one *single* teaching, is suitable, *which*, like the preparation for the statements of lying litigants, is very like, *but* not correct. 5. For when there are *some* who *have* furthered Mēdyôk-mâh¹ better than the teaching of Afarg¹, *it* is well when every single rite in the teaching is right; and *as to* his rite *it* is not very clear that deliverance² is promoted by maintaining *it*. 6. Even on that *occasion* when Mēdyôk-mâh *has* mentioned threefold washing, *and* Afarg once washing³, Mēdyôk-mâh is the after deponent and Afarg the prior

¹ See Ep. I, v, 1.

² From pollution.

³ In Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, *j* (see App. IV), where the threefold washing is connected with the name of Afarg, and the once washing with that of Mēdyôk-mâh; but Ep. I, vi, 7–9 agrees with the statement here.

deponent¹; and, on that account, the statement is to be made as long as Mēdyôk-mâh is preserved, *but* as regards the opinion of the words of Afarg *it* is to be maintained in a state of preservation.

7. *As to* that which Afarg *has* said², that 'two purifiers are requisite,' Mēdyôk-mâh *has* also said that one is plenty; *and*, since the teaching of Sô-shâns³ is similar evidence to his, as to that which is said by him, they have thus been more unanimous that when there is one it would be proper; *and* as several high-priests have announced just the same evidence, *and* Afarg himself *and* other priests have been of the same opinion where *it* is the performance of the beginning of the Vlkaya ('exorcism')⁴, Mēdyôk-mâh is preserved. 8. Not on this account, that Afarg is more preservative⁵ through once washing, is the operation to be performed according to the teaching of Afarg, but the once washing from Afarg who is the prior deponent, *and* the one purifier from Mēdyôk-mâh who is the most corroborated are to be accepted and to be conducted.

9. And even the computers of the stars would make the position of the stars which exists when that of the sun *and* moon is from the direction (min zîk) of Satvâharân⁶, that of Saturn from the direc-

¹ The words pasîmal, 'after deponent,' and pēsmâl, 'prior deponent,' are here written alike (see Ep. I, vi, 10, note).

² In Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, *b* (see App. IV and compare Ep. I, vi, 1-4).

³ See Ep. I, v, 1.

⁴ See Ep. I, vi, 6.

⁵ From pollution (see § 6).

⁶ The high-priest of the Parsis in Bombay is of opinion that the names of the three 'directions' mentioned in this section are the Pahlavi forms of the names of three of the lunar mansions, whose

tion of Avênak, and that of Mars from the direction of Padramgôs, a position *which* sends much good, *and* is said *to be* capable of undoubtedly (anârangak) bringing on maturity of strength. 10. That this is to be seen as an occurrence (*gastô*) is a conjunction (*nazdakô*) which is not possible¹, because, if the conjunction of Satvâharân *be* exact, yet, since Saturn *and* Mars are not at *their* conjunctions (*min nazdak*), its effect is not a good configuration (*khûp tanû*); if the conjunction of Avênak *be* exact, yet, since the sun, moon², *and* Mars are not at their conjunctions, its effect is not good; *and* if the conjunction of Padramgôs *be* exact, yet, since the sun, moon, and Saturn are not³ at their conjunctions, the effect is

Pâzand appellations are given in Bd. II, 3; and he identifies Satvâharân with Kahtsar, Avênak with Avdem, and Padramgôs with Padêvar. The reading of all these names is, however, very uncertain. Satvâharân is written Satâharân three times out of the five occurrences of the name, and the first syllable might easily be read Gaht=Kaht, so as to correspond with the Pâzand; on the other hand, the reading Sat corresponds with Sata-bhishag or Sata-tâarakâ, the Sanskrit name of the 25th lunar mansion, Kahtsar. As Pâz. Avdem seems to be merely Pahl. afdûm, 'last,' I prefer identifying Avênak (which can also be read Avêrak) with the ninth lunar mansion, Avra (Avrak in Bd. VII, 1, Avrak in Zs. VI, 1), the Sans. Ârleshâ. Padramgôs is also written Padramgôs twice out of the three occurrences of the name; its identification with Padêvar makes it the first lunar mansion, the Sans. Arvinî. The aspect of the heavens, therefore, which is here mentioned as very auspicious, has the sun and new moon in the latter part of Aquarius, Saturn in the first part of Aries, and Mars in the latter part of Cancer, that is, twice as far from Saturn as the latter is from the sun and moon.

¹ That is, it very rarely happens; as rarely as the exact agreement of three different commentators, whom these three conjunctions are intended to represent.

² Reading *mitrô mâh*, instead of *Mêdyôk-mâh*.

³ The MSS. omit *lâ*, 'not,' by mistake.

not good; on account of¹ which, in any conjunction which is not exact, they believe *it* possible *for* a firm mind also to accomplish this auspicious labour (sukh-varzishnō), but they say the just and wise should make the decision². 11. So that this one is a very good position, because that which is truly issuing (râst-tag) through the conjunction of Satvâharân is from that mighty Satvâharân³, *and* that of Satvâharân *being* better through the conjunction of Padramgôs, that is done⁴.

12. You *should* understand that of the same kind is the similitude of the three teachings, of which you *have* written, with this similitude which I *have* portrayed⁵ *and* ordered to form *and* scheme, so that you *may* look at it more clearly, from a proper regard for your own deliverance⁶, *for* the sharp

¹ Reading râl, as in J, instead of the lâ, 'not,' of K35 and BK.

² That is, the circumstances are too unpropitious for any one to come to a decision without consulting those who are better qualified to judge, as is also the case when commentators disagree.

³ Reading min zak rabâ Satvâharân, but this is doubtful, because K35 has min rabâ âharân with zak Sat written above min rabâ; BK has min zak Satō (or dâdō) rabâ âharân (or khârân), which is merely reading the same characters in a different order; while J omits most of the doubtful phrase, having merely min zak-i, which, with the alteration of râst-tag into râsttar, changes the meaning into the following:—'because that which is through the conjunction of Satvâharân is more correct than that of Satvâharân, *and* that which is through the conjunction of Padramgos, that is done.'

⁴ Or 'that remains the effect.'

⁵ Reading nîsânînfâdō; K35 and BK omit the first letter so as to convert the word into dîhânînfâdō, which might mean 'presented.'

⁶ From pollution. There is some temptation to use the word 'salvation' for bûgishn, but this would introduce ideas that were, no doubt, foreign to the author's mind.

intellectuality of the re-explainers of *what* is not well-considered *in connection* with *its* purpose (âhan-kö), *and for* the accumulation of *opinions* that is steadfast in the law of the ancients *and* orders *you* to heed *it*. 13. For, owing to the miraculousness and pre-eminence of that¹, he who thinks to restore the good ideas of the ancients does not himself understand the knowledge in that wisdom of the ancients, *and* does not keep his own presumption (mīnñh) lowly and teachable; much, too, which is through his own learning is declared *to be* out of it (the law), *and* how he orders *us* to understand *it* is *by* his own opinion².

CHAPTER III.

1. *It* is disquieting about this, too, which is declared in your writing³, as regards *your* vehement desire and embarrassment (rūzdñh) for a new law, and *your* wish and longing for the establishment of the law of the apostles⁴; as also that which you *have* done about the gathering of the details of statements from the three teachings⁵, *and* about

¹ The ancient law, as contained in the difficult language of the Avesta.

² That is, commentators are apt to attribute to the scriptures many opinions which really originate in themselves.

³ The decree mentioned in Chap. II, 1.

⁴ That is, the new law which the future apostles, Hūshêdar, Hūshêdar-mâh, and Sôshâns (see Dd. II, 10) are expected to bring, so as to restore the religion in preparation for the resurrection.

⁵ Those of Mêdyôk-mâh, Afarg, and Sôshâns (see Ep. I, v, 1, 6).

causing the rapid bringing of the new law. 2. And on account of your embarrassment and wrong-doing (*vadag*) they would give up the *Frasnâteê* ('washing upwards') and *Upasnâteê* ('washing downwards'), to bring the fifteen *times* which are without ordinance (*barâ âfnakö*), that are after it², back to the fifteen which are a portion of the ordinance (*âfnakö vâf*).

3. *As to* the three times, each of which times *one* runs a mile (*hâsar*) even until he obtains a purifier³, since peradventure thy mile (*parasang*), too, *might* become more, all the good work is written purposely (*ag-karthâ*) of three miles and more⁴. 4. And that, too, which the high-priests have so appointed, when *he has* striven in that manner for three persons⁵, or that sin and retribution of his is apportioned unto them *and* brought to the balance (*sangag-âfnakö*), is because that commission and retribution of sin *might* now, peradventure, be

¹ These terms are quoted from Vend. VIII, 276, 279 (see App. V), and are thus explained in Pahlavi in Chap. IV, 2.

² Referring, apparently, to the second mention of the fifteen washings, in Pahl. Vend. VIII, 281, which does not occur in the Avesta text ('the ordinance'), but refers to its previous occurrence in § 279 of the Avesta. But, perhaps, the author means that they would confound the final washing appointed in Vend. VIII, 299 with the preliminary washing appointed in the previous § 279.

³ See Vend. VIII, 280, 287, 291 (compare App. V and Ep. I, ii, 6, note).

⁴ After the polluted person has thrice run a mile, he is to run further (see Vend. VIII, 294) to some inhabited spot; from which directions the author concludes that any excess of distance is immaterial. K35 and BK have 'four miles and more,' but this seems to be a copyist's blunder.

⁵ To purify him, and, if they refuse, they each take a share of his sin (see Vend. VIII, 280-293).

allotted unto the priest¹; for if *he were* impure (palistō) there *would* be no one whatever who would properly perform the purification as it is necessary.

5. Then it *has* become indispensable *for* you to perform the purification, for that operation—so suitable for the discreet where ‘he who *has been* by the dead²,’ so that he has become polluted, and even ‘the stars and moon and sun shine upon his life discontentedly’—is just as fit for the exalted when there is great ‘propitiation of fire, water, earth, cattle, righteous males, and righteous women’ thereby. 6. So great is *its* value *that* where there is no purification *of* the body *it* is not possible to purify the life *and* soul; *and* when there is a man in a realm who is able to perform it, that man is not justifiable except when he shall perform *it*.

7. Finally, when that pre-eminent operation is *being* accomplished, over which *there* is in revelation and the perfect information due to revelation that supreme³ control which you are so disputing in the religion—which even through your trifling (khûr-dakō) in the name of authority is becoming a struggle (patkâr-yehevûn)—then, though it may not be possible for you to perform *it* yourself, it should thereupon be the duty of some one of your *disciples* to perform it in your sight, so that you *may* be aware of the rite, even apart from the great resources in *that* most learned (âztûm) acquaintance

¹ Who is to purify him finally with the Bareshnûm ceremony.

² Referring to Vend. IX, 161–163, quoted at length in Ep. I, iv, 3.

³ Reading mahistō, but it can also be read Mazdayastō, ‘Mazda-worshipping.’

with revelation which is associated with you¹.
 8. Also from that which is repeatedly written by you with understanding of the rite, as regards all three teachings², *it* is manifest those rites are mentioned even *as* those *which* are more maintained, *and* are not those which are unnecessary to perform.
 9. You are a something therein that *tends* to preserve³ a little *of* what it is not possible for thee to attain fully in any mode; when thou shalt obtain the operations of the voice⁴, and the water and bull's urine, as well as the three men⁵, or thou shalt give a man⁶ to wash therein, the intellect of those controlling is then, indeed, not preservative therein.

10. It is proper also for you to consecrate the water *and* bull's urine by that ritual which is in all three teachings, to prepare your own ritualistic liquid *and* other *things* which are approved among you with mutual assistance, *and* to appoint a purifier who *has* performed fully acceptably *and* been wanted.
 11. Then, to give *out* properly to the country that the purification is according to my order, I always

¹ That is, even when not performing the ceremony himself, his presence would be desirable, for the sake of securing due attention to all the details, with which his superior knowledge must make him better acquainted than his subordinates.

² See § 1.

³ Reading *bûkhtanô*; the MSS. divide the word, so as to convert it into *barâ tanû*, 'without a body.' The meaning is that by his presence he is, at all events, able to secure some efficiency in the ceremony, when he is compelled to intrust its performance to subordinates who are not fully competent.

⁴ In the prayers and exorcisms.

⁵ See § 4.

⁶ That is, one thoroughly qualified (the priest mentioned in § 4) who requires no special supervision.

perform *it* more acceptably than that of other purifiers. 12. For the water *and* bull's urine are all consecrated by me, and the three hundred pebbles (sang¹) are cast into them (aûbas) by me, just as it is directed; the operation is also directed by me in the three days² when it is performed, and all the customary *parts* are washed three times by me³; the ablution seats (makō) are also arranged by me anew for every single person, and the use of washed seats is not ordered by me therein⁴; every rite of the washing by the purifier is also so performed by me as all three teachings have mentioned as perfection. 13. You become the best of the district, as regards the minutiae (bârikîdōân) of the purification that is within your duty, so long as they excite the sight⁵, *but* which are curtailed (kazd) by you in the way of washing disclosed to me⁶, while, when it should be performed by you in this manner, your performance would be equally constantly extolled *and* your writing praised.

14. When, then, you write of it that they should always perform it just as now, the falsity therein is

¹ See Ep. I, vii, 16.

² The 'three washings' mentioned in Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, 0 (see App. IV); referring probably to those after the third, sixth, and ninth nights (see Vend. IX, 136, 140, 144), that is, on the fourth, seventh, and tenth days of the Bareshnûm ceremony. Most of this clause is omitted in J.

³ As said to have been directed by Mēdyôk-mâh (see Chap. II, 6, Ep. I, vi, 7), though the extant Pahlavi Vendidâd (IX, 132, 7) attributes the order to Afarg.

⁴ Compare Ep. I, ix, 7, Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, 9, 5.

⁵ J has 'so long as they advance the purification as much as possible by a resemblance so approved.'

⁶ In the heretical decree under consideration.

grievous (yagar), and I know none worse; for this washing and professional purification which *one* is to keep in operation—as is declared by revelation, the teaching of high-priests, and those of the primitive faith who are esteemable¹—you withdraw (madam dêrêdô) from the midst *of us*. 15. That *which* you understand yourself is that unto Aôharmazd the confederate good creatures are as *it were* defiled, *and* in the eyes of the good *and* wise *they are* as *it were* propitiatory towards the mischievous Vâê². 16. And your words about it are just as they say concerning a beggar³, where a garment is given to him, thus: 'Wash the dirt (âlûg) on him thoroughly clean;' *and* that garment they shall take is put upon the fire *and* burnt; and he spoke thus: 'My dirt *was* a comfort.'

CHAPTER IV.

1. *It*⁴ is both explained again *and* summarized *thus*:—If the decree be from a law of Zaratûst, is it so decreed as he spoke it? and if they should never perform by that, do not bring the Avesta *and* its exposition into the midst *of it*. 2. For the fifteen times *of* which you *have* written, if from the revelation of Zaratûst, are his mode of *washing* fifteen times upwards and fifteen times downwards⁵, a rule

¹ That is, by the Avesta and Zand.

² Reading anâkô Vâê; he is the demon that carries off the soul (see Dd. XXX, 4). Even the best creatures are imperfect in the eyes of Aôharmazd and the righteous.

³ Reading niyâskar, instead of the niyâsar of the MSS.

⁴ His own line of argument.

⁵ See Chap. III, 2.

which is fulfilled. 3. *It* is said, if *one's defilement* be owing to depositing any bodily refuse (higar-1), then nothing of this is ever necessary for him, for one reckoning (mar-1)¹ will smite that which he takes hold of with a finger and *it* is clean, or it will smite a golden yellow clean, or whatever² it shall smite is clean; but nothing *merely* clean is purified, unless a demon be clean³.

4. And this, too, is very amazing to me, that when this is not taken into account by you, that when there should be, *and one* should obtain, no purifier⁴ it would then be necessary for him to operate himself⁵, how then is this knowledge obtained by you, on which information (âgahîh) *has* reached you, that the purifying of all the purifiers of the country of Irân is just as they should always perform *it*. 5. When, as I consider, there is then no complete acquaintance *with* the management of a house in you, its own master, in what manner then is your account of the gossip⁶, *and your* information, about all the purifiers of the country of Irân

¹ That is, a single washing, which is sufficient for ordinary defilements unconnected with the dead.

² This is doubtful; the word seems to be *kîkê* in Pâzand, but, as the Av. *î* and *û* are much alike in Iranian MSS., it may be read *kûk-ê*, and the phrase would then be 'or it will smite a penis clean.'

³ That is, cleanliness can no more be considered purification than a demon, who is supposed to be an embodiment of impurity, can be considered clean.

⁴ J has 'when there should be no purifier it would be necessary to beg the help of a chief of the religion, and when *one* should not obtain *that*.'

⁵ As directed in Vend. VIII, 299 (see App. V).

⁶ Reading *vaš sakhûn*, but this is uncertain.

obtained? 6. If your *people* should abandon that *which is* most indispensable, and your account of the gossip, as regards that which the whole realm *has* done, *be* not according to the commands of religion and to sound wisdom; *and* if it has not come completely to your knowledge as the washing of the purifiers of the country of Irân—because, when you do not fix the number even of their footsteps¹, *it is* certain that *your* understanding of their disposition *and* virtuous practice is even less—then it was necessary for you to determine the reason that all the purifiers in the country of Irân always wash that way that is declared as improper, with whatever certainty *it be* uttered *or* written.

CHAPTER V.

1. If this which is said by you be a knowledge that is replete (avkâr) with advantage, why was it then necessary for you to keep *it* as *it were* concealed² from me, when I thus consider that, if a knowledge should be rightly obtained by you, it should then have been needful for you to report unto me on the first rumour³ from every *one* who is well-enlightened (hû-bâm)? 2. If this decree

¹ Referring probably either to the distance of the Bareshnûm place from pure objects, or to the distances between the holes or ablution seats, and from them to the furrows, mentioned in Vend. IX, 12, 14, 18, 22 (see App. IV).

² Reading nihânō, as in J, but K35 and BK omit the first letter.

³ Assuming that mayâg is a pseudo-Huzvâris equivalent of âvâg (Pers. âvâ); mayâ being the true Huzvâris of âv, 'water.'

seemed so to you before, between when you have been in Pârs and this *time* when in Sîrkân, *it was* not well considered with those acquainted with the religion, the wise *and* the high-priests, *and* not even reported. 3. If not conceived by you before, then what learned acquaintance with the religion *was* acquired by you in Sarakhs¹ *and* Shirâz, about which you are enlightened? 4. And before it was to be well considered amid observation *and* meditation² what high-priest *was* obtained by you in Shirâz, who, when it was well considered with him, in completely securing himself, kept you *away* from deliberation to be decided with me *and* other priestly *men* and high-priests?

5. If not decided by you in Pârs on account of breaking *away* from me, that is *as* though you yourself understand that I *am* to keep, *in* my own person, not even in the rank of discipleship unto you, but in that which is like servitude; and my coming³, which is on your account, is even an accumulation of harm *and* distrust (tars) which you *have* amassed for yourself by *having* written *and* acted, *and* has made *me* suffer sorrow (vîdvarînidô) in my own person. 6. If it had been shown to me by you *that* it would be the preservation of the religion, it would then have incited me to accept *it* steadfastly. 7. If,

¹ A town in the extreme north-east of Khurâsân, between Nishah-pûhar and Marv, but nearer the latter city. When in this town Zâd-spâram probably came in contact with the Tughazghuz mentioned in Chap. I, 12.

² J inserts the words 'by you, and through your good consideration *it was* more properly undeceiving, if done, then.'

³ Referring to his intended visit to Sîrkân, mentioned in Chaps. VI, 4, 6, VII, 3, Ep. I, xi, 4.

for the sake of co-operation with me, a lawful decree had been even more privately propagated by you, and if the religious demonstration about it *were* conservative *and* correct, it would then have been less vexatious for you to explain *it* to me than to others who *have* less acquaintance with the decrees *and* declaration of revelation; *and* if a difference had arisen thereon, a correct reply would then have come to you more fully from me. 8. And if you conceive that it is not necessary to demonstrate *it* to me through the declaration in revelation, that deliverance which it is not necessary to announce is not to be so decreed, even in another place. 9. And, just as even in Pârs, if *it were* not decreed by you in Sîrkân on that account, when your conception *was* that they would not accept *it* from you, it was necessary for you to know that, because it *was* not possible for you to provide much interval for demonstration.

10. If *its* purport *be* now considered by you, when you are moving as to the writing from Shirâz¹—which writes fully *of* your acquirement and interpretation of it, and *of* a mutilated deliverance²—the arrangements for iniquity on this subject are many. 11. And one of them is the erroneous writing³ which is with me, for you conceive that they would accept from me your *view*, as *it were* swearing (sôkandîkô) that it does not go to the filth accumulated for⁴

¹ Referring probably to Ep. I, which appears to have been written from Shirâz after holding a general assembly (see Chap. I, 11, Ep. I, iii, 13); but this epistle, judging from the remark in the text, was probably written after Mânûskîhar had left Shirâz, as was also Ep. III (see Chap. VIII, 1).

² From pollution.

³ See Chap. II, 1.

⁴ Assuming that the Pâz. pgsâhu stands for paz sâkh-1; but,

Zarātōst, and does not contend with him; *and that* the opposition (hamêmalth) does not strive *for* a new law, *and* does not increase the evil of the spirit *and* the world, since it labours *for* the hoard of the soul.

12. And, persistently concealed, that *was* done by thee, owing to which is the anguish of my life; for *it* is annoying when a wound of the soul is not actually realised by means of the decree; but if, too, it should be really avoidable, *it* is then even said *that* ignorance itself would be regenerative (navazû-dâarthâ), since *it* is not dubious to me, unless a matured knowledge of creation and some of that even *of* the angels should be in sight¹. 13. Also through their much talking, which is like Vîsaris², and much affliction, which is like the eradication of life, *there* is a perpetual demonstration then *in* every place of the country of Irân, where this information *about* its religion shall arrive, *that* they then consider thee as an apostate and an enemy of the religion.

14. And through this eager procedure of yours many troops in the provinces, who *have* to horse (aspîntîdanö) themselves, *have* joined Âtûrö-pâd³;

as Av. *g* and *d* are much alike, it may be pdsâhu, which, when written in Pahlavi letters, can also be read pad gêhân, 'protector of the world;' or pdsâhu may be merely a corruption of pad-shâh=pâdakhshah, 'sovereign.'

¹ Meaning that he should have preferred being ignorant of such a decree, unless it exhibited far more knowledge of the truth than it actually did.

² So written here in Pâzand; but, no doubt, the demon Vîzaresha (the Vîzarâsh of Dd. XXXII, 4, XXXVII, 44), who carries off the souls of the wicked, is meant.

³ The name, apparently, of some rival of his in authority, who is also mentioned in Chap. IX, 11.

for, inasmuch as those most mounted on horses¹ are the washers² of Sîrkân, who would have always thought about their abundance which is due to the archangels, they have spoken with opponents about this interpretation of the section *of scripture* (vîdak)³, and so become similarly testifying⁴, thus: 'We do not conceive it is necessary to demand thy reason for this most grievous disaster⁵, a thing which is more complete through your elucidation of doubt and the power of the enemy, owing to this way which is appointed by thee.' 15. And on that account, too, *it* is more disquieting unto me, when I am aware both of the origin *of* this perplexity *and* the surpassing contamination which is possible to arise from it.

16. And you always so observe as not to leap (lâ atyyûkhtanö) without looking before; but temporary observation is nothing really of that *which*, by a well-stinging similitude, is what *one* observes, with the eyesight looking well forward, *when* dust of many kinds is domesticated with the sight of the

¹ Reading asp-vâarakântûm, and this meaning tallies well with the previous mention of troops horsing themselves; but J, by prefixing a stroke, changes the word into vâspôharakântûm, 'those most renowned among the spheres.'

² The ceremonial washers or priests.

³ The term vîdak is applied to sections or chapters of the Avesta in Dd. XLVII, 1, 5, 6, LXVI, 4; and here it must be applied to the Avesta of Vend. VIII or IX, to which the misinterpretations of Zâd-sparam specially referred.

⁴ J has 'and so given similar testimony, which is written by them of a priest of your fame, and written by them to me.'

⁵ The diminution of their means of livelihood by the decrease of ceremonial washing, more than their apprehension of the sinfulness of such decrease.

eye; and if his intellect be not judicious he is wonderfully deceived by it; and *should* it be even when he mentions the existence of two moons, *has it* become more proved thereby? 17. *It is* a custom of the most provoking in itself, and presented disquietingly when I, who believe with a fervent mind, *would have* delivered the life even of *my* body over to the perplexing bridge¹ for your happiness *and* enjoyment. 18. Also, on account of my want of leisure, even the information which is presented, asking peace, is information I believe with a generous mind; and *being* aware regarding my want of leisure is both an advantage and harmful, and the heart to write of them² is, therefore, miraculous. 19. Then it is always necessary for me, who *am* in want of leisure, to write unto you so much writing of the harassing of annoyers *and* against disputes, of whose end there is no conception in my heart.

CHAPTER VI.

1. When at *any* time I write more pleasantly, this directs *you* to understand that still with the steadfast are my affection and natural lowly-mindedness; afterwards, too, that which *happens* when you have kept me wide away from the way of brotherhood, and higher even than a father, master, leader, ruler, *or* high-priest, is due to the fame and happiness of

¹ The *K'invaḍ* bridge, or passage to heaven (see Dd. XX, 3); meaning that he would have been ready to lose his life for the sake of his brother.

² The heart to write of the 'happiness and enjoyment' of § 17.

my body *and* life, not *to* affection of character, but the position of religion *and* the command of the sacred beings. 2. On that account, when you have seen the pure religiousness, the learned knowledge, *and* the repose-promoting truth of the invisible (avênâpñh) *of* which my¹ heart is leaping with evidence, so that you are steadfast even unto the nôid asta-ka ('not though the body') *of* which Zaratûst the Spitamân spoke²—and, because, turned by me to the religion which is thy passport (parvânakö) to the best existence, you have understood *that* it is the organizer of the greatest protection, *even* that is supposed by me—I undergo all the terror of the period in hope of the supreme recompense.

3. And the position that that religion *has* given, which on that account is mine, you have that way considered as supremacy³; and if, sent from you or another person, the opposition of *one of* the same religion is seen *to be* the dispersion and disruption of the appointed profession, I act against the continuance of the opposition, and as steadfastly as the series (zarah) of submissiveness and gratification of *your* priestly lordship *has* done to me. 4. And this *will* be undoubtedly realised by you, that if you do not turn away from this decree which is not preservative, but, *being* appointed, I reach out from

¹ The MS. J ends at this point, but the continuation of the text, as far as the word 'important' in Chap. IX, 7, is interpolated in Dd. XXXVII, 33 in the same MS.

² In Vend. XIX, 26, 'not though the body, not though the life, not though the consciousness should part asunder,' would he curse the good, Mazda-worshipping religion.

³ He now proceeds from persuasion to an assertion of his authority, accompanied by threats.

the country of Irân¹, then I *shall* become its greatest attacker of you. 5. And so I consider that from my opposition it is possible *for* more harm to happen unto you than from many accusers who are like the leader of those of the good religion, the many who are as *it were* of like fame with me.

6. And also from my departure, and the non-existence *of one* that is a friend of yours, who, like me, is less able to be for your harm than he who is *one* of the many accusers of whom it is I who am the restrainer, you know this, that my coming is on account of the affection of some and the reverence of others. 7. From the exercise of religion I do not at all fall *away*, and for the sake of the position of the religion I am maintaining opposition² to any one; even when he is a friend *who* is loved by me, I am then his antagonist. 8. Fate (zīkō)³ is the great truth of the vacant, the form (andām)⁴ which *has* procured the light of life.

CHAPTER VII.

1. A well-reflecting *person*, moreover, is able to understand that which is written by me, in private, in writing unto the good *people* of Sīrkān, as perhaps a legitimate copy⁵ of a writing of that kind from

¹ Referring to his intended visit to Sīrkān (see Chaps. V, 5, VII, 3, Ep. I, xi, 4).

² J has 'I am an opposition.'

³ Or 'living.'

⁴ Or 'the time (hangām).'

⁵ The MSS. have pīnō, instead of paīnō. This copy of Ep. I is mentioned in Ep. I, xi, 10.

me *may be* near you; and it was like the production of some one for the tearing and rending of his own limbs, and for the purpose of bringing on that remedy—the burning, torturing medicine that is religious¹—whose purpose is to remain *away* from the steadfast while *abiding* by the commands of religion. 2. This *same* epistle², which *was* one of very great incompleteness, and one as *it were* thinking very severely, *was* similar to the decision (azad³) to which I *have* come on the same subject, *which is* written of below and again; and accompanying this epistle *was* a man of my own with a further epistle⁴. 3. I am discharging (vigârakö) my own *duty* as regards it⁵, where I so arrange affairs of every kind which *it* is possible for me to complete *for a period* of three months⁶, and come myself to *where* you are, and that mastery (êlrîh) which is prepared is again arranged when it is wanted by them⁷.

4. You *have* already become a reserver (khamo-sdââr) and rapid preparer of the adaptation of words in which cogency *exists*, and *have* clearly explained

¹ Probably meaning 'remorse.'

² Ep. I.

³ Chald. ܐܝܕܐ, referring to his general mandate (Ep. III) mentioned again in Chap. VIII, 1.

⁴ The temporary epistle to Zâd-spam (mentioned in Ep. I, xi, 1, 5), of which no copy has been preserved.

⁵ J begins as follows:—'And I *will* come later on and more combatively, when it is requisite *for* the sacred beings (or for them); I am also myself in possession of an opportunity as regards it.'

⁶ This period for his visit to Sîrkân is also mentioned in Ep. I, xi, 4.

⁷ Or 'by the sacred beings;' the words *yasdân* and *sân* being written alike.

as much as is in sight about the reason of altering that decree, concerning which your opinion is written with great judiciousness. 5. But *as to* the understanding which prompted you to write properly, and not to alter the rites *and* purifications of the Avesta, and about the duty of purifying the purifiers¹, such as *has* entered into the practice of the good, the propriety is declared in the teaching of the high-priests; *and* to do *it* better, so far as is possible, is to strive forwards in goodness.

6. Also, as regards changing the law of the fifteen times *washing*², just as *it is* for Irân *in* which purifiers are to be found, it is ordered for *places* to be found without purifiers; *and it is* in the countries of Irân that the order is given regarding purifiers not thus appointed for the work.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. To arrange again for approval the other *matters*, of which a portion is written *about* by you, an epistle³ is again prepared in advance for Strkân, Shirâz, *and* other *places*, so as thus to make your decree a writing of bygone offence. 2. Because, if your despatch (first) prepared this new proceeding, and you do not turn away *from* it, *and* do not recede through opposition *and* accumulation of vexation, *and* these others, too, like thee, shall

¹ J has 'and not to alter the purification *in* the rites of the Avesta.'

² See Chaps. III, 2, IX, 2, Ep. I, ii, 6, note.

³ Ep. III, also mentioned as a 'decision' in Chap. VII, 2.

not now abandon routine of that kind, then *your* children, your own precious *ones* who are beloved—*of* whom I know that you make them love *you*, and do not, moreover, diminish in *your* protection *of them*—shall be your accusers; *and* they shall abandon confidence *in* me as refuge and guardian, *and* in the sacred beings, through want of advice *and* want of guardianship. 3. The fires of the sacred fires whose manager is a guard *and* protection such as I, lest they *should* not obtain such an officiating priest (zôttö), *will have* in defence and guardianship of themselves to make back to *their* Shirâz abode. 4. And *I* myself *shall have* to retire (agvirazîdanö) from the countries of Irân, *and* to wander forth to far distant realms where I *shall* not hear a rumour about your evil deeds. 5. In *my* occupation, moreover, my fortune (sukûn) *may be* to wander forth by water even to China, or by land even to Arûm¹; but *to be* carried off by Vâê², that uplifter, is much more my desire than when I am there where, owing to you, I hear that, as regards the glorifying of the sacred beings, which, because of my reply obtained above, *would* then *be* as much as death to me; *it would* also be the ending of that internal strife, *so* distasteful (aparvâarakö) to me, which is like *his* who *has* to struggle with his own life.

¹ The eastern empire of the Romans, that is, Asia Minor and the neighbouring regions.

² The bad Vâê, who carries off the soul (see Dd. XXX, 4).

CHAPTER IX.

1. This, too, this aged *one* (aûzvârdö¹) orders, that, *as to* the polluted of the countries of Irân, when they do not obtain another washer, their way is then through thoroughly washing *themselves*².

2. For you who are understanding the rite and capable of washing, *and* are the most forward and intelligent of the religious, so long as your previous washing is a way of no assistance, *there* is *this* tediously-worded epistle; moreover, all their sin you assign for your own affliction³, whose after-course is thus for their Pankadasa ('fifteenfold') washing⁴, *at* the time they shall abandon, *as* distasteful, that sin which is a new development by way of Upas-nâtê ('washing downwards')⁴; and the sinfulness is his who established that law for them.

3. And yours are truly creatures of a fetid pool (gand-âvö), who, as regards my motive, always speak about it just as they spoke thus to a priest⁵: 'Why *has* the savoury meat-offering not become forgotten by thee, *while* the firewood and incense, because it is not possible to eat *them* up, are quite

¹ From this it appears clearly that Mâûsîhar was an aged man when these epistles were written, though not too old to travel. The previous allusion to old age, however, in Chap. I, 9, may not have referred to himself.

² As provided in Vend. VIII, 299 (see App. V).

³ J omits *alag*, 'affliction'; and in K₃₅ it is doubtful whether it be struck out, or not.

⁴ See Chap. III, 2 for both these terms.

⁵ Implying that the laity were inclined to attribute his own strict enforcement of ceremonies, requiring the employment of the priesthood, to interested motives.

forgotten?' 4. Also, *as* a similitude of your affairs, they are saying that *it is* as though the stipend of guardianship *were* always to be demanded just *in accordance* with omissions of duty (avâg mânt-d'ihâ)¹. 5. So that even while the trifle of trifles which exists *as* an interval from the title of leadership unto *that of* high-priestship—in which, except a title that is no joy of the strictly religious, there is nothing whatever—is, that way, to prepare a source of dispute as to the work which you do for the guardianship, it should, therefore, be a sufficiency (khvâr-bâr), where your own supreme work is purification itself; and to do either *what* is taught, or is advantageous, would be withdrawing from the country a demand which *has* caused disturbance (balûbâkîntâdö); to subdue *it* thou shouldst always so decide the daily allowances².

6. And, to-day, I *have*, on that account, written everything sternly, because that which another person arranges and speaks so opposed *to me* in evil appearance—which is little fit *to be* prepared—when I write seasonably, and with friendly and brotherly exaltation, you direct and persevere more expressly in preparing, so that portion upon portion is thus brought forth. 7. In good old age³ the great law of after-restoration is a harsh remedy, and, on that

¹ That is, the laity attributed his brother's laxity, on the other hand, to sheer neglect of duty, and had, therefore, begun to consider his supervision hardly worth paying for.

² Meaning that by adherence to long-established custom, as regards both priestly work and priestly allowances, the laity would be better satisfied and more easily managed.

³ Reading hû-kahôbanîh; J has merely kahôbanîh, 'old age, antiquity.' He appears to be referring rather to the antiquity of the Avesta law, than to his own old age.

supposition, where *a rule* is shown to descend from their three teachings¹, *and* is itself regarded as true, *and* the wisdom of the period *as* impotent (anôzô-harîkô), you yourself fully imagine (hû-minêdô)² that *further restoration* is not an important³ and foremost thing. 8. Those of different faiths of various kinds *have* many usages and perplexing kinds of doubt, even about the accomplishment *and* explanation of the statements of the high-priests⁴, for *on* this subject, about old age (gûnânîh), *and* even about sprinkling and about yourself accomplishing the religious *rites*, you are wisely *for* a preservation of the equally wise experience of the profession; *and as to* the heterodox, that writing which realised that even now memory is opposing you is itself evil-wishing⁵, and you know *it* is your own arrangement.

9. This, too, they⁶ say that, if *it be* on that account that the purifiers shall not always so perform the purification by all three teachings, or every rite which is proper according to one teaching, it will be necessary *that* the purifiers shall abandon purification. 10. Then about old age, the performance of the ceremonial⁷, *and* the many times of this which

¹ See Chap. III, 1, Ep. I, v, 1, 6.

² J has khavîtûnêd, 'you know.' He deprecates all further investigation into the meaning of the scriptures, which had already been explained by three old commentators, as he doubted the religious wisdom of the age in which he lived.

³ The continuation of the text in J ends at this point.

⁴ The commentators.

⁵ That is, the decree of Zâd-sparam, though itself objectionable, was opposed to the heterodox who wished for further innovations.

⁶ The heterodox.

⁷ Referring perhaps to the performance of the Vendidad service

are mentioned as *though* this *were* proper, *it* is stated as regards how it is proper that, when on account of those of the good religion they always proceed just as is mentioned in the Zand teaching of the Avesta¹, it will then be necessary *that* they shall abandon the religion. 11. And many other sayings of things like unto these are scattered about (zerkhûnî-altö), and are named near Âtûrö-pâd² as hints from you; for this reason they are reckoned (khaprag-altö) in the thoughts of men.

12. And this much is written by me in distressing haste; I consider *it* complete, and *may* peace and every happiness perpetually become hospitably attainable *and* accomplishable for you thereby, through the severe anguish *and* discomfort, *and* the eternal distress and despondency *of* the healer of affliction, Mânûskîhar, son of Yûdân-Yim, director of the profession of priests of Pârs and Kirmân³.

13. Written in propitiation, praise, and benediction of the creator Aûharmazd and the archangels, all the angels of the spiritual and the angels of the worldly *existences*, *and* every guardian spirit of the righteous. 14. Homage to the exalted pontiff (radö) sent from the creator Aûharmazd, the most heavenly of the heavenly, Zaratûst the Spîtamân. 15. The

(which includes the Yasna ceremonial) as directed in Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, b, o (see App. IV).

¹ It is possible also to read 'in the teaching of the Avesta *and* Zand;' but this would ignore the fact that the 'teaching' is the Zand itself.

² The same rival as is mentioned in Chap. V, 14.

³ According to Dd. XLV, 5 the farmâdâr or 'director' of the profession of priests of Pârs was the pêsûpât or 'leader' of the religion.

most prayerful *and* gainful of things is righteousness; great and good and perfect is Zaratûst; *and* one *only* is the way of righteousness, all the others are no ways¹.

¹ Compare Dd. XCIV, 14, Ep. III, 23.

EPISTLE III.

TO ALL OF THE GOOD RELIGION IN IRÂN.

In the name of the sacred beings.

A copy of the notification (*vishâdakö*) of *his* priestly lordship Mânûskêhar, son of Yûdân-Yim, regarding the grievous sinfulness of *assuming* the propriety of washing for fifteen times.

In the name of the sacred beings.

1. It *has* come unto the ears (*vasammûnisnö*) of me, Mânûskêhar, son of Yûdân-Yim, pontiff (*rad*) of Pârs *and* Kirmân¹, that, in some quarters of the country of Irân, they whose chance happens *to be* so much² pollution, such as is decreed unto so much washing of the customary *parts* (*pîsakö*), always wash *themselves* fifteen times with bull's urine and once with water, consider themselves as clean³, and go to water, fire, and *ceremonial* ablution, the ablution

¹ See Dd. XCIV, 13.

² Reading *hâvan*; but it may be 'pollution of the spiritual life (*ahvô*),' though this is hardly possible in the next phrase, where the same word occurs.

³ By confounding the preliminary washing appointed in Vend. VIII, 279 with the final washing appointed in Vend. VIII, 299 (see App. V, and compare Ep. II, iii, 2, ix, 2).

of the sacred twigs. 2. Such—although¹ they say that Zâd-spam², son of Yûdân-Yim, *has* ordered, *and* the high-priests *have* appointed, washing of this kind—*has* appeared to my well-reflecting (hû-min) opinion, apprehension, and appreciation very marvellous *and* grave, and *merely* a rumour. 3. And *it* is needful for me to keep those of the good religion in *all* quarters of the country of Irân informed concerning the placing reliance upon their washing with the Bareshnûm *ceremony*³, *and* to make my own opinion clear also as regards the writings collected.

4. And, first of all, about the indispensability of the Bareshnûm *ceremony* I write several such copies of a well-matured writing of mine⁴ as may even be new light to the intelligent. 5. That my opinion of the information provided by revelation, the decisions *of* high-priests, *and* the teachings *of* those of the primitive faith is thus, that washing by the polluted with water is pollution for the life and spiritual life (ahvô)⁵; they render the material *body* clean thereby, *but* that which is known as the handiwork⁶ of the immortals, and is also professionally called the Bareshnûm, when *there is* the protection of a ritual of *various* kinds, shall make the body clean from endless worldly attacks.

6. It is in the nine ablution seats (magakô)⁷ and the furrow⁸, even with prayer, bull's urine, water,

¹ Reading a mat, instead of the very similar word hamât, 'ever.'

² See the headings to Eps. I, II.

³ See App. IV.

⁴ Meaning this epistle.

⁵ Because it pollutes pure water, which is considered a sin.

⁶ Reading yadman; but it may be gadman, 'glory,' which is written in precisely the same manner.

⁷ See Ep. I, ix, 7.

⁸ See Vend. IX, 21-28 (App. IV)

and other appliances, and the ritual which is such as is declared in the teaching of revelation; and even now the purifiers, who are just as written *about* below, keep *it* in use. 7. When there is a washing they wash just as in the well-teaching statements which are known as *those* of Mēdyôk-mâh, of Afarg, and of Sôshâns¹, or *in* the statement of one of those three teachings, or in the statement of one of the high-priests *by* whom those three teachings are declared as propriety, or has come unto me as the practice of those same three teachings *by* those of the primitive faith.

8. I deem *this* deliverance² one wholly approvable, and the washer *in* a washing of that kind, with the Bareshnûm *ceremony*—which is lawfully *of* that description—I consider as a purifier who is approvable. 9. And the polluted of every description, as *above* written, who *have* obtained, for any indispensable reason whatever, a purifier, as *above* written, whom even now various districts *and* various places have appointed *and* approved, are able to wash with the Bareshnûm ceremony as *above* written. 10. Then their washing fifteen times is no deliverance in any way, and to wash them quickly with the Bareshnûm *ceremony* as *above* written is indispensable.

11. Owing to a washing of the same kind through the Bareshnûm *ceremony*, as is intended, water, fire, and other *things*, not to provide care for which is un³ authorisedly is grievously sinful.

¹ See Ep. I, v, 1.

² From pollution.

³ At this point there is a blank page in K35, and also in the MS. belonging to Mr. Tehmuras Dinshawji, which is supposed to be older; and one line is left blank in BK. It is not, however,

12. When, on account of a cleansing through another washing, distinct from the Bareshnûm ceremony,

quite certain that any text is really missing, as this section can be read continuously and translated as follows, without much difficulty:—‘*Apart from a washing of the same kind through the Bareshnûm ceremony, as is intended, there would be a grievous sin against water, fire, and other things, not to provide care for which would be unauthorised.*’

If some folios of text are missing, as seems quite possible from the terms applied to this epistle in § 4, the question arises whether a portion of the missing text may be contained in the following fragment on the subject of the Bareshnûm, which is appended to the passage (Ep. II, vi, 2–ix, 7) interpolated in Dd. XXXVII, 33 in the MS. J:—

‘As it is declared in revelation that, if a man who *has* chanted comes upon a corpse, *whether* a dog, or a fox, or a wolf, or a male, or a female, or any *creature* on whose corpse it is possible *that* he *may* come, that good man becomes so that a man *may* become defiled by him, *and* it is necessary to wash the polluted *one*, so that it *may* not make him a sinner. In order that they *may* act *so* to the polluted *one* it is necessary to wash *him*, it is necessary to perform that Bareshnûm ceremony of the nine nights. If the man that is spoken of *has* worked about carrying the dead and contact with dead matter (nôšâ hamâlih), so that they know about his defilement to whom he comes, then he *who has* done this work *in* contact with dead matter becomes afterwards disabled *for* that worship of the sacred beings which they perform. So, also, *some one* says (compare Vend. VIII, 271–299), where in a wilderness (vyâvân) are several priests (âsrûvô) and a man lies *on* the road, there he *who* carries the dead *body* of the man who passes away—as those others remain *and* stand away helpless, without offerings of *inward* prayer (vâgô vakhtagân) over that person (kerpô) according to the religious way—*having* washed his body, comes into the town and performs the nine nights’ Bareshnûm ceremony twice; afterwards, his Gêtô-kharid ceremonies (see Dd. LXXIX, 4) are performed, *and* he has acted well according to the religious way; then he comes into the ceremonial of the sacred beings. “How are those men purified, O righteous *one*! who shall stand up by a corpse *which* is very dry and dead a year?” (See Pahl. Vend. VIII, 107, 108.) The reply is this, that “those men are purified;

they consider themselves as clean *it* is more grievously sinful; just as when they do not wash with the Bareshnûm, as *above* written, *but* consider themselves as clean through *washing* fifteen times, as *above* written, or on account of any washing whatever distinct from the Bareshnûm, *it* is more grievously sinful; because, when they do not wash with a Bareshnûm, as *above* written, *but* wash for fifteen times, as *above* written, or any washing whatever distinct from the Bareshnûm, as *above* written, they do not become clean, through the professional washing which is decreed, from that pollution which remains¹.

13. When without similar trouble *and* great judiciousness they go unto water *and* fire, the sin is grievous; and when they go to the bowl (padmânô) for ablution of the sacred twigs² *it* is non-ablution advisedly, *and* to perform the ceremonial therewith would not be authorised. 14. And, *in* like manner, the washing of polluted Hôrn *twigs*³, for any indispensable purpose, with the Bareshnûm *ceremony*, as *above* written, is not possible.

15. Therefore, so that we *may* obtain as *it were* a remedy for it, I wash with the Bareshnûm *ceremony*, as *above* written; to keep the mind steadfast *and* to attain to a remedy I wash with the Bareshnûm, as *above* written; *and* to bestow the indispensable, comprehensive Bareshnûm, as *above* written, is indeed a good work suitable for the discreet *and* liberated

for *it* is not *to* the dry from that dryness—that is, it would not act from this polluted *thing*—*that* the existence of dry diffusion *has* arisen.”

¹ Even after the best ordinary washing.

² See Dd. XLIII, 5.

³ See Dd. XLVIII, 16.

from bonds, and the purification of body *and* soul is connected with it.

16. These *things* those of the primitive faith, who provided for the moderns, *have* communicated, whose position *was* above us moderns who are now the law (gûn) of others, and are teachers and rulers; our station as regards them is the position (gâsth) of disciples *to spiritual* masters, *that of* listeners *and* servitors to form *and* hold the opinion, about the same and other *things*, which those of the primitive faith formed; *and* the teaching of even one of those high-priests is greater *and* higher than our sayings and decisions.

17. And *as to* every custom there may be in the country of Irân, about casting away the Bareshnûm ceremony, as written by me, and about all the polluted, as *above* written—whom *it* is possible to wash, for any indispensable reason whatever, with the Bareshnûm as written by me, *and* one does not wash with the Bareshnûm as *written* by me, *but* is ordered to wash for fifteen times, as written by me, *and* to pronounce as clean—and *which* is established as a rule *one* is urged to practise, if Zâd-sparam or any one else *has* ordered, said, or decided in the name of authority *that one* is to do *so*, or *has* established *it* as a rule, *or* set *it* going, this is to give authoritatively my opinion, decision, and enactment upon it likewise. 18. That *those* same sayings are short-sighted (aê-vênakö), *that* same order is unlawfully *given*, *that* same decision is false teaching, *that* same rule is vicious, *that* same setting going is grievously sinful, and *that* same authority is not to be accepted; *it* is a practice, therefore, not to be performed, *and* whoever *has* performed it, is to

engage quickly *in* renunciation of it. 19. And he who *has* decreed in the country of Irân, in the name of authority, washing of *other* kinds *as* all-remedial for the polluted, *as above* written, *and has* established a rule of that description is to be considered as a heretic (aharmôkô) deserving death.

20. So, when through his wilfulness that kind of injury without enlightenment (bâm) is decreed, *and* a rule of that description is established, *as above* written, *and one* rendered polluted is washed fifteen times with bull's urine *and* once with water, or *in* whatever other mode that is distinct from the Bareshnûm ceremony as written by me, *though* it is possible to wash him, for any indispensable reason whatever, with the Bareshnûm as *above* written, then, his renunciation of *sin being* accomplished, *he* is to be washed again at the nine ablution seats (magh)¹ with the Bareshnûm as written by me; *and* until washed again, as written by me, *he* is not to go to water and fire *and* the bowl for ablution.

21. And this epistle is written by me, in my own *hand-writing*, for the sake of *all* members whatever of the good religion of the country of Irân becoming aware of the opinion, apprehension, *and* appreciation of the commands of religion *entertained by* me, Mânûskîhar, son of Yûdân-Yim; *and* several copies are finished *in* the month of the triumphant Horvâdâd of the year 250 of Yazdakard².

22. In trustfulness and gratitude to the sacred beings, *and* homage to the exalted pontiff *sent* from³

¹ See § 6.

² The third month of the Parsi year 250, which corresponded to the interval between the 14th June and 13th July, 881.

³ Reading min, as in Ep. II, ix, 14, instead of mûn, 'who.'

the creator Aûharmazd, the heavenly, most righteous, *and* glorified Zaratûst the Sptamân. 23. For the sake of obtainments of prayers the one thing is the righteousness of the Sptamân; great, good, *and* perfect is Zaratûst; one *only* is the way of perfect righteousness, which is the way of those of the primitive faith; all the others, appointed afresh, are no ways¹.

¹ Compare Dd. XCIV, 14, Ep. II, ix, 15. This epistle is followed, in K35, by the Selections of Zâd-spam, of which the first portion is translated in the fifth volume of the Sacred Books of the East.

APPENDIX.

- I. LEGENDS RELATING TO KERESÂSP.
- II. THE NÎRANG-I KUSTÎ.
- III. THE MEANING OF KHVÊTÛK-DAS.
- IV. THE BARESHNÛM CEREMONY.
- V. FINDING A CORPSE IN THE WILDERNESS.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. For all divisions of the translations into sentences or sections the translator is responsible, as such divisions are rarely made in the manuscripts.

2-6. (The same as on page 2.)

7. The manuscripts mentioned are :—

B29 (written A. D. 1679), a Persian Rivâyat, No. 29 in the University Library at Bombay.

BK, J, K35, M10 (as described on page 278).

L4 (written about A. D. 1324), a Vendidâd with Pahlavi, in the India Office Library in London.

M7 (written A. D. 1809), miscellaneous Parsi-Persian writings, No. 7 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich.

APPENDIX.

I. LEGENDS RELATING TO KERESÂSPA.

THE Avesta informs us that Keresâspa was a son of Thrîta the Sâmân, and the brother of Urvâkshaya¹. From the name of his father's family he is sometimes called Sâmâ Keresâspa², but his more usual title is Naremanzu or Nairîmanzu, 'the manly-minded³.' He is described as 'a youthful hero, wearing side-locks and carrying a club⁴,' to whom the witch Knâthaiti⁵ attached herself; she whom Zaratûst promised to destroy by means of the apostle Saoshyâs, who is to be born hereafter⁶. And his body is watched over by 99,999 guardian spirits⁷.

¹ See Yas. IX, 30, 31.

² See Fravardîn Yt. 61, 136. Hence he is often called Sâm in Pahlavi works (see Bd. XXIX, 7, 9, Byt. III, 60, 61); and, in a passage interpolated in some manuscripts of the Shâhnâmâh, we are informed that Garsâsp was son of Atrat, son of Sam, which is evidently a reminiscence of Keresâsp being a son of Thrîta the Sâmân (see also Bd. XXXI, 26, 27).

³ See Âbân Yt. 37, Râm Yt. 27, Zamyâd Yt. 38, 40, 44. Hence we have Sâm, son of Narîmân, as the grandfather of Rustam in the Shâhnâmâh.

⁴ See Yas. IX, 33. M. de Harlez converts the side-locks into some weapon called gaêsus, but this word still survives in Pers. gês or gêsû, 'ringlet, side-lock.'

⁵ See Vend. I, 36. Or it may be 'the witch whom one destroys, or to whom one prays,' if we translate the name.

⁶ See Vend. XIX, 18.

⁷ See Fravardîn Yt. 61. For the reason of this watchfulness, see Dd. XVII, 6 n.

Of his exploits we are told that he 'slew the serpent Srvara, which devoured horses and men, which was poisonous and yellow, over which yellow poison flowed a hand's-breadth high. On which Keresâspa cooked a beverage in a caldron at the midday hour, and the serpent being scorched, hissed, sprang forth, away from the caldron, and upset the boiling water; Keresâsp, the manly-minded, fled aside frightened¹. We are further told that he slew the golden-heeled Gandarewa²; that he smote Hitâspa in revenge for the murder of his brother, Urvâkhshaya³; that he smote the Hunus who are the nine highwaymen, and those descended from Nivika and Dâstayâni⁴; also Vareslava the Dânayan, Pitaona with the many witches, Arezô-shamana, and Snâvidhaka⁵; and that he withstood many smiters or murderers⁶.

The details of these exploits, still extant in the Avesta, are very scanty; but some of them appear to have been more fully described in a legend about the soul of Keresâspa which formerly constituted the fourteenth fargard of the Sûdkar Nask, the contents of which are thus summarized in the ninth book of the Dînkard:—

'The fourteenth fargard, Ad-fravakhsh⁷, is about

¹ See Yas. IX, 34-39, Zamyâd Yt. 40 (translated in Haug's Essays, pp. 178, 179).

² See Âbân Yt. 38, Zamyâd Yt. 41. A monster in the wide-shored ocean, who is also mentioned in Râm Yt. 28.

³ See Râm Yt. 28, Zamyâd Yt. 41.

⁴ See Zamyâd Yt. 41. For 'Hunus' some read 'sons.'

⁵ See Zamyâd Yt. 41-44. ⁶ See Fravardîn Yt. 136.

⁷ The name of Yas. XLIV, being the first two words, ad fravakhshyâ, of that chapter of the Gâthas. In the detailed account of the contents of each fargard of the first three Nasks, given in the ninth book of the Dînkard, each fargard is distinguished

Aûharmazd's showing the terrible state of the soul of Keresâsp¹ to Zaratûst; the dismay of Zaratûst owing to that terrible state; the sorrowful speaking of Keresâsp as regards the slaying of multitudes, for which mankind extol him, whereby abstentions from sin *occurred*; and the recognition of him by the creator, Aûharmazd, as extinguishing his fire. The supplication of Keresâsp *for* the best existence from Aûharmazd for those exploits when the serpent (gaz) Srôbar² *was* slain by him, and the violence of that adversary; when Gandarep³ with the golden heels *was* smitten by him, *and* the marvellousness of that fiend; when the Hunus of Veskô⁴, who are

by the name of some section of the Gâthas. The names thus employed are composed of the first one, two, or three words of the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô, the Ashem-vohû, the Yênhê-hâtâm, Yas. XXVIII-XXXIV, the Yasna haptanghâiti, Yas. XLII-L, LII, LIII, which supply the twenty-two names required. When the Nask contains twenty-three fargard, as in the case of the Varstmânsar, the first fargard remains unnamed. Whether these words were used merely as names, or whether their insertion implies that the fargard of these Nasks used to be recited (somewhat like those of the Vendidad) alternately with the sections of the Gâthas, can hardly be determined from our present information. It may be noted that the three Nasks (Sôdkar, Varstmânsar, and Bakô), whose contents are thus detailed in the Dînkard, all belong to the so-called gâsânîk or Gâtha class of Nasks; but whether that term implies that they were metrical, or merely that they were connected in some way with the Gâthas, is also uncertain.

¹ Written Kerêrâspô, or Gerêrâspô, throughout the Pahlavi text of this paragraph.

² The Srvara of Yas. IX, 34, Zamyâd Yt. 40.

³ The Gandarewa of Âbân Yt. 38, Râm Yt. 28, Zamyâd Yt. 41.

⁴ Reading Hunû Veskô, but it is also possible to read khûnô-dâkô, 'blood-producing,' which is fully applicable to these highway-robbers. The 'Hunus in Vaêska' are mentioned in Âbân Yt. 54, 57 as opponents of the warrior Tusa, but the Hunus in Zamyâd Yt. 41 have no country assigned to them.

descendants of Nivik and Dâstânîk¹, were slain by him, and the grievous harm and disaster owing to them; and when the mighty wind² was appeased by him, and brought back from damaging the world to benefiting the creatures; and for that which happens when, owing to confinement³, Dahâk becomes eager, rushes on for the destruction of the world, and attempts the annihilation of the creatures; and his being roused to smite him and to tame that powerful fiend for the creatures of the world. The opposition of fire to Keresâsp, through his causing distress to it and keeping away from it, which were owing to his seeking hell; the supplication of Zaratûst to the fire to have compassion upon him, which was owing to his sin; the compliance of the fire with that request; and the departure of the soul of Keresâsp to the ever-stationary existence⁴. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness⁵.

Although the Sûd'kar Nask has long been lost, the legend contained in this fourteenth fargard still survives in its Pahlavi form, though probably somewhat abridged, and a Persian paraphrase of this Pahlavi version is also to be found in the Persian

¹ The Nivika and Dâstayâni of Zamyâd Yt. 41.

² The wind (*vâdö*), though an angel when moderate and useful, is supposed to become a demon in a gale or hurricane; and is mentioned as such in Vend. X, 24.

³ In the volcano, Mount Dimâvand (see Bd. XII, 31, XXIX, 9, Byt. III, 55-61). This exploit is expected to be performed hereafter.

⁴ The hamîstîkô ahvânô, intermediate between heaven and hell (see Dd. XX, 3).

⁵ The Pahlavi equivalent of the Av. *ashem vohû*, here translated, follows each summary of the contents of a fargard or Nask in the Dînkard, in the same way as *ashem vohû* follows each fargard of the Vendidâd and each section of the Gâthas in the Vendidâd sâdah or liturgy.

Rivâyats¹. The Pahlavi legend is included among a series of quotations, regarding the importance of fire, contained in a Pahlavi Rivâyât preceding the Dâdistân-i Dînik in some manuscripts²; and its close correspondence with the above summary of the fourteenth fargard of the Sûdkar Nask will be seen from the following translation of it:—

... 'And *it* is declared that fire is so precious that Aûharmazd spoke unto Zaratûst thus: "Of whose soul is it *that* the actions³, position, consciousness, and guardian spirit seem best when thou shalt behold *it*?"

'And Zaratûst spoke thus: "Of him who is Keresâsp."

'Aûharmazd summoned the soul of Keresâsp, and the soul of Keresâsp saw⁴ Zaratûst and, on account of the misery which it had seen in hell, it spoke unto *him* thus: "I have been a priest of Kâpûl⁵, which should be a power in support of me; and for the sake of begging life I have ever travelled through the world, and the world would have become hideous in my eyes, the world which should have feared my splendour⁶."

¹ In B29, fols. 167-169, where it is quoted from a work called the Sad-darband-i Hûsh.

² In BK and J; but in K35 this portion of the Rivâyât has been lost, with the first 71 folios of that MS.; it also appears to have been similarly lost from the older MS. belonging to Mr. Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria.

³ J omits this word.

⁴ J omits the seeing.

⁵ Kâbul. One of the three most sacred fires, the Frôbak fire, is said to have been removed by Vistâsp from Khvârizem to Kâvulistân (see Bd. XVII, 6). The Persian version has 'would to God (kâskê) I were a priest!' and alters the rest of the sentence to correspond.

⁶ Reading rê-î li; J has 100 var, 'a hundred lakes (or ordeals or results).'

‘And Aûharmazd spoke thus: “Stand off, *thou* soul of Keresâsp! for thou shouldst be hideous in my eyes, because the fire, which is my son¹, *was* extinguished by thee, and no care *of it was* provided by thee.”

‘And the soul of Keresâsp spoke thus: “Forgive me, O Aûharmazd! and grant me the best existence! grant me the supreme heaven! The serpent (azō) Srôvbar² is slain outright, which *was* swallowing horses *and* swallowing men, and its teeth were as long as my arm, its ear was as large as fourteen blankets (namadō), its eye was as large as a wheel, and its horn was as much as Dahâk³ in height. And I was running as much as half a day on *its* back, till *its* head *was* smitten by me at the neck *with* a club made for *my* hand, and *it was* slain outright by me⁴. And if that serpent had not been slain by me, all thy creatures would have *been* completely annihilated by it, and thou wouldst never have known a remedy *for* Aharman.”

‘Aûharmazd spoke thus: “Stand off! for the fire, which is my son, *was* extinguished by thee.”

‘Keresâsp spoke thus: “Grant me, O Aûharmazd! that best existence, the supreme heaven! for by me Gandarep⁵ *was* slain outright, by whom twelve

¹ Fire is often called ‘the son of Ahura-mazda’ in the Avesta, as in Yas. II, 18, Vend. V, 9, &c.

² The Srvara of Yas. IX, 34, Zamyâd Yt. 40. The Persian version has merely azdahâ, ‘a dragon.’

³ Or it may be shâk, ‘a bough.’ The Persian version has ‘eighty cubits.’

⁴ The Persian version adds ‘and as I looked into its mouth, men were still hanging about its teeth;’ which was evidently suggested by what is stated in the account of the next exploit.

⁵ See p. 371, note 3.

districts *were* devoured at once. When I looked among the teeth of Gandarep, dead men¹ were sticking among his teeth; and my beard *was* seized by him, and I dragged him out of the sea²; nine days and nights the conflict *was* maintained by us in the sea, and then I became more powerful than Gandarep. The sole of Gandarep's foot *was* also seized by me, and the skin *was* flayed off up to *his* head, and with it the hands and feet of Gandarep *were* bound; *he was* also dragged by me out to the shore of the sea, and *was* delivered by me over to Âkhrûrag³; and he slaughtered *and* ate my fifteen horses. I also fell down in a dense thicket (âlsakð), and Gandarep carried off *my* friend Âkhrûrag, and she who was my wife *was* carried off by him⁴, and my father *and* nurse (dâyakð) *were* carried off by him. And I took under *my* protection (dinhârîgtîndð) and raised all the people *of* our pleasant *place*, and every single step I sprang forward a thousand steps, and fire fell into everything which *was* struck by my foot *as* it sprang forward⁵; I went out to the sea, and they were brought back by me,

¹ The Persian version says 'horses and asses.'

² For this clause the Persian version substitutes 'the sea was up to his knee, and his head up to the sun.'

³ This is merely a guess. The word can also be read khârvarag, 'thorny, or a thorny brake;' but it seems to be the name of some person, being followed by the word dðstð, 'friend,' in the next sentence. Âkhrûra, son of Haosravangh, is mentioned in Fravardîn Yt. 137, next after Sâmâ Keresâspa, as 'withstanding Hashi-dava (or daêva), the wicked and covetous one destroying the world.' The Persian version omits from the dragging out of the sea in this sentence to the slaying in the next (p. 376, line 1).

⁴ BK has 'by me,' which must be a blunder.

⁵ J omits these last seven words.

and Gandarep *was* taken and slain by me¹. And if he had not been slain by me, Aharman would have become predominant over thy creatures."

'Aûharmazd spoke thus: "Stand off! for *thou art* hideous in my eyes, because the fire, which is my son, *was* extinguished by thee."

'Keresâsp spoke thus: "Grant *me*, O Aûharmazd! heaven *or* the supreme heaven! for I have slain the highwaymen² who were so big in body that, when they were walking, people considered in this *way*, that 'below them are the stars and moon, and below them moves the sun *at* dawn, and the water of the sea reaches up to their knees.' And I reached up to their legs, and they were smitten on the legs by me; they fell, and the hills on the earth *were* shattered by them³. And if those fallen⁴ highwaymen *had* not been slain by me, Aharman would have become predominant over thy creatures."

'Aûharmazd spoke thus: "Stand off! for thou shouldst be hideous in my eyes, because the fire, which is my son, *was* extinguished by thee."

'Keresâsp spoke thus: "Grant me, O Aûharmazd! heaven *or* the supreme heaven! When the wind *was* weakened (rakhtö) and paralysed by me, the

¹ The Persian version says, 'I slew him, and as he fell down many villages and places became desolate.'

² The 'nine highwaymen' of Zamyâd Yt. 41. The Persian version says 'seven.' BK has 'walked,' instead of 'slain.'

³ Instead of this sentence the Persian version has 'through fear of them people could not go on any journey, and every one whom they might see, on the road that he went, they would instantly eat up; and in three years they reckoned three hundred thousand men they had slain and destroyed. And I fought with them and slew all the seven.'

⁴ J omits the word 'fallen.'

demons deceived the wind, and they spoke unto the wind thus: '*He* is more resisting thee than all the creatures and creation, and thou shouldst think of him thus, that "there is no one walks upon this earth more resistant of me *than* Keresâsp;" he despises demons *and* men, and thee, too, who shouldst be the wind, *even* thee he despises.' And the wind, when those words *were* heard by it, came on so strongly that every tree and shrub which was in its path *was* uprooted, and the whole earth which was in its path *was* reduced to powder (payangânŏt-aŏtŏ kardŏ), and darkness arose. And when it came to me, who am Keresâsp, it was not possible for it to lift my foot from the ground; and I arose and sallied forth (barâ yehabûnd) upon the earth, and I stood *upon* it, with both feet on an equality (mirth), until a rampart (pûstŏ) of it *was* completed, so that I *might* go again below the earth; that which Aûharmazd ordered thus: 'Should I appoint a keeper of the earth and sky, they would not forsake me¹.' And if that thing had not been done by me, Aharman would have become predominant over thy creatures."

'Aûharmazd spoke thus: "Stand off! for thou shouldst be hideous in my eyes, because the fire, which is my son, *was* smitten by thee."

'Keresâsp spoke thus: "Grant *me*, O Aûharmazd! heaven *or* the supreme heaven! for *it* is thus

¹ The Persian version has 'and as it arrived near me, it was not able to bear my foot from the spot; and I seized the spirit of the wind, and overthrew him with my own strength, until he made a promise thus: "I *will* go again below the earth." And I did not keep back my hand *from* that work less than Aûharmazd and the archangels ordered me.'

declared by revelation, that, when Dahâk has escaped from confinement¹, no one is able to seek *any* other remedy *against* him but me; on that account grant me heaven *or* the supreme heaven! And if it be not possible to grant me heaven *or* the supreme heaven, give me again the strength and success which were mine during life! for when thou shalt give me again so much strength and success *as* were mine when I was produced alive, I will slay Aharman with the demons, I *will* eradicate darkness from hell, I will complete the beautiful light, and within its sole existence (tanû-aê)² you *shall* sit and move³."

'Aûharmazd spoke thus: "This I *will* not give thee, *thou* soul of Keresâsp! because men shall commit sin; and until men commit no more sin, it is not possible to make thee alive again, and thou wouldst also not be able to make other men alive again, for they produce the resurrection thus, when all men become quite innocent. When men shall die, and their souls are wicked, all comfort shall forsake them, and all the misery and discomfort occasioned by them *shall* remain."

'When Keresâsp *and* his exploits were spoken of in this manner, the angels of the spiritual *and* the angels of the worldly *existences* wept aloud, and

¹ See Byt. III, 55-61. The Persian version substitutes a legend about the gigantic bird Kamak (also mentioned in Mkh. XXVII, 50) which overshadowed the earth, and kept off the rain till the rivers dried up; it also ate up men and animals as if they were grains of corn, until Keresâsp killed it by shooting it with arrows continuously for seven days and nights.

² That is, when there is only light, and no darkness.

³ J has 'I *will* sit and move alone within it;' and the Persian version has 'I will sit alone in that place.'

Zarâtûst the Spîtamân wept aloud¹ *and* spoke thus : " Though *there* should be no deceiver, I would be the deceiver in *thy* eyes², O Aûharmazd ! as regards the soul of Keresâsp ; for when Keresâsp should not have existed as a bodily and living *existence*, *there* would have been no remnant of anything whatever, or of creature of thine, in the world³."

' When Zarâtûst had become silent therewith, the *angel of fire*⁴ stood upon *his* feet⁵, and the sinfulness of Keresâsp unto himself *was* fully mentioned by him, and he spoke thus : " I shall not let him into heaven."

' And the *angel of fire*, *having* spoken thus many

¹ The Persian version does not mention the angels and the weeping.

² This can also be translated thus : ' Though thou shouldst be no deceiver, thou wouldst be a deceiver in *my* eyes ; ' the words hômanâyê, ' would be, ' and hômanêš, ' thou wouldst be, ' being written alike.

³ The Persian version of this speech is, ' O good creator ! I know that hatred and anger are not in thy path, and when any one indulges in hatred of another, there is no acquiescence of thine therein, yet now I see this matter as though some one maintained hatred against another. '

⁴ The Persian version says ' the archangel Ardibahist, ' who is the protector of fire (see Sls. XV, 5, 12, 13).

⁵ The Persian version proceeds, and concludes the sentence, as follows : ' and Keresâsp groaned unto Zarâtûst the Spîtamân, and Ardibahist, the archangel, said : " O Zaratusht ! thou dost not know what Keresâsp has done unto me ; that in the world, formerly, my custom and habit would have been so, that, as they would place firewood under a caldron, I would send the fire, until that caldron should be boiled, and their work should be completed, *and* then it would have come back to its own place. As that serpent that he speaks of *was* slain he became hungry, and because the fire fell one moment later upon the firewood which he had placed below the caldron, he smote the fire *with* a club and scattered the fire, *and* now I *will* not pass the soul of Keresâsp to heaven. " '

words, desisted; and the angel Gôś-aûrvan¹ stood upon *her* feet, and spoke thus: "I shall not let *him* into hell, for the benefit produced by him for me *was* manifold."

'Gôś-aûrvan, *having* spoken thus many words, desisted²; and Zaratûst stood upon *his* feet, and homage *was* offered by him unto the fire, and he spoke thus: "I shall provide care for thee, and shall speak of thy exploits in the world, and I shall speak to Vistâsp³ and Gâmâsp⁴ thus: 'Observe fully that a place is made *for* the fire as *it were* at once!' when Keresâsp *has* engaged in renunciation of *sin*, and you shall forgive him⁵.'"'

The Pahlavi legend breaks off at this point, leaving

¹ Av. *geus urva*, 'the soul of the ox,' that is, of the primeval ox, from which all the lower animals are supposed to have been developed. This angel, who is usually called Gôś, is said to be a female, and is the protectress of cattle (see Bd. IV, 2-5); in this capacity she is supposed to be friendly to Keresâsp, whose exploits had chiefly consisted in slaying the destroyers of animal life.

² The Persian version omits these words, and the preceding paragraph, proceeding in continuation of note 5, p. 379, as follows: 'And as Ardîbahist, the archangel, spoke these words, the soul of Keresâsp wept and said: "Ardîbahist, the archangel, speaks truly; I committed sin and I repent." And he touched the skirt of Zaratûst *with his* hand, and said: "Of mankind no one has obtained the eminence, rank, and dignity that thou obtainedst; now, through this grandeur and glory which is thine, do thou entreat and make intercession of Ardîbahist, the archangel, for me! so that it may be that I obtain liberation from this distress and torment.'"'

³ See Dd. XXXVII, 36.

⁴ See Dd. XLIV, 16.

⁵ The Persian version continues as follows: 'And as Zaratûst the Spîtamân made intercession, Ardîbahist, the archangel, said: "Thy reputation is immense, and thy will is great." And after that he made no opposition to the soul of Keresâsp, but pardoned *it* for Zaratûst the Spîtamân; and the soul of Keresâsp obtained liberation from that discomfort.' This version then concludes with an admonition as to the necessity of treating fire with proper respect.

the reader to infer that Zaratûst's request was granted. It is succeeded, however, by the following further remarks about Keresâsp, which are evidently connected with the same legend :—

'Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus : "Whose is the first dead *body* thou shalt unite (*varâzêš*)?"

'And Aûharmazd spoke thus¹: "*His* who is Keresâsp²."

'And it seemed grievous *to* Zaratûst, and he spoke unto Aûharmazd thus : "When the business of Keresâsp was the slaughter of men, why is his the first dead *body* thou wilt prepare?"

'Aûharmazd spoke thus : "Let it not seem grievous to thee, O Zaratûst! for if Keresâsp had not existed, and thus much work had not been done by him, which *has* been stated, *there* would have been no remains of thee, nor of any creature of mine."

Besides the Persian paraphrase of this legend, in prose, the Persian Rivâyats contain another version in metre, which consists of 173 couplets³. The exploits of Keresâsp are also mentioned in the Mainyô-i Khard (XXVII, 49-53) as follows :—

'And from Sâm the advantage was this, that by him the serpent Sruvar, the wolf Kapôd which they also call Pehan⁴, the water-demon Gandarfî, the bird Kamak⁵, and the bewildering⁶ demon *were* slain.

¹ J omits the following words as far as the next 'thus.'

² Referring to the revival of Keresâsp from his trance, in order to destroy Dahâk, which is expected to take place before the general resurrection (see Bd. XXIX, 8, Byt. III, 59-61).

³ In B29, fols. 169-171, it is quoted from 'the book of Bahîrâm Firûz.'

⁴ Written Pêhinô, or Pasinô, in the Pahlavi text.

⁵ See p. 378, note 1.

⁶ Or 'seducing,' or 'desolating.'

And also many other great actions, that *were* more valuable, he performed; and he kept back much disturbance from the world, of which, if one of those special disturbances had remained behind, it would not have been possible to effect the resurrection and the future existence.'

II.. THE NĪRANG-I KUSTĪ.

THE NĪrang-i KustĪ, or girdle formula, is a religious rite which a Parsi man or woman ought to perform every time the hands have been washed, whether for the sake of cleanliness, or in preparation for prayer ; but it is not always strictly performed in all its details.

The KustĪ, or sacred thread-girdle, is a string about the size of a stay-lace, and long enough to pass three times very loosely round the waist, to be tied twice in a double knot, and to leave the short ends hanging behind. It is composed of seventy-two very fine, white, woollen threads, as described in Dd. XXXIX, 1, note, and is tied in the manner there mentioned, but with the actions and ritual detailed below¹.

The ceremonial ablution having been performed, and the KustĪ taken off, the person stands facing the sun by day, or a lamp or the moon at night ; when there is no light he should face the south, as he should also at midday, even when the sun is northerly². The KustĪ is then doubled, and the loop thus formed is held in the right hand, with the thumb in the loop ; while the left hand holds the two parts of the string together, some twenty inches horizontally from the other hand ; and the ends hang loosely from the left hand.

¹ For most of the details which follow I am indebted to Dastūr Jāmāspji Minochiharji Jāmāsp-Āsā-nā.

² As it is, in Bombay, for about two months in the summer.

Holding the Kustî in this fashion, the person recites the following prayer in Pâzand, bowing and raising to his forehead the horizontal portion of the string at the name of Aûharmazd, dashing the string loosely and sharply downwards towards the left when mentioning Aharman, and repeating this downward jerk to the left, less violently, as each of the other evil beings is named:—‘May Aûharmazd be lord! *and* Aharman unprevailing, keeping far away, smitten, *and* defeated! May Aharman, the demons, the fiends, the wizards, the wicked, the Kîks, the Karaps¹, the tyrants, the sinners, the apostates, the impious, the enemies, *and* the witches be smitten *and* defeated! May evil sovereigns be unprevailing! May the enemies be confounded! May the enemies be unprevailing!’

Bending forwards and holding the doubled Kustî up, horizontally, as before, he continues: ‘Aûharmazd is the lord; of all sin I am *in* renunciation and penitent, of all kinds of evil thoughts, evil words, *and* evil deeds, whatever *was* thought by me, and spoken by me, and done by me, and happened through me, and has originated through me in the world.’

Then, holding the Kustî single with both hands near the middle of the string, but as far apart as before, while the loose ends of the string are short-

¹ These two Pahlavi names are merely transliterations of the Av. Kavi and Karapan, the names of certain classes of evil-doers, traceable back to the earliest times, and, probably, to the Vedic kavi and kalpa, which would naturally be used in a bad sense in the Avesta (see Haug’s Essays, p. 289). The Pahlavi translators of the Yasna explain these names by the words kûr, ‘blind,’ and kar, ‘deaf,’ which are merely guesses.

ened (to prevent their touching the ground) by being partially gathered up in a large loop hanging under each hand, like a pair of spectacles, he proceeds: 'For those sins of thought, word, *and* deed, of body *and* soul, worldly *and* spiritual, do thou pardon this one¹! I am penitent *and* in renunciation through the three words².'

He then continues to recite the following Avesta phrases: 'Satisfaction for Ahura-mazda!' bowing and raising the Kustī to the forehead; 'scorn for Angra-mainyu!' jerking the Kustī to the left, without altering the mode of holding it; 'which is the most forward of actual exertions through the will. Righteousness is the best good, a blessing it is; a blessing *be* to that which *is* righteousness to perfect rectitude³.' Applying the middle of the Kustī to the front of the waist at the first word, 'righteousness,' of the last sentence, it is passed twice round the waist during the remainder of the sentence, by the hands meeting behind, exchanging ends, and bringing them round again to the front.

The following Avesta formula is then recited: 'As a *patron* spirit is to be chosen, so is an *earthly* master, for the sake of righteousness, *to be* a giver of good thought of the actions of life towards Mazda; and the dominion is for the lord whom he has given

¹ The Pâzand word is ukhê or aokhê, which the Gugarâti Khurdah Avesta translates by khudâtâelâ, 'most high God;' but it seems more probably a misreading of Pahl. hanâ-ī, 'this one.' These phrases are a portion of the Patit or renunciation of sin.

² That is, in thought, word, and deed. So far the phrases are recited in Pâzand, but the following recitations are in the Avesta language.

³ This last sentence is the Ashem-vohî formula (see Bd. XX, 2).

as a protector for the poor¹. At the first word the long ends of the Kustî, hanging in front, are loosely twisted round each other at the waist, with a right-handed turn (that is, with the sun), and the reciter, holding his hands together, should think that Aûhar-mazd is the sole creator of the good creation, until he comes to the word 'actions,' after which the twist is drawn closer to the waist during the remainder of the recitation.

The same Avesta formula is then repeated. At the first word the second half of the knot is formed, by twisting the long ends of the Kustî loosely round each other with a left-handed turn (that is, against the sun), so as to complete a loose reef-knot, and the reciter, holding his hands together, should think that Mazda-worship is the true faith, until he comes to the word 'actions,' after which the complete double knot is drawn close during the remainder of the recitation.

Then, passing the long ends of the Kustî round the waist for the third time, from front to back, the previous Avesta formula, 'Righteousness is the best good,' &c., is recited. At the first word the ends of the Kustî are loosely twisted round each other behind the waist, with a right-handed turn as before, and the reciter should think that Zaratûst was the true apostle, until he comes to the first occurrence of the word 'blessing,' when the twist is drawn close. During the remainder of the formula the second half of the knot is formed, with a left-handed twist as before, while the reciter thinks that he must practise

¹ This is the Ahunavar, or Yathâ-ahû-vairyô formula (see Bd. I, 21, Zs. I, 12-19).

good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, and avoid all evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds; the double knot being completed behind as the last word of the formula is uttered.

Afterwards, bending forward and holding the front knot of the Kustī with both hands, the person recites the following Avesta formula: 'Come for my protection, O Mazda¹! A Mazda-worshipper am I, a Zarathustrian Mazda-worshipper will I profess *myself*, both praising and preferring *it*. I praise a well-considered thought, I praise a well-spoken word, I praise a well-performed deed. I praise the Mazda-worshipping religion, expelling controversy² *and* putting down attack, *and* the righteous union of kinsfolk³, which is the greatest and best and most excellent of things that exist and will exist, which is Ahurian *and* Zarathustrian. I ascribe all good to Ahura-mazda. Let this be the eulogy of the Mazda-worshipping religion.' And the reciter then repeats the formula, 'Righteousness is the best good,' &c., as before, bowing reverently, which completes the rite.

¹ What follows is from Yas. XIII, 25-29, and is the conclusion of the Mazda-worshipper's creed.

² The meaning of the original term *fraspâyaokhedhrām* is rather uncertain, and the Pahlavi version is not easy to understand clearly; it translates this sentence, as far as the next epithet, as follows: 'I praise the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, from which the disunion cast forth *and* the assault put down are manifest (this is manifest from it, that it is not desirable to go to others without controversy, and with that which arises without controversy it is quite requisite to occasion controversy).'

³ This is one of the earliest references to *hvaêtvadatha*, or marriage among next-of-kin; the passage being written in the later Gâthā dialect.

During the rite the person performing it must remain standing on the same spot, without stepping either backwards or forwards, and must speak to no one. Should anything compel him to speak, he must re-commence the rite after the interruption.

III. THE MEANING OF KHVÊTÛK-DAS OR KHVÊTÛDÂD.

THAT the term Khvêtûk-das is applied to marriages between kinsfolk is admitted by the Parsis, but they consider that such marriages were never contracted by their ancestors within the first degree of relationship, because they are not so permitted among themselves at the present day. Any statements of Greek, or other foreign, writers, regarding the marriage of Persians with their mothers, sisters, or daughters, they believe to be simply calumnies due to ignorance, which it is discreditable to Europeans to quote¹. Such statements, they consider, may have referred to the practices of certain heretical sects, but never to those of the orthodox faith.

The Parsis are, no doubt, fully justified in receiving the statements of foreign writers, regarding the customs of their ancestors, with proper caution; a caution which is quite as necessary when the statements are agreeable as when they are disagreeable to present notions. The Greeks, especially, had such a thorough contempt for all foreign customs that differed from their own, that they must have found it quite as difficult to obtain correct information, or to form an impartial opinion, about oriental habits as the average European finds it at the present time. On the other hand, the Parsis have to consider that the ancient Greek writers, whose statements they repudiate, were neither priests nor zealots, whose accounts of religious cus-

¹ See Dastûr Peshotanji's translation of the *Dinkard*, p. 96, note.

toms might be distorted by religious prejudices, but historians accustomed to describe facts as impartially as their information and nationality would permit. It is quite possible that these writers may have assumed that such marriages were common among the Persians, merely because they had sometimes occurred among the Persian rulers; but such an assumption would be as erroneous as supposing that the marriage practices of the Israelites were similar to those of their most famous kings, David and Solomon, forgetting that an oriental sovereign is usually considered to be above the law and not subject to it.

Rejecting all statements of foreigners, as liable to suspicion, unless confirmed by better evidence, it seems desirable to ascertain what information can be obtained, on this subject, from the religious books of the Parsis themselves. This matter has hitherto been too much neglected by those best acquainted with the original texts, and must be considered as only partially exhausted in the following pages.

The term Khvêtûk-das¹ is a Pahlavi transcription of the Avesta word *hvaêtvadatha*, 'a giving of, to, or by, one's own,' and is sometimes partially translated into the form Khvêtûk-dâd, or Khvêtû-dâd, in which the syllable *dâd*, 'what is given, a gift,' is merely a translation of the syllable *das* (Av. *datha*).

The Avesta word *hvaêtvadatha* is not found in any of the Gâthas, or sacred hymns, that are still extant and are usually considered the oldest portion

¹ Occasionally written Khvêtûk-dat, as in Pahl. Vend. VIII, 36 (see p. 392).

of the Avesta. But its former component, *hvaêtu*, occurs several times therein, with the meaning 'one's own, or kinsman,' as distinguished from 'friends' and 'slaves.'

The earliest occurrence of the complete word is probably in Yas. XIII, 28¹, where it is mentioned as follows:—'I praise . . . the righteous *Hvaêtvadatha*, which is the greatest and best and most excellent of things that exist and will exist, which is Ahurian and Zarathustrian.' This merely implies that *Hvaêtvadatha* was a good work of much importance, which is also shown by Visp. III, 18, Gâh IV, 8, and Vistâsp Yt. 17, where the *Hvaêtvadatha* (meaning the man who has accomplished that good work) is associated with youths who are specially righteous for other reasons. But there is nothing in any of these passages to indicate the nature of the good work.

In Vend. VIII, 35, 36 we are told that those who carry the dead must afterwards wash their hair and bodies with the urine 'of cattle or draught oxen, not of men or women, except the two who are *Hvaêtvadatha* and *Hvaêtvadathi*,' that is, male and female performers of *Hvaêtvadatha*. This passage, therefore, proves that the good work might be accomplished by both men and women, but it does not absolutely imply that it had any connection with marriage.

Turning to the Pahlavi translations of these passages we find the transcription Khvêtûk-das, Khvêtûk-dat, or Khvêtûk-dasîh, with explanations which add very little to our knowledge of the nature of

¹ See p. 387, note 3.

the good work. Thus, Pahl. Yas. XIII, 28 merely states that it is 'declared about it that it is requisite to do *it*;' Pahl. Vistâsp Yt. 17¹ asserts that 'the duty of Khvêtûk-das is said *to be* the greatest good work in the religion, that, owing to it, Aharman, the demon of demons, is becoming hopeless, so that the dissolution of Khvêtûk-das is worthy of death;' and Pahl. Vend. VIII, 36 speaks of 'the two who are a Khvêtûk-dat man *and* woman², that is, it is done by them.'

Another reference to Khvêtûk-das in the Pahlavi translations of the Avesta occurs in Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 4, as follows:—'Thus I proclaim in the world that [which he who is Aûharmazd made his own] best [Khvêtûk-das]³. By aid of righteousness Aûharmazd is aware, who created this *one*⁴ [to perform

¹ The age of this Pahlavi version of the Vistâsp Yast is doubtful, and it is even possible that it may have been composed in India. The only MS. of it that I have seen belongs to Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji, who kindly gave me a copy of it, but seemed doubtful about the age of the translation. He was aware that his MS. was written some forty years ago, but he did not know from what MS. it was copied. This version is, however, mentioned in the list of Pahlavi works given in the introduction to Dastûr Peshotanji's Pahlavi Grammar, pp. 18, 31, so that another MS. of the Pahlavi text probably exists in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis in Bombay.

² Or, perhaps, 'man *and* wife;' as *gabrâ*, 'man,' is occasionally used for 'husband,' though *shûi* is the usual word, and *nêrman* means both 'woman' and 'wife.'

³ Written Khvêtvasdas or Khvêtûdas in the very old MS. of Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji, the text of which is followed in this translation. The phrases in brackets have no equivalents in the original Avesta text, and, therefore, merely represent the opinions of the Pahlavi translators.

⁴ *Spendarmad* apparently, as indicated by the sequel.

Khvêtûk-das]. And through fatherhood Vohûman¹ *was* cultivated by him, [that is, for the sake of the proper nurture of the creatures Khvêtûk-das *was* performed by him.] So she who is *his* daughter is acting well, [who is the fully-mindful] Spendarmad², [that is, she did not shrink from the act of Khvêtûk-das.] *She*³ *was* not deceived, [that is, *she* did not shrink from the act of Khvêtûk-das, because *she* is] an observer of everything [as regards that which is] Aûharmazd's, [that is, through the religion of Aûharmazd *she* attains to all duty and law.] The allusions to Khvêtûk-das in this passage are mere interpolations introduced by the Pahlavi translators, for the sake of recommending the practice; they have no existence in the Avesta text, but they show that the Pahlavi translators understood Khvêtûk-das to

¹ The Pahlavi translator seems here to understand Vohûman not as the archangel (see Dd. III, 13), but as a title ('good-minded') of the primeval man, Gâyômarđ, who is supposed to have been produced by Aûharmazd out of the earth (compare Gen. ii. 7), represented by the female archangel Spendarmad. The term vohumanô is used in Vend. XIX, 69, 76-84 for both a well-intentioned man and his clothing.

² The female archangel, a personification of the Avesta phrase *spenta ârmaiti*, 'bountiful devotion'; she has special charge of the earth and virtuous women (see Bd. I, 26, Sls. XV, 20-24). She is called the daughter of Aûharmazd, even as the fire and Vohûman are called his sons, because devotion (representing the earth), fire, and good thought are considered to be his most important creations. And, as the earth is also, metaphorically, the mother of man, and the creator Aûharmazd is figuratively his father, this unfortunate combination of anthropomorphisms has induced later superstition to take these statements literally, and to quote them as a justification of marriage between father and daughter.

³ This seems the most probable nominative to the verbs in this sentence, but it is by no means certain.

refer to such relationship as that of father and daughter, as will appear more clearly from further allusions to the same circumstances in passages to be quoted hereafter¹. Regarding the age of the Pahlavi translation of the Yasna we only know for certain that it existed in its present form a thousand years ago, because a passage is quoted from it by Zâd-spâram, brother of the author of the Dâdîstân-î Dînik and Epistles of Mânûskîhar, in his Selections², and we know that he was living in A. D. 881³. But it was probably revised for the last time as early as the reign of Khûsrô Nôshîrvân (A. D. 531-579), when the Pahlavi Vendîdâd was also finally revised⁴.

The Pahlavi versions of the lost Nasks must have been nearly of the same age as those of the extant Avesta, but of the contents of these versions we possess only certain statements of later writers. According to some of the modern Persian statements the Dûbâsrûged Nask contained many details about Khvêtûk-das, but this is contradicted by the long account of its contents given in the eighth book of the Dînkard, which was written more than a thousand years ago⁵, and in which Khvêtûk-das is not once noticed. The practice is, however, mentioned several times in the Dînkard, as an important good work noticed in the Nasks, but no details are given, except in the following passages from the ninth book :—

First, regarding the latter part of the eighteenth fargard of the Varastmânsar Nask :—‘ And this, too,

¹ See pp. 396, 401, 416.

² See Zs. V, 4.

³ See Ep. III, 2, 17, 21.

⁴ See Ep. I, iv, 17, note.

⁵ This is proved by the long quotation from Dk. VI contained in Dd. XCIV, 1-11.

that thereupon they shall excite a brother *and* sister with mutual desire, so that they shall perform Khvêtûk-das with unanimity, and before midday are generated a radiance which is sublime, centred in the face, and peeping glances (vênîkô âlûs); and they make the radiance, *which* is openly manifest, grow up in altitude the height of three spears of a length of three reeds *each*¹; and after midday they have learned expulsion (rânakîh²), *and* shall renounce the fiend who is before the destroyer.' This is clearly an allusion to the Khvêtûk-das of brother and sister, as it can hardly be considered as merely referring to the arrangement of marriages between their children.

Second, regarding the earlier part of the fourteenth fargard of the Bakô Nask :—' And this, too, that the performance of whatever would be a causer of procreation for the doers of actions is extolled *as* the perfect custom of the first Khvêtûk-das; because causing the procreation of the doers of actions is the fatherhood of mankind, the proper fatherhood of mankind is through the proper production of progeny, the proper production of progeny is the cultivation of progeny in one's own with the inclinations (khîmthâ) of a first wish³, and the cultivation of progeny in one's own is Khvêtûk-das. And he who extols the fatherhood of mankind, when *it is* a causer of the procreation of the doers of actions, has also extolled Khvêtûk-das. And this, too, that the proper nurture for the creatures, by him whose wish is for

¹ A height of about 42 English feet (see Dd. XLIII, 5).

² That is, the capability of expelling the fiends that try to take possession of man.

³ Reading gâm (=kâm), but it may be dâm, 'creature.'

virtue, has taught *him* to perform Khvêtûk-das. Virtue is its virtue even for this reason, because, for the sake of maintaining a creature with propriety, he reckons upon the proper disposition of the multitude, that which is generated in the race by innumerable Khvêtûk-dases¹. And this, too, that Spendarmad is taught *as being* in daughterhood to Aûharmazd by him whose wisdom *consists* in complete mindfulness. Even on this account, because wisdom *and* complete mindfulness² are within the limits of Aûharmazd and Spendarmad; wisdom is that which is Aûharmazd's, complete mindfulness is that which is Spendarmad's, and complete mindfulness is the progeny of wisdom, just as Spendarmad is *of* Aûharmazd. And from this is expressly the announcement that, by him who *has* connected complete mindfulness with wisdom, Spendarmad is taught *as being* in daughterhood to Aûharmazd. And this, too, the existence of the formation of that daughterhood, is taught by him whose righteousness *consists* in complete mindfulness.' This quotation merely shows that Khvêtûk-das referred to connections between near relations, but whether the subsequent allusions to the daughterhood of Spendarmad had reference to the Khvêtûk-das of father and daughter is less certain than in the case of Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 4, previously quoted³.

Third, regarding the middle of the twenty-first

¹ That is, the useful peculiarities of a particular breed of domestic animals are maintained and intensified by keeping up the purity of the race.

² 'Complete mindfulness' is the usual Pahlavi explanation of Av. ârmaiti, 'devotion,' the latter component of the name Spendarmad.

³ See pp. 392, 393.

fargard' of the Bakô Nask :—' And this, too, that a daughter is given in marriage (nêsmantî) to a father, even so as a woman to another man, by him who teaches the daughter and the other woman the reverence *due* unto father and husband.' The reference here to the marriage of father and daughter is too clear to admit of mistake, though the term Khvêtûk-das is not mentioned.

Next in age to the Pahlavi versions of the Avesta we ought perhaps to place the Book of Ardâ-Vîrâf, because we are told (AV. I, 35), regarding Vîrâf, that 'there are *some* who call *him* by the name of Nikh-shahpûr,' and this may have been the celebrated commentator of that name, who was a councillor of king Khûsrô Nôshirvân¹, so that we cannot safely assume that this book was written earlier than the end of the sixth century. It gives an account of heaven and hell, which Ardâ-Vîrâf is supposed to have visited during the period of a week, while he seemed to be in a trance. In the second grade of heaven, counting upwards, he found the souls of those who had 'performed no ceremonies, chanted no sacred hymns, and practised no Khvêtûk-das,' but had come there 'through other good works;' and it may be noted that the two upper grades of heaven appear to have been reserved for good sovereigns, chieftains, high-priests, and others specially famous. In hell, also, he saw the soul of a woman suffering grievous punishment because she had 'violated Khvêtûk-das;' but this passage occurs in one MS. only. We are also told (AV. II, 1-3, 7-10) that 'Vîrâf had seven sisters, and all² those seven sisters

¹ See Ep. I, iv, 17.

² The word translated 'all' is the ordinary Huz. ko/â, equivalent

were as wives of Vîrâf; revelation, also, *was* easy to them, and the ritual had *been* performed . . . they stood up and bowed, and spoke thus: "Do not this thing, ye Mazda-worshippers! for we are seven sisters, and he is an only brother, and we are, all seven sisters, as wives¹ of that brother." This passage, supposing that it really refers to marriage, seems to attribute an exaggerated form of the Khvétûk-das of brother and sister to Vîrâf, as a proof of his extraordinary sanctity; but it can hardly be considered as a literal statement of facts, any more than the supposed case of a woman having married seven brothers successively, mentioned in Mark xii. 20-22, Luke xx. 29-32.

In another Pahlavi book of about the same age, which is best known by its Pâzand name, Mainyô-i Khard², we find Khvétûk-das placed second among

to Pers. har, but a Parsi critic has suggested that it ought to be read kanîk, 'virgin,' so as to get rid of the idea that the sisters were married to Vîrâf. This suggestion is ingenious, because the difference between ko/â and kanîk is very slight, when written in Pahlavi characters; but it is not very ingenuous, because the substitution of kanîk for ko/â, both here and in the similar phrase at the end of the passage quoted in our text, would render the sentences quite ungrammatical, as would be easily seen by any well-educated Parsi who would translate the phrases literally into modern Persian words, which would give him the following text: ân har haft 'âvâharân Vîrâf kûn zan bûd and for the first phrase, and har haft 'âvâhar ân birâdar zanî êm for the second. To substitute any Persian word for 'virgin' in place of the pronoun har, in these two phrases, would evidently produce nonsense. The really doubtful point in these phrases is whether zan and zanî are to be understood as 'wife' and 'wifehood,' or merely as 'woman' and 'womankind;' but it would be unusual to use such terms for the unmarried female members of a family.

¹ Or 'the womankind.'

² From a facsimile of the only known MS. of the original Pahlavi

seven classes of good works (Mkh. IV, 4), and ninth among thirty-three classes of the same (Mkh. XXXVII, 12); and the dissolution of Khvêtûk-das is mentioned as the fourth in point of heinousness among thirty classes of sin (Mkh. XXXVI, 7).

In the Bahman Yast, which may have existed in its original Pahlavi form before the Muhammadan conquest of Persia¹, it is stated that, even in the perplexing time of foreign conquest, the righteous man 'continues the religious practice of Khvêtûk-das in his family².'

The third book of the *Dinkard*, which appears to have been compiled by the last editor³ of that work, contains a long defence of the practice of Khvêtûk-das, forming its eighty-second⁴ chapter, which may be translated as follows :—

'On a grave attack (hû-girâysnō) of a Jew upon

text of this work, recently published by Dr. Andreas, it appears that its Pahlavi name was Dînâ-i Mînavad-î Khard (or Mainôg-i Khird), 'the opinions of the spirit of wisdom.'

¹ See Sacred Books of the East, vol. v, pp. liii–lvi.

² See Byt. II, 57, 61.

³ The name of this editor was Âtûr-pâd, son of Hêmîd, as appears from the last chapter (chap. 413) of the same book. He was a contemporary of the author of the *Dâdistân-î Dînik* (see Bd. XXXIII, 11).

⁴ Chap. 80 in the recent edition of Dastûr Peshotanji Behramji, because his numbers do not commence at the beginning of the book. His translation of this chapter (see pp. 90–102 of the English translation of his edition) differs considerably from that given in our text. This difference may be partly owing to its being translated from the Gugarâti translation, and not direct from the original Pahlavi; but it is chiefly due to the inevitable result of attempting a free translation of difficult Pahlavi, without preparing a literal version in the first place. The translation here given is as literal as possible, but the Pahlavi text is too obscure to be yet understood with absolute certainty in some places.

a priest, which *was* owing to asking the reason of the custom (âhankö) as to Khvêtûk-das; and the reply of the priest to him from the exposition of the Mazda-worshipping religion.

‘That is, as *one* complaining about wounds, damage, *and* distress comes on, *it* is lawful to dispute with him in defence begirt with legal opinion (dâdistânö parvand), and the consummation of the accusation of an innocent man is averted; *so* of the creatures, the invisible connection of their own power to fellow-creations *and* their own *race*, through the propitiousness of the protection *and* preserving *influence* of the sacred beings, is a girdle, *and* the consummation of the mutual assistance of men is Khvêtûk-das. The name is Khvêtûk-das, which is *used* when *it* is “a giving of *one’s* own” (khvês-dahisnîh), and its office (gâs) is a strong connection with one’s own *race* *and* fellow-creations, through the protection *and* preserving *influence* of the sacred beings, which is, according to the treatises, the union of males *and* females of mankind of one’s own *race* in preparation for, and connection with, the renovation *of the universe*. That union, for the sake of proceeding incalculably more correctly, is, among the innumerable similar races of mankind, that with near kinsfolk (nabânazdistânö), *and*, among near kinsfolk, that with those next of kin (nazd-padvandânö); *and* the mutual connection of the three kinds of nearest of kin (nazd-padvandtar)—which are father and daughter, son and she who bore *him*¹, and brother and sister—is the most complete (avîrtar) that I have considered.

¹ Literally ‘bearer’ (bûrdâr), which is not the usual word for ‘mother,’ but equivalent to the Av. baretar that is used in that sense.

'On the same subject the exposition of the obscure statements of the good religion, by a wise high-priest of the religion, is this:—"I assert that God (yêdatô) is the being, as regards the creatures, who created *any* of the creatures there are which are male, and *any* there are which are female; and that which is male is a son, and, similarly, a daughter is that which is female. The daughter of himself, the father of all, *was* Spendarmad¹, the earth, a female being of the creation; and from her he created the male Gâyômar², which is explained *as* the name for him who *was* specially the first man, since it is Gâyômar² living who is speaking *and* mortal, a limitation which *was* specially his, because of these three words—which are 'living, speaking, *and* mortal'—two of the limitations, which are 'living and speaking,' *were* through the provision of *his* father, the creator, and one, which is 'mortal,' *was* proceeding from the destroyer; the same limitation is upon all mankind, who are connected with that man's lineage, until the renovation of *the universe*. And now I say, if the aid of the father *has* produced a male from the daughter, it is named a Khvêtûk-das of father *and* daughter³."

'This, too, is from the exposition of the religion, that the semen of Gâyômar²—which is called seed—when he passed away, fell *to* Spendarmad⁴, the earth, which *was* his own mother; and, from its being united

¹ See p. 393, note 2.

² See Dd. II, 10, XXXVII, 82, LXIV, 5.

³ It is uncertain whether the high-priest's statement continues beyond this point, or not.

⁴ See Bd. XV, 1, 2, Dd. LXIV, 6.

therewith, Mashya and Mashtyô¹ *were* the son and daughter of Gâyômar^d and Spendarmad, *and* it is named the Khvétûk-das of son and mother. And Mashya and Mashtyô¹, as male and female, practised the quest of offspring, one with the other, and it is named the Khvétûk-das of brother and sister. And many couples *were* begotten by them, *and* the couples became continually² wife and husband³; and all men, who *have* been, are, and *will* be, are from origin the seed of Khvétûk-das. And this is the reason which is essential for *its* fulfilment by law, *that* where *its* contemplation (andâgisnô) exists *it* is manifest from the increase of the people of all regions.

‘And I assert that the demons are enemies of man, and a non-existence of desire for them consists *in* striving for it when Khvétûk-das is practised; it then becomes their⁴ reminder *of* that original practice of contemplation which is the complete gratitude of men, and *has* become his⁵ who is inimical to them. Grievous fear, distress, and anguish also come upon them, *their* power diminishes, and they less understand the purpose of causing the disturbance *and* ruin of men. And *it* is certain that making the demons distressed, suffering, frightened, *and* weakened is thus a good work, and this way of having reward and *of* recompense is the property of the practisers of such good works.

‘And I assert that the goodness of appearance and growth of body, the display of wisdom, temper,

¹ See Dd. XXXVII, 82, LXIV, 2, LXV, 2, LXXVII, 4, where these names are spelt differently.

² Literally ‘have become *and* have become.’

³ See Bd. XV, 22, 24–26.

⁴ The demons’.

⁵ Aôharmazd’s.

and modesty, the excellence of skill *and* strength, and also the other qualities of children are so much *the more* as they are nearer to the original race of the begetter, and they shall receive *them* more perfectly *and* more gladly. An example is seen *in* those who *spring* from a religious *woman* who is gentle, believing the spiritual *existence*, acting modestly, of scanty strength, who is a forgiver and reverential, *and from* a mail-clad (gapar) warrior of worldly religion, who is large-bodied *and* possessing strength which is stimulating (âgâr) *his* stout heart while he begets. They¹ are not completely for war—which is a continuance of lamentation (nâs-ravandîh)—and not for carefulness and affection for the soul; as *from* the dog *and* wolf—and not the ruin (seg) *of* the sheep—arises the fox, like the wolf, *but* not *with* the strength of the wolf like the dog, *and* it does not even possess *its* perfect shape, nor that of the dog. And *they are* like those which are born from a swift Arab horse and a native *dam*, and are not galloping like the Arab, and not kicking (padâyak) like the native. And *they have* not even the same perfect characteristics², just as the mule that *springs* from the horse and the ass, which is not like unto either of them, and even *its* seed is cut off thereby, *and its* lineage is not propagated forwards.

‘And this is the advantage from the pure preservation of race. I assert that *there* are three³ species

¹ The offspring of such a match, which the apologist evidently considers an ill-assorted one, as tending to deteriorate the warlike qualities of the warrior's descendants, although he himself is no advocate for war.

² As their parents.

³ Dastûr Peshotanji has ‘four,’ because the Pahlavi text seems

(vâg) *and* kinds of affection of sister *and* brother for that which shall be born of them :—one is this, where *it is* the offspring of brother and brother ; one is this, where the offspring is that of ¹ brothers ² and their sister ; and one is this, where *it is* the offspring of sisters ³. And *as to* the one *of* these where the offspring is that of ⁴ a brother, and for the same reason *as applies to all* three ⁵ species of them, the love, desire, and effort, which arise for the nurture of offspring of the three species, are *in* hope of benefit. And equally adapted are the offspring to the pro-creators ; and this is the way of the increasing love of children, through the good nurture which is very hopeful.

‘And so, also, are those who are born of father and daughter, *or* son *and* mother. Light flashed *forth* (gastō) *or* unflashed (aparvâkhtō) is always seen at the time when *it is* much exposed, and pleased is *he* who has a child of *his* child, even when it is from some one of a different race and different

to speak of four species in the next sentence ; here it seems to have ‘six’ in ciphers, but the first cipher can also be read aê, the conditional suffix to the verb which immediately precedes the ciphers in the Pahlavi text, and the second cipher is merely ‘three,’ which corresponds to the three possible kinds of first cousins that are about to be detailed in the text.

¹ Reading zak-î instead of zîs (which might be read zakîh if there were such a word).

² Literally ‘brother.’

³ Literally ‘sister.’

⁴ Reading zak-î instead of zîs, as before. This is Dastûr Peshotanji’s fourth species of cousinship, which he understands as meaning second cousins.

⁵ Reading î3, by dividing the Pahlavi cipher for ‘four’ into two parts, both here and near the end of the sentence. This paragraph can hardly be understood otherwise than referring to the present form of Khvêtûk-das, the marriage of first cousins.

country. That, too, *has* then become much delight (vâyag) *which* is expedient, that pleasure, sweetness, and joy which are owing to a son that a man begets from a daughter of his own, who is also a brother *of that* same mother; and he who is born of a son and mother is also a brother *of that* same father; this is a way of much pleasure, which is a blessing of the joy, *and* no harm is therein ordained that is more than the advantage, and no vice that is more than the well-doing (khûp gâr). And if it be said that it is of evil appearance, it should be observed that when¹ a wound occurs in the sexual part of a mother, or sister, or daughter, and she flees (fravêd) from a medical man, and there is no opportunity for him to apply a seton (palitö), and her father, or son, or brother is instructed in similar surgery, which is more evil *in* appearance, when they touch the part with the hand, and apply a seton, or *when* a strange man *does so*?

'And, when *it* is desirable to effect their union, which is the less remarkable (kam hû-zanâkhîktar) in evil appearance, when they are united (hamdvâdî-hênd) by them in secret, such as when the hearing of their written *contract* (nipistö) of wifehood and husbandhood² is accomplished in the *background* (dar pûstö), or when the sound of drums and trumpets acquaints the whole district, where

¹ Reading amat instead of mûn, 'who,' (see Dd. LXII, 4 n.)

² Showing that the practice advocated was understood to be a regular marriage (performed in private probably on account of the authorities being of a foreign faith) and not any kind of irregular intercourse. It is here approvingly contrasted with the noisy celebration of a marriage with a person of foreign faith, in accordance with foreign customs.

these people are renowned, that such an Arûman¹ intends to effect such a purpose with the daughter, sister, or mother of such a Pârsl man?

'On this account of less evil appearance is even the good appearance which is to be mutually practised; and after the mode is seen, even the advantageousness in the accomplishment of the daily duty of concealing disgrace, the mutual desire, the mutual advantage and harm, and the contentment *which arise* as to whatever has happened are also mutual assistance. Some, with a husband and faint-heartedness, *have* a disposition (sânö) of incapability, and the diligence which is in their reverence of the husband, who is ruler of the family (bûnag shah), is *due* even to the supremacy which he would set over them through the severity of a husband. Very many others, too, who are strange women, are not content with a custom (vag) of this description; for they demand even ornaments to cover *and* clothe the bold *and* active ones, and slaves, dyes, perfumes, extensive preparations, and many other things of house-mistresses which are according to their desire, though *it* is not possible they should receive *them*. And, if *it* be not possible, they would not accept retrenchment; and, if they should not accept retrenchment, it hurries *on* brawling, abuse, and ugly words about this, and even uninterrupted falsehood (avisistak-iê zûr) is diffused as regards it; of the secrets, moreover, *which* they conceal they preserve night and day a bad representation, and unobservantly. They shall take the bad *wife* to

¹ A native of Asia Minor, or any other part of the eastern empire of the Romans.

the house of *her* father and mother, the husband is dragged to the judges, *and* they shall form a district assembly (*shatrô angêzô*) about it. And lest he *should* speak thus: "I will release *her* from wifehood *with* me¹," vice and fraud of many kinds *and* the misery of deformity are the faults which are also secretly attributed to him.

'A wife of those three classes² is to be provided, since they would not do even one of *these* things³; on which account, even through advantageousness, virtuous living, precious abundance, dignity, and innocence, mutual labour is manifestly mighty *and* strong.

'And if it be said that, "with all this which you explain, there is also, afterwards, a depravity (*darvakh*) which is hideous," it should be understood in the mind that hideousness and beauteousness are specially those *things* which *do not exist* in themselves, but through some one's habit of taking *up* an opinion and belief. The hideous children of many are in the ideas of procreation exceedingly handsome, and the handsome forms of many are in the ideas of a housekeeper (*khânöpânö*) exceedingly ugly. We consider him also as *one* of our enemies when any one walks naked in the country, *which* you consider hideous; *but* the naked skins of

¹ That is, lest he should pronounce her divorce.

² The three nearest degrees of relationship must be meant, as the sequel admits the possibility of the union being considered objectionable; otherwise, the three kinds of first cousins might be understood.

³ As a special pleader for marriage between near relations the apologist feels himself bound to argue that all bad wives must have been strangers to the family before marriage.

the country call *him* handsome whose garments, which seem to them hideous, have fallen *off*. And we are *they* in whose ideas a nose level with the face is ugly, *but they* who account a prominent nose ugly, and say it is a walling *that* reaches between the two eyes, remain selecting a handsome *one*¹. And concerning handsomeness and ugliness in themselves, which are only through *having* taken *up* an opinion and belief, *there* is a change even through time and place; for *any* one of the ancients whose head *was* shaved *was* as *it were* ugly, and it was so settled by law that *it was* a sin worthy of death for them²; then its habits (*sânö*) did not direct the customs of the country to shave the head of a man, *but* now there is a sage who has considered *it* as handsome *and* even a good work. Whoever is not clear that *it* is hideous is to think, about something threatening (*girât*), that *it* is even so not in itself, but through *what* *is* taken into themselves they consider that *it* is hideous.

'Then for us the good work of that thing³, *of* which *it* is cognizable that it is so ordained by the creator, has *its* recompense; it is the protector of the race, *and* the family is more perfect; *its* nature

¹ That is, those who admire flat noses select their beauties accordingly. Beauty being merely a matter of taste, which varies with the whim of the individual and the fashion of the period.

² This law was evidently becoming obsolete at the time the apologist was writing, and is now wholly forgotten. All Parsi laymen have their heads shaved at the present time, although the priests merely have their hair closely cut. This change of custom, in a matter settled by religious law, should warn the Parsis not to deny the possibility of other complete alterations having taken place in their religious customs.

³ Khvétük-das.

is without vexation (apīzâr) and gathering affection, an advantage to the child—the lineage *being* exalted—gathering (avarêûn) hope, offspring, and pleasure *it* is sweetness *to* the procreator, and the joy is most complete; less is the harm *and* more the advantage, little the pretence and much the skill of the graceful blandishments (nâzânö) which are apparent, aiding and procuring assistance (bangisnö), averting disaster, and conducting affairs; less is the fear, through itself is itself illustrious, and the steadfast shall abandon crime (kām). And all our fathers and grandfathers, by whom the same practice *was* lawfully cherished, maintained *it* handsomely in *their* homes; and to think of mankind only as regards some assistance is the enlightenment of the steadfast, a reason which is exhibiting the evidence of wisdom, that no practice of it¹ is not expedient.

‘And if it be said that the law² *has* afterwards commanded as regards that *custom* thus: “Ye shall not practise *it*!” every one who is cognizant of that command is to consider *it* current; *but* we are not cognizant of that command, and *by* an intelligent *person* (khapârvâarakö) this should also be seen minutely, through correct observation, that all the knowledge of men has arisen from Khvêtûk-das. For knowledge is generated by the union of instinctive wisdom and acquired wisdom³; instinctive wisdom is the female, *and* acquired wisdom the male; and on this account, since both are an achievement by the creator, they are sister and brother. And

¹ Khvêtûk-das.

² Perhaps the law of the foreign conquerors is meant.

³ See Dd. XXXVII, 35, XL, 3.

also of everything worldly the existence, maturing, *and* arrangement are due to union in proportion; water, which is female, and fire, which is male¹, are accounted sister *and* brother in combination, and they seem as *though one* restrains *them* from Khvêtûk-das, unless, through being dissipated themselves², seed—which is progeny—arises therefrom; *and* owing to a mutual proportionableness of water and fire is the power in the brain, for if the water be more it rots *it* away, *and* if the fire be more it burns *it* away.'

This elaborate defence of Khvêtûk-das shows clearly that, at the time it was written (about a thousand years ago), that custom was understood to include actual marriages between the nearest relatives, although those between first cousins appear to be also referred to.

In the 195th³ chapter of the third book of the *Dînkard* we are told that the eighth of the ten admonitions, delivered to mankind by Zaratûst, was this:—'For the sake of much terrifying of the demons, and much lodgment of the blessing of the holy⁴ in one's body, Khvêtûk-das is to be practised.' And the following chapter informs us, that 'opposed to that admonition of the righteous Zaratûst, of practising Khvêtûk-das for the sake of much terrifying

¹ See Dd. XCIII, 13 n.

² Into the forms of moisture and warmth in the body. Water and fire in their ordinary state being incapable of combination.

³ This will be the 193rd chapter in Dastûr Peshotanji's edition, because his numbers do not commence at the beginning of the book. A similar difference will be found in the numbering of all other chapters of the third book of the *Dînkard*.

⁴ The technical name of Yas. LIX.

of the demons from the body of man, and the lodgment of the blessing of the holy in the body, the wicked wizard Akhtō¹, the enemy of the good *man* on account of the perplexing living which *would arise* from his practising Khvêtûk-das, preferred not practising Khvêtûk-das.'

The practice is also mentioned in the 287th chapter of the same book, in the following passage:—'The welfare of the aggregate of one's own limb-formations—those which *exist* through no labour of one's own, *and* have not come to the aid of those not possessing *them* (anaſmanân) owing to their own want of gratitude—even *one* of a previous formation *has* to eulogize suitably; *and* this which *has* come, completely establishing (spôr-nih) the Avesta, *one* calls equally splendid, by the most modestly comprehensive appellation *of* Khvêtûk-das.'

In the sixth book of the Dīnkard, which professes to be a summary of the opinions of those of the primitive faith², we are told that, 'when the good work of Khvêtûk-das shall diminish, darkness will increase and light will diminish.'

In the seventh book of the Dīnkard, which relates the marvels of the Mazda-worshipping religion, we are informed that it was 'recounted how—Gâyô-mard³ *having* passed *away*—it was declared secondly, as regards worldly *beings*, to Masyê and Masyâôê⁴, the first progeny of Gâyô-mard, by the word of Aûharmazd—that is, he spoke to them when they

¹ Av. Akhtya of Âbân Yt. 82, who propounded ninety-nine enigmas to Yôistô of the Fryâns (see Dd. XC, 3).

² See Dd. XCIV, 1 n.

³ The sole-created man (see Dd. II, 10, XXXVII, 82).

⁴ See p. 402, note 1.

were produced by him—thus: “You are the men I produce, you are the parents of all bodily life, and so you men shall not worship the demons, for the possession of complete mindfulness¹ *has been* perfectly supplied to you by me, so that you *may* quite full-mindfully observe duty and decrees.” And the creativeness of Aûharmazd *was* extolled by them, and they advanced in diligence; they also performed the will of the creator, *they* carved (parkâvîntdö) advantage *out of* the many duties of the world, *and* practised Khvêtûk-das through procreation *and* the union and complete progress of the creations in the world, which are the best good works of mankind.’

The following passage also occurs in the same book :—‘Then Zaratûst, on becoming exalted, called out unto the material world of righteousness to extol righteousness and downcast are the demons; and, “homage *being* the Mazda-worship of Zaratûst, the ceremonial and praise of the archangels are the best for you, I assert; and, *as to* deprecation (ayazisnîh) of the demons, Khvêtûk-das is even the best intimation, so that, from the information which is given *as to* the trustworthiness of a good work, the greatest is the most intimate of them, *those of* father *and* daughter, son *and* she who bore *him*², and brother *and* sister.” *It is* declared that, upon those words, innumerable demon-worshipping Kîks and Karaps³ disputed (sâristdö) with Zaratûst and strove for his death, just like this which revelation states :—“It is then the multitude clamoured (mar barâ vîrâd) who are in the vicinity of the seat of Tûr, the well-

¹ See p. 396, note 2.

² See p. 400, note 1.

³ See p. 384, note 1.

afflicting¹ holder of decision; and the shame of the brother of Tûr arose, like *that of* a man whose shame *was* that they spoke of his Khvêtûk-das so that he might perform it. This Tûr *was* Tûr-î Aûrvâtâ-sang², the little-giving, *who* was like a great sovereign of that quarter; and he maintained many troops and *much* power. And the multitude told him they would seize the great *one* from him who is little³. *But* Tûr-î Aûrvâtâ-sang, the little-giving *and* well-afflicting, *spoke* thus:—‘*Should* I thereupon smite him, this great *one* who mingles together those propitious words for us—where we are thus without doubt *as to* one thing therein, such as Khvêtûk-das, that it is not necessary to perform *it*—it would make us ever doubtful that it *might* be necessary to perform it’ And Zarâtûst spoke to him thus: ‘I am not always that reserved speaker, by whom that I *have* mentioned is the most propitious *thing* to be obtained; and inward speaking and managing the temper are a Khvêtûk-das⁴, and the high-priest *who has* performed *it* is to perform the ceremonial.’”” This passage attributes to Zarâtûst himself the enforcement of next-of-kin marriage, but it is hardly necessary to point out that the Dînkard only records a tradition to that effect; which

¹ The word hû-nôrakö is the Pahlavi equivalent of Av. hurnustâ (Yas. L, 10, b), but the meaning of both words is uncertain. This Tûr seems to have been more friendly to Zarâtûst than the Tûrânians were in general, but he appears not to be mentioned in the extant Avesta.

² As this epithet has not been found in the extant Avesta, the reading is uncertain.

³ Meaning that they demanded possession of Zarâtûst in an insolent manner.

⁴ In a figurative sense.

record may be quoted as evidence of the former existence of such a tradition, but not as testimony for its truth. It is also worthy of notice that this tradition clearly shows that such marriages were distasteful to the people in general; but this might naturally be inferred from the efforts made by religious writers to assert the extraordinary merit of Khvêtûk-das, because customs which are popular and universal require no such special recommendation from the priesthood.

In the *Dâdîstân-î Dînîk* (XXXVII, 82, LXIV, 6, LXV, 2, LXXVII, 4, 5) allusions are made to the Khvêtûdâd¹ of brother and sister, formed by the progenitors of mankind. We are also told that Khvêtûdâd is to be practised till the end of the world, and that to occasion it among others is an effectual atonement for heinous sin² (Dd. LXXVII, 6, 7, LXXVIII, 19); but it is not certain that the term is applied in these latter passages to marriages between the *nearest* relatives.

For later particulars about Khvêtûk-das we have to descend to the darkest ages of *Mazda*-worship, those in which the Rivâyats, or records of religious legends, customs, and decisions, began to be compiled. Of the earlier Rivâyats, such as the Shâyast Lâ-shâyast and *Vigirkard-î Dînîk*, which were written in Pahlavi, few remain extant; but the later ones, written in Persian, are more numerous and very voluminous.

A Pahlavi Rivâyat, which precedes the *Dâdîstân-î Dînîk* in many MSS. of that work, devotes several

¹ Another form of the word Khvêtûk-das (see p. 390).

² This is also stated in Sls. VIII, 18.

pages to the subject of Khvêtûdâd, which fully confirm the statements of the defender of the practice, quoted above from the *Dinkard* (III, lxxxii). The age of this Pahlavi Rivâyat is quite uncertain; it is found in MSS. written in the sixteenth century, but, as it does not mention the marriage of first cousins, it was probably compiled at a much earlier period, more especially as it is written in fairly grammatical Pahlavi. The following extracts will be sufficient to show how far it confirms the statements of the *Dinkard*:—

‘Of the good works of an infidel this is the greatest, when he comes out from the habit of infidelity into the good religion; and of *one* of the good religion, remaining backward (*akhar-mân*) *at the time* when his ritual is performed, this is a great good work, when he performs a Khvêtûdâd; for through that Khvêtûdâd, which is so valuable a token of Mazda-worship, is the destruction of demons. And of Aûharmazd *it* is declared, as regards the performance of Khvêtûdâd, that, when Zarâtûst sat before Aûharmazd¹, and Vohûman, Ardavahist, Shatvaîrô, Horvadað, Amerôdad, and Spendarmad² sat around Aûharmazd, and Spendarmad sat by his side, she had also laid a hand on his neck, *and* Zarâtûst asked Aûharmazd about it thus: “Who is this *that* sits beside thee, and thou wouldst be such a friend to her, and she also would be such a friend to thee? Thou, who art Aûharmazd, turnest not *thy* eyes away from her, and she turns not away

¹ As he is said to have done in heaven, when receiving instruction in the religion.

² The archangels (see Dd. XLVIII, 1 n), of whom Spendarmad is said to be a female (see p. 393, note 2).

from thee; thou, who art Aûharmazd, dost not release her from *thy* hand, and she does not release thee from *her* hand¹." And Aûharmazd said: "This is Spendarmad, who is my daughter, the house-mistress of my heaven, and mother of the creatures²." Zaratûst spoke thus: "When they say, in the world, this is a very perplexing thing, how is it proclaimed by thee—thee who art Aûharmazd—for thee *thyself*?" Aûharmazd spoke thus: "O Zaratûst! this should have become the best-enjoyed thing of mankind. When, since my original creation, Mâhartiyâ and Mâhartiyâôth³ had performed it, you, also, should have performed it; because although mankind *have* turned away *from* that thing⁴, yet they should not have turned away. Just as Mâhartiyâ and Mâhartiyâôth had performed Khvêtûdâd, mankind should have performed it, *and* all mankind would have known their own lineage and race, *and* a brother would never be deserted by the affection of his brother, *nor* a sister *by that* of her sister. For all nothingness, emptiness⁵, and drought *have* come unto mankind from the deadly *one* (mar), when men have come to them from a different country, from a different town, *or* from a different district, and *have* married their women; and when they shall have carried away their women, and they have

¹ This legend is an instance of the close proximity of superstition to profanity, among uneducated and imaginative people.

² She being a representative of the earth.

³ See p. 402, note 1.

⁴ That is, from marriage of the nearest relations, which is admitted, throughout these extracts, to be distasteful to the people; hence the vehemence with which it is advocated.

⁵ Literally 'air-stuffing' (vâê-âkînh).

waited together about this, thus: 'They will always carry our daughters into perversion¹.'

'This, too, *is said*, that Khvêtûdâd is so miraculous that *it* is the preservation of the most grievous sin—such as witchcraft and *that* worthy of death—from hell. And the want of protection (avtpâharth) from hell *of one* unprotected from Aharman and the demons arises at that time when, owing to what *occurs* when *he* is begged by *some* one to exercise witchcraft, *he* is made worthy of death. And when they shall perform Khvêtûdâd, when the Khvêtûdâd is owing to him², the unprotected *one* is preserved from the prison of hell, *from* Aharman *and* the demons; so miraculous is Khvêtûdâd.

'In a passage *it* is declared, that Aûharmazd spoke unto Zaratûst thus: "These are the best four things: the ceremonial worship of Aûharmazd, the lord; presenting firewood, incense, and holy-water to the fire; propitiating a righteous man³; and *one* who performs Khvêtûdâd with her who bore *him*, or a daughter, or with a sister. And of all those he is the greatest, best, and most perfect who shall perform Khvêtûdâd. . . . When Sôshâns comes⁴ all mankind *will* perform Khvêtûdâd, and every fiend will perish through the miracle and power of Khvêtûdâd.'

It is then explained why the several merits of the

¹ This fear of perversion to another faith was, no doubt, the real cause of the vehement advocacy of family marriages by the priesthood.

² That is, when he has arranged the next-of-kin marriage of others, before his death.

³ That is, a priest.

⁴ Shortly before the resurrection (see Dd. II, 10).

three classes of Khvêtûdâd are considered to stand in the same order as that in which the classes are mentioned in the preceding paragraph; also that the third class includes the case of half brothers and sisters, and the second that of an illegitimate daughter. After this we find the following legend:—

‘And Khvêtûdâd is so miraculous, that *it* is declared, regarding Yim¹, that, when the glory of his sovereignty had departed from him, he went out to the precincts (var) of the ocean with Yimak, his sister, *in order* to flee from the people, demons, and witches of the assembly of Dahâk². And *they were* sought by them in hell and not seen; and others sought them among mankind, water, earth, and cattle, among trees, in the mountains, and in the towns, *but they were* not seen by them. Then Aharman shouted thus: “I think thus, that Yim is travelling in the precincts of the ocean.” And a demon and a witch, *who* stood among *them*, spoke thus: “We *will* go and seek Yim.” And they rushed *off and* went; and when they came unto those precincts where Yim was—the precincts *where* the water of Tîr³ was—Yim spoke thus: “Who are

¹ The third sovereign of the world, after Gâyômarđ (see Dd. II, 10). This legend is also mentioned in Bd. XXIII, 1, as explaining the origin of the ape and bear.

² The foreign king, or dynasty, that conquered Yim (see Dd. XXXVII, 97 n).

³ Evidently intended for Tîstar, a personification of the star Sirius, who is supposed to bring the rain from the ocean (see Dd. XCIII, 1-17). Strictly speaking Tîr is the planet Mercury, the opponent of Tîstar, whose name is given to the fourth month, and thirteenth day of the month, in the Parsi year (see Bd. V, 1, VII, 2, XXVII, 24); but the confusion between the two names is not uncommon in the later books (comp. Sls. XXII, 13 with XXIII, 2).

you?" And they spoke thus: "We are those who are just like thee, who had to flee from the hands of the demons; we, too, have fled away from the demons, and we are alone. Do thou give this sister in marriage to me, while I also give this *one* unto thee!" And Yim, therefore, when the demons were not recognised by him from mankind, made the witch his own wife, and gave his sister unto the demon *as* wife. From Yim and that witch were born the bear, the ape, Gandarep¹, *and* Gôsûbar²; *and* from Yimak and that demon were born the tortoise (gasaf), the cat, the hawk (gaving), the frog, the weevil (dîvakö), and also as many more noxious creatures, until Yimak saw that that demon was evil, and it was necessary to demand a divorce (zan-takâ) *from* him. And one day, when Yim *and* that demon had become drunk with wine, she exchanged her own position and clothing with those of the witch; and when Yim came he was drunk, *and* unwittingly lay with Yimak, who was his sister, and they came to a decision *as to* the good work of Khvétûdâd; many demons were quite crushed *and* died, and they rushed away at once, and fell back to hell.'

The fact, that the zealous writer felt that he had to force his opinions upon an unwilling people, is betrayed by the exaggerated language he uses in the following statements:—

'This, too, is declared by the Avesta, that Zarâtûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: "Many thoughts, many words, *and* many deeds are mentioned by

¹ See p. 371, note 3.

² Not identified, and the reading is, therefore, uncertain.

thee—thee who art Aûharmazd—that it is necessary to think, speak, and do ; of all *such* thoughts, words, and deeds which is the best, when *one* shall think, speak, *or* do it ?” Aûharmazd spoke thus : “ Many thoughts, *many* words, and many deeds should be proclaimed by me, O Zaratûst ! *but*, of those thoughts, words, and deeds *which* it is necessary to think, speak, and do, that which is best and most perfect *one* performs by Khvêtûdâd. For *it* is declared that, the first time when he goes near to it, a thousand demons will die, and two thousand wizards and witches ; when he goes near to it twice, two thousand demons will die, and four thousand wizards and witches ; when he goes near to it three times, three thousand demons will die, and six thousand wizards and witches ; and when he goes near to it four times *it* is known *that* the man and woman become righteous ¹.”

‘ . . . Owing to the performance of Khvêtûdâd *there* arises a destruction of demons equivalent to a stoppage of creation ; and though, afterwards, *some* of those men and women shall become wizards, *or* unlawfully slaughter a thousand sheep and beasts of burden at one time, *or* shall present holy-water to the demons, *yet*, on account of that destruction and vexation of the demons, which has occurred to them owing to the Khvêtûdâd, it does not become comfortable to them while completed ; and *it* is not believed by them that “ the souls of those *people* will come to us.”

‘ Whoever keeps one year in a marriage of Khvê-

¹ Or, as stated in the Appendix to the Shâyast Lâ-shâyast (Sls. XVIII, 4), they *will* not become parted from the possession of Aûharmazd and the archangels.’

tûdâd becomes just as though one-third of all this world, with the water, with the trees, and with the corn, had been given by him, as a righteous gift, unto a righteous man. When he keeps two years in the marriage *it* is as though two-thirds of this world, with the water, trees, *and* corn, had been given by him unto a righteous man. When he keeps three years in the marriage *it* is as though all this world, with the water, with the trees, *and* with everything, had been given *by him*, as a righteous gift, unto a righteous man. *And* when he keeps four years in his marriage, and his ritual¹ is performed, *it* is known *that his* soul thereby goes unto the supreme heaven (garôdmân); *and when the ritual is not performed*, it goes thereby to *the ordinary* heaven (vahistô).

'Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: "*As to the man who practises Khvêtûdâd, and his ritual is performed, and he also offers a ceremonial (yazisnô-aê), is the good work of it such as if one without Khvêtûdâd had offered it, or which way is it?*" Aûharmazd said: "*It is just as though a hundred men without Khvêtûdâd had offered it.*"

'Zaratûst enquired this, also, of Aûharmazd, that is: "How is the benediction (âfrînô) which a man who *practises* Khvêtûdâd shall offer?" Aûharmazd spoke thus: "As though a hundred men without Khvêtûdâd *should* offer the benediction."

'And this, too, *was* asked by him, that is: "*As to them who render assistance, and one meditates and attains to Khvêtûdâd through them, and one*

¹ The proper ceremonies after his death, or for his living soul during his lifetime (see Dd. XXVIII, LXXXI).

performs Khvêtûdâd on account of their statements, how is *their* good work?" Aûharmazd spoke thus: "Like *his* who keeps in food and clothing, *for* one winter, a hundred priests—each of which priests has a hundred disciples—*such* is his good work."

'Zaratûst enquired this, also, of Aûharmazd, that is: "*As to* them who keep a man back *from* performing Khvêtûdâd, *and* owing to their statements he shall not perform Khvêtûdâd, what is their sin?" Aûharmazd spoke¹ thus: "*Their* place is hell."

'*In* a passage *it* is declared that, wiser than the wise, *and* more virtuous than the virtuous is *he* in whose thoughts, words, *and* deeds the demons are less predominant; *and* Aharman *and* the demons are less predominant in the body of him who *practises* Khvêtûdâd, and his ritual² is performed.

'*It* is declared by revelation that *at the time* when Zaratûst came out from the presence of Aûharmazd, the lord, into a worldly place where he travelled, he spoke this, that is: "Extol the religion! *and* you should perform Khvêtûdâd. I speak of the good and those existing *in* the religion; *as to* the negligent, the vile, and those in perplexity, this is said, that a thing so wondrous *and* important *as that* which is in our law *of* Khvêtûdâd could not be for performance. This is a sublime (*kîrag*) custom, *and*, as the best of all things, *one* asserts that it is necessary to perform it. *To* me, also, this is manifest when, through all faith *in* the law *of* those existing *in* the religion³, that which is called by

¹ The Pahlavi text is imperfect.

² See p. 421, note 1.

³ That is, the general law of Mazda-worship, as distinguished from what he is advocating as a peculiarly religious law sanctioned

them a very heinous sin, through faith *in* this law of the good, is that which is called the most perfect *and* best good work of Mazda-worship."

'This, too, is declared by revelation, that Aûharmazd spoke unto Zaratûst thus: "You should cause the performance of duties *and* good works." And Zaratûst spoke thus: "Which duty *and* good work *shall* I do first?" Aûharmazd spoke thus: "Khvêtûdâd; because that duty *and* good work is to be performed in the foremost place of all, for, in the end, it happens through Khvêtûdâd, when all who are in the world attain unto the religion¹."

'This, too, is declared by revelation, that Zaratûst spoke unto Aûharmazd thus: "In my eyes *it* is an evil (*vaðö*) which is performed, and *it is* perplexing that I *should* make Khvêtûdâd as *it were* fully current among mankind." Aûharmazd spoke thus: "In my eyes, also, *it* is just as *in* thine; but for this reason—when out of everything perfect *there is some* miserable evil² for thee—it should not seem *so*. Do thou be diligent in performing Khvêtûdâd, and others, also, will perform *it* diligently."

The unpopularity of the practice advocated could hardly be more fully admitted than in this last paragraph, nor the objection more irrationally and dogmatically disposed of. As for the numerous quotations, which the compiler of this Pahlavi Rivâyat

by the priests ('the good'). This is evidently an admission that the practice advocated was contrary to the ordinary laws of Mazda-worship itself.

¹ As Pahlavi writers expect them to do before the resurrection.

² Reading *vaðö-î vêsht*; but it may be '*something* is difficult and hard' (*tang va sakht*).

professes to take from the Parsi scriptures, it is hardly necessary to remark that their authenticity must be accepted with great reserve.

Persian Rivâyats, copied in the seventeenth century, advocate the marriage of first cousins, and allude vaguely to those between nearer relatives as long extinct, though most of their remarks merely recommend the performance of Khêdyôdath¹, without explaining the meaning of the term. Thus, we are informed that a person worthy of death can perform Khêdyôdath as a good work, but it is better if followed by the Bareshnûm ceremony². An unclean person can do the same, but the Bareshnûm should precede the performance, so as to avoid sins arising from the uncleanness. The performance also destroys demons, wizards, and witches; and if arranged by any one, at his own expense, for another person, it is as meritorious as if performed by himself. But the following quotations are more descriptive of the practice³:—

‘Again, whereas the great wisdom of the king and of the assembly of priests fully understands that the ceremony of all the religious rites⁴ is a great good work, besides that which is called Khêdyôdath, yet, in these days, both have fallen out of *their* hands; but they will make an endeavour, so that they may form connection with their own, and on account of

¹ The Persian form of the word Khvêtûk-das. It is also written Khetyôdath in some passages, and Khêtvadat in others.

² The great ceremony of purification (see App. IV).

³ The Persian Rivâyât from which all this information has been extracted is M 10 (fol. 50 a).

⁴ See Dd. XLIV, 2 n.

the Musulmâns the connection is a medium *one*¹, better than that of an infidel. And Ormazd has said that *by* as much as the connection is nearer *it is* more of a good work; and they display *their* endeavour and effort, and give the son of a brother and daughter of a brother *to* each other. And just as this *is said*: "I establish the *performer* of Khêdyôdath, I establish the patrol of the country²," even on this account they certainly display an endeavour.

'Query:—"How are the connections that relations form?" Reply:—"A brother's children with a brother's children and a sister's children, and relations with one another form connections, *and* it is proper for them."

'Khêdyôdath is *that* which is a great good work, and has fallen out of their hands, owing to the reason that there is no king of the good religion; and if it be so they will make an endeavour, and will form connections with their own, and will give the son of a brother and daughter of a brother to each other, and if not it is not proper; and every such connection as is nearer is more of a good work. And the mode they will act who are at first without a king will be an infidel *one*, and to form connections among themselves will be very difficult now he (the king) is a Musulmân, *but* that which is nearer is better and more of a good work.'

¹ This seems to be an allusion to some interference of the Muhammadan government with marriages of those next of kin. A similar allusion occurs in the next paragraph but one, which, with most of this paragraph, is also found in M7, fols. 229b, 230a.

² This Avesta quotation, from Visp. III, 18, 19, is as follows:—"hvaêtvadathem âstâya, danhâurvaêsem âstâya;" and the meaning of the last term is uncertain.

These quotations indicate that a great change had crept over the meaning of Khvêtûk-das since the dark ages of the Pahlavi Rivâyat, previously quoted, although a tradition of the old meaning still lingered in the minds of the writers. The modern meaning is, however, most completely explained in a passage, appended to a Persian version of Aêshm's complaint to Aharman, regarding the difficulty of destroying the effect of the season-festivals, the sacred feast, and Khvêtûk-das (Sls. XVIII). After Aharman has confessed his inability to suggest a means of destroying the merit of the last, the Persian writer adds the following particulars:—

'Therefore it is necessary to understand, that the chief Khêtvadat is that of a sister's daughter and brother's son; a medium Khêtvadat is that of a brother's son and a younger brother's daughter, or of a sister's son and a younger sister's daughter; and inferior to a medium Khêtvadat is that of a sister's son and a younger brother's daughter. It is necessary to know that any person who performs Khêtvadat, if *his* soul be *fit* for hell, will arrive among the ever-stationary¹; if it be *one* of the ever-stationary it will arrive at heaven. Another particular is to be added: if any one, in departing, settles and strives for the connection of Khêtvadat of a next brother it is a good work of a thousand Tanâpûhars²; if any one strives to break off the connection of Khêtvadat he is worthy of death.'

¹ See Dd. XX, 3.

² See Dd. LXXVIII, 13. Geldner in his *Studien zum Avesta*, I, pp. 3-12, suggests that the original meaning of Av. tanupere-tha and peshôtanu was 'outcast'; but, although these words are translated by Pahl. tanâpûhar, it is doubtful whether this last

With this quotation, which occurs in a MS.¹ written A.D. 1723, we may conclude our examination of all passages in the Parsi scriptures referring to Khvêtûk-das, the result of which may be summarized as follows :—

First, the term does not occur at all in the oldest part of the Avesta, and when it is mentioned in the later portion it is noticed merely as a good work which is highly meritorious, without any allusion to its nature ; only one passage (Vend. VIII, 36) indicating that both men and women can participate in it. So far, therefore, as can be ascertained from the extant fragments of the Avesta—the only internal authority regarding the ancient practices of Mazda-worship—the Parsis are perfectly justified in believing that their religion did not originally sanction marriages between those who are next of kin, provided they choose to ignore the statements of foreigners, as based upon imperfect information.

Second, when we descend to the Pahlavi translations and writings of the better class, which, in their present form, probably range from the sixth to the ninth century, we find many allusions to Khvêtûk-das between those next of kin, and only one obscure reference to the marriage of first cousins². Marriages between the nearest relations are defended chiefly by reference to mythical and metaphorical

word be a mere transcript of *tanuperetha* (which ought to have been *tanûpûhar*), or whether it expresses the different idea of *tan-apûhar*, 'a person without a bridge to heaven,' which might have been that adopted by the Pahlavi translators of the *Vendidad* ; an outcast in this world being very liable to be considered as an outcast from the next.

¹ M5, fols. 54, 55.

² In Dk. III, lxxxii (see p. 404).

statements regarding the creation, and to the practice of the progenitors of mankind; they are also advocated with all the warmth and vehemence that usually indicate much difficulty in convincing the laity, and this zealous vehemence increases as we descend to the dark ages of the Pahlavi Rivâyat¹, the compilation of which may perhaps be attributed to some writer of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. Unless, therefore, the Parsis determine to reject the evidence of such Pahlavi works as the Pahlavi Yasna, the book of *Ardâ-Virâf*, the *Dînkard*, and the *Dâdistân-i Dînik*, or to attribute those books to heretical writers, they must admit that their priests, in the later years of the Sasanian dynasty, and for some centuries subsequently, strongly advocated such next-of-kin marriages, though, probably, with little success. That a practice now reprobated by all Parsis should have been formerly advocated by their priests, as a religious duty, need not excite the surprise of those who consider how slavery has been advocated by many Christians, on scriptural grounds, within the present generation, and how the execution of supposed witches was similarly advocated a few generations ago.

Third, as we come to the modern writings of the Persian Rivâyats, which may have commenced about the fifteenth century, we find the present form of *Khvêtûk-das*, the marriage of first cousins (which was only slightly mentioned in the *Dînkard* of the ninth century), the only form in use; though obscure allusions are made to the other forms as being long extinct.

¹ See pp. 415-423.

At whatever period the practice of next-of-kin marriage may have originated there were evidently two reasons for its establishment and continuance; one was the indispensable necessity of offspring¹, unfettered by duties towards any other family, for the purpose of maintaining the necessary periodical ceremonies for the souls of those passed away; the other was the wish of preventing any risk of religious perversion consequent upon marrying into a family of strangers or infidels. Both of these reasons must have become intensified as the *Mazda*-worshippers diminished in numbers, hence the increasing vehemence of priestly advocacy, until the foreign conquerors probably interfered, and put a stop to the practice.

That such marriages were not unusual among other races, in ancient times, we learn from many tales in Greek and Roman mythology, from the usual practice of the Greek dynasty of the Ptolemies in Egypt, and even from the laws prohibiting such connections in Lev. xviii. 6-16, which, as laws are not made to prohibit practices that do not exist, would hardly have been written unless the children of Israel had at one time adopted the custom to some slight extent. That Parsis now deny the existence of such marriages among their ancestors proves that they no longer approve the custom, but does not affect the historical evidence of its former

¹ The oriental feeling of such a necessity, for the mere purpose of perpetuating the family, is abundantly manifested in the story of Lot's daughters (Gen. xix. 30-38), which is related without reprobation by its writer. Also by the exceptional law requiring a man to marry his brother's wife, when the brother has died childless (Deut. xxv. 5-10).

existence. Christians no longer approve the persecution and execution of women for the imaginary crime of witchcraft, but it would be both childish and useless for them to deny that their ancestors committed hundreds of such judicial murders less than two centuries ago.

IV. THE BARESHNŪM CEREMONY.

THE great ceremony of purification for any Parsi man or woman who has become unclean by contact with the dead, or through any other serious defilement, lasts for nine nights, and is called the Bareshnŭm, which is the Avesta name for the 'top' of the head, the first part of the body appointed to be washed in the ceremony, after the hands. The description of this ceremony, given in Pahl. Vend. IX, 1-145, which does not differ very materially from the rite still in use, is as follows¹ :—

Pahl. Vend. IX, 1. Zaratŭst enquired of Aŭharmazd thus : 'O Aŭharmazd, propitious spirit ! creator of the material world ! who art the righteous *one* [of righteousness !] that is, Aŭharmazd is the righteous creator through invocation, *and* the rest through praise]. 2. 'How, when in the material existence they see a [clean] man together with [that which is polluted], (3) how shall they purify him clean who

¹ Observing that the passages in brackets do not occur in the Avesta text, but are added by the Pahlavi translators ; and that the sections are numbered to correspond with the alternating Avesta and Pahlavi sections in the MSS., which is the division adopted in Spiegel's edition of the texts. The readings adopted are those of L₄, wherever they are not defective ; this MS. was written about A.D. 1324, and differs occasionally from Spiegel's printed text ; it begins the ninth fargard with the following heading :—' May it be fortunate ! may it destroy the corruption (nasŭs) which rushes on from a dead dog and men on to the living ! May the pure, good religion of the Mazda-worshippers be triumphant !'

is with *that* fraught with corruption [together with pollution] owing to that dead body? [that is, how should they make *him* thoroughly clean?]

4. And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'A righteous man, O Zarâtûst the Spîtamân! [a purifier], (5) who is a speaker [that is, it is possible for him to speak], a true-speaker [that is, falsehood is little spoken by him], an enquirer of the liturgy [that is, the ritual is performed by him], *and* righteous, (6) he who specially understands the purification of the religion of the Mazda-worshippers [that is, he knows the rite], (7) such a one shall cut up the plants on the fruitful earth, (8) *for* a length of nine separate reeds¹ in every one of the four directions, (9) *at a place* on this earth which is most devoid of water, most devoid of trees, land most purified [from bodily refuse]², *and* with the driest ground [that is, there is no damp in that extent of it]. 10. Even *where* least upon the paths do cattle and beasts of burden step forth, and the fire of Aûharmazd, the sacred twigs³ spread forth with righteousness, and the righteous man⁴ *do least exist*.'

11. 'Creator of the material world! *thou* righteous *one*! how far from the fire? how far from the water? how far from the sacred twigs spread forth

¹ Which would be 42 feet (see Dd. XLIII, 5 n); but the phrase *gvîd nâi* (which, in Pahl. Vend. VII, 90, has become *gvîd hanâ* by misreading *gvîdô-aê*, and then substituting Huz. *hanâ* for Pâz. *aê*) is merely an attempted translation of Av. *vîbâzu*, which latter appears to mean the 'two arms' outstretched, or a fathom. So the 'separate reed' should be understood as a longer kind of reed, equal to a fathom, instead of 4 feet 8 inches.

² See Dd. XLVIII, 19 n. L4 omits this clause altogether.

³ See Dd. XLIII, 5 n.

⁴ Any priest not engaged in the purification.

with righteousness? how far from a man of the righteous?’

12. And Aûharmazd spoke thus: ‘Thirty steps¹ from the fire, thirty steps from the water, thirty steps from the sacred twigs spread forth with righteousness, and three steps² from the men of the righteous. 13. The cutting out for the first hole [for bull’s urine]³, after the coming on of summer, is two finger-breadths in excavation; after the coming on of hail-fraught (sôngagân-hômand) winter *it* is as *it were* a cup of four finger-breadths⁴. 14. So also for the second hole, for the third hole, for the fourth hole, the fifth, *and* the sixth.’

‘How much is *one* such hole from another hole⁵?’

‘As much as one step onwards.’

¹ As the step is three feet (see § 15), and the foot, being fourteen finger-breadths (see Bd. XXVI, 3 n), may be taken as 10½ inches, these thirty steps would be nearly 79 English feet.

² That is, 7 feet 10½ inches. This diminution of distance enables a purifying priest to stand near enough to an unclean person to hand him the purifying liquid in a ladle tied to a stick (see §§ 40-42), without going within the furrows traced around the holes or ablution seats at the same distance of three steps (see §§ 21-23).

³ That is, at which the unclean person is sprinkled with the urine (see §§ 48-116). The urine should be that of a bull, according to Vend. XIX, 70; but Vend. VIII, 35, 36 state that it may be that of cattle or draught oxen, generally, or even that of those who perform Khvētūk-das (see p. 391). At the present time the term *magh*, which means ‘a hole’ in the Avesta, is applied to the stones which are used as ablution seats for squatting upon.

⁴ The greater depth of the hole for catching the ablution droppings in the winter, would provide for the larger quantity of liquid that could not sink into the soil, or evaporate, during the tedious washing, owing to the soil and air being damper than in summer.

⁵ The probable positions of these holes, and of the furrows enclosing them, are shown upon the plan of the Bareshnūm Gâh on p. 435, which differs but little from the plan still in use.

15. 'What kind of one step?'

'Just like three feet.'

16. 'The cutting out of the three other holes [which are for water], (17) after the coming on of summer, is as much as two finger-breadths in excavation; after the coming on of hail-fraught winter *it* is as much as four finger-breadths.'

18. 'How much from those former *ones* [for bull's urine]?'

'As much as three steps.'

19. 'What kind of three steps?'

'As much as the steps *one* plants in walking with the steps he would take.'

20. 'What kind of walking with steps?'

'Just like nine feet.'

21. 'Thou shalt also plough up a furrow with the blade due to Shatryôvair¹.'

22. 'How much from the holes?'

'As much as three steps.'

'What kind of three steps?'

'As much as *in* walking with the steps *one* would take *and* plant.'

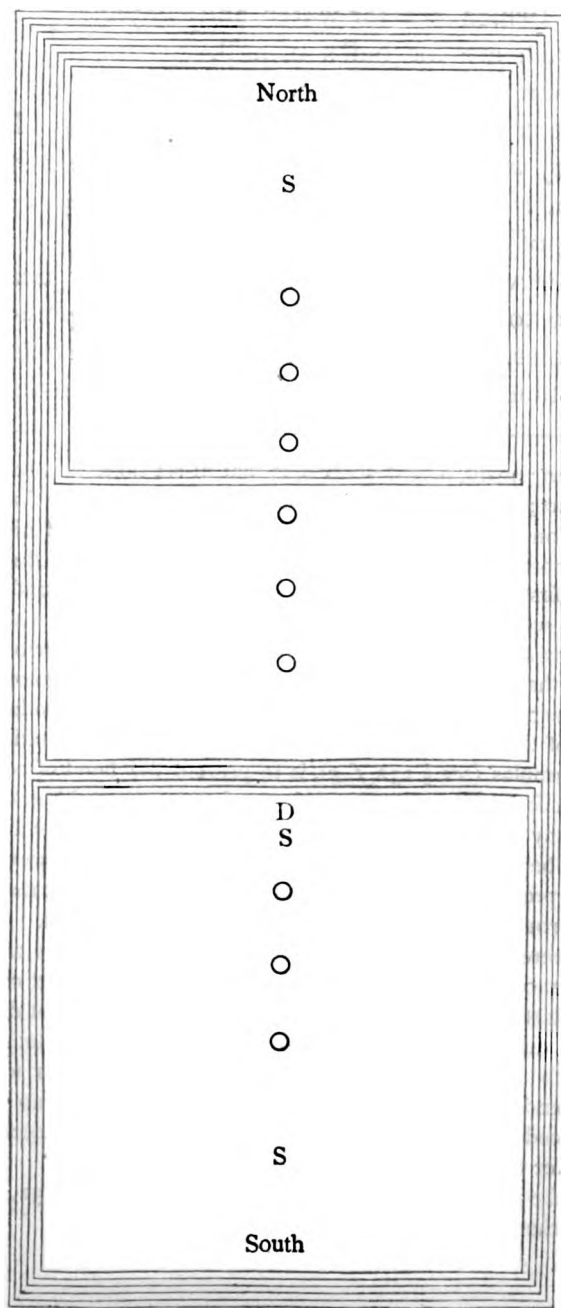
23. 'How much is the walking with steps?'

'As much as nine feet.'

24. 'Then, afterwards, is the ploughing up of the twelve furrows. 25. *By* the ploughing up of three from among *them* three holes are separated within *them*. 26. Thou shalt plough up three from among *them with* six holes separated within. 27. Thou shalt plough up three from among *them with* nine holes separated within. 28. *And* thou shalt plough

¹ That is, made of metal, which is under the special protection of the archangel Shatryôvair or Shatvaîrô (see Dd. XLVIII, 17 n).

PLAN OF BARESHNŪM GĀH.



O, O, O, O, O, O, six northern holes, for bull's urine, one step apart.
 O, O, O, three southern holes, for water, one step apart and three steps from the others.
 S, S, S, three loads of stones on the three spaces of three steps
 D, place for collecting fifteen handfuls of dust for drying the body.

up three, within which are the [three] holes that are apart, [which are for water, and] beyond [*those* within, which are for bull's urine]¹.

29. 'Thou shalt carry three loads of stones on to those spaces of nine feet², *as* an approach to the holes; (30) *or* potsherds, or knotty *and* massive blocks, or a *clod of the* earth of Vistâsp, or [a pot *or* something of] any hard earth whatever.

31. 'Afterwards, he who *has been* by the dead shall come to that approach, which is the approach to the holes. 32. Thereupon thou, O Zaratûst! hast to stand up more aside, by the furrows³.

¹ The arrangement, here described, is that of six holes in a row, one step apart; then an interval of three steps, followed by three more holes, one step apart, in the same line. This row of nine holes, from north to south (see § 132, *e*), is surrounded by three furrows, the first six holes and the last three are both surrounded by a second series of three furrows, and the first three holes are surrounded by a third series of three furrows. And these furrows are not less than three steps from the holes in any place, except where they separate the three series of holes from each other. The object of the furrows, which are scored during the recitation of certain formulas (see § 132, *f*, *g*), is to prevent the fiend of corruption from forcing its way from the unclean person within the furrows to any other person outside them. And, as the fiend is supposed to be strongest at first, and to become gradually weakened by the progress of the purification (see § 119), the first three holes are surrounded by the strongest barrier of nine furrows.

² There were three such spaces, one between the furrows and the first hole, one between the sixth and seventh holes, and one between the last hole and the furrows (see the plan). It is not distinctly stated that these stones were to be distributed, as ablution seats, to each of the nine stations, as at present; but this was probably intended. At the present time an additional group of stones is placed outside the furrows, at the entrance to the north, as a station for the preliminary washing.

³ That is, the priest is to stand outside, to the right (see § 132, *i*), but close to the furrows.

33. Then these words are to be murmured [*by thee*, that is]: "Praise to Spendar¹mad¹, the propitious!"

34. *And* he who *has been* by the dead shall speak in reply to it thus: "Praise to Spendar¹mad¹, the propitious!" 35. Then the fiend becomes disabled by every word [of each repetition]; (36) the smiting of the evil spirit, the wicked *one*, is owing to it; (37) the smiting of Aeshm², the impetuous assailant, is owing to it; (38) the smiting of the Mâzinikân demons³ is owing to it; (39) the smiting of all the demons is owing to it.

40. 'Afterwards, thou shalt sprinkle bull's urine upon *him* with an iron, or with a leaden, *ladle*. 41. *If* thou shalt sprinkle upon *him with a leaden one*⁴, thou shalt strongly demand, O Zaratûst! the stem of a reed whose nine customary parts (pîsak) you have mentioned⁵ [*as nine knots*]; (42) *and one* should tie that leaden *ladle* strongly on *its* foremost part⁶.

43. 'He shall first wash over his hands [even to the elbows]. 44. When he does not wash over his hands, (45) he then makes all his own body impure [*and polluted*]. 46. When he shall have washed over his hands for three times, (47) then, when *thy* hands

¹ See p. 393, note 2. This exclamation is a Pahlavi version of a quotation from the Gâthas (Yas. XLVIII, 10, c).

² The demon of wrath (see Dd. XXXVII, 44).

³ See Dd. XXXVII, 81. This passage (§§ 36-39) is quoted from Yas. XXVII, 2, LVI, xii, 5.

⁴ These words are omitted in the Pahlavi text, but occur in the Avesta.

⁵ Or, perhaps, 'murmured over' with prayers.

⁶ This nine-knotted reed, or stick, must be so long that the ladle, tied to its end, can easily reach the unclean person at the holes, when the stick is held by the priest who stands outside the furrows.

shall have been washed over, (48) thou shalt sprinkle him on the front of the top of his head, [as far as the hair has grown.] 49. Then the fiend of corruption¹ rushes in front, upon *some* of the space between the brows of that man.

50. 'Thou shalt sprinkle in front, on *some* of the space between the brows of that man, [from the place where the hair has grown, as far as to the ears backwards, *and* both cheeks at the bottom.]

51. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon the back of his head.

52. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on the back of his head, [from the place where the hair has grown, casting (stunak) one-fourth to the spine.] 53. Then the fiend of corruption rushes in front upon his jaws.

54. 'Thou shalt sprinkle in front, on his jaws, [both cheeks as far as to the ears backwards, casting one-fourth unto the throat.] 55. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his right ear.

56. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his right ear. 57. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left ear.

58. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left ear, [just as the ear is turned, casting one-fourth to the liquid².]

¹ The Nasûs fiend (see Dd. XVII, 7).

² The word, both here and in § 68, must be Av. âfs, 'water,' and not a Pâzand term for any part of the body, as any such term would be inadmissible in § 68. It would seem as if a smaller supply of liquid were requisite for the ears than for the other customary parts, so that a quarter of the supply is directed to be returned to the vessel holding the liquid. The remarks made by the Pahlavi translator, upon the sprinkling of the left-hand members of the body, are evidently intended also to apply, in nearly all cases, to the sprinkling of the right-hand members.

59. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his right shoulder.

60. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his right shoulder.

61. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left shoulder.

62. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left shoulder, [*on the side in front, just as it is turned, even unto the elbow.*] 63. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his right armpit.

64. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his right armpit.

65. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left armpit.

66. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left armpit, [*as far as the hair has grown.*] 67. Then the fiend of corruption rushes in front upon his chest.

68. 'Thou shalt sprinkle in front on his chest, [*half the liquid to the shoulders, and half to the region of the throat, within three finger-breadths of the face*¹.] 69. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his back.

70. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his back, [*from the slender part of the spine unto the anus.*] 71. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his right nipple.

72. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his right nipple. 73. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left nipple.

74. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left nipple, [*just as the nipple shall be turned; and those of women (zanagânō) are to be held up.*] 75. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his right side.

76. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his right side. 77. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left side.

¹ Reading *dîmak*, but it may be *gâmak* (compare Pers. *gâm*, 'jaw'). *L*₄ has *gîmak*.

78. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left side; [this, moreover, is because one specially recites for ever on *that* side.] 79. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his right hip¹.

80. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his right hip. 81. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left hip.

82. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left hip, [just as it is turned, as far as to the hollow² of it (*gûyak-i valman*) below the thigh.] 83. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his sexual part.

84. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his sexual part. 85. If it be a male, thou shalt sprinkle behind it *before-hand*, and in front of it afterwards; (86) and if it be a female, thou shalt sprinkle in front of it *before-hand*, and behind it afterwards; [*on* this occasion half is for the front *and* half for behind, and it is rubbed in in front.] 87. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his right thigh.

88. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his right thigh. 89. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left thigh.

90. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left thigh, [from the prominence (*gôhâk*) below the thigh to the knee.] 91. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his right knee.

92. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his right knee. 93. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left knee.

¹ Reading *srînak*, as in Pahl. Vend. VIII, 178-182; but here the word is four times written *sînak*.

² Or, perhaps, 'prominence' is meant, as in § 90; although the two words *gûyak* and *gôhâk* are written differently, they refer probably to the same part.

94. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left knee, [above just as it is turned, *and* below the slender *part*; there are *some* who would say thus: "As much above it as below."] 95. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his right shin.

96. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his right shin. 97. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left shin.

98. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left shin, [from the knee unto the place where the leg *and* foot unite.] 99. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his right ankle¹.

100. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his right ankle. 101. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left ankle.

102. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left ankle, [just as the leg *and* foot unite, that is, while the ten toes are back to the ground.] 103. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his right instep.

104. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his right instep. 105. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left instep.

106. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left instep, [from the place where the leg *and* foot unite, to the end of his toes.] 107. Then the fiend of corruption turns dejected under the sole *of the foot*, *and* its likeness is as *it were* the wing of a fly's body.

108. 'The toes *being* held quite in union with the ground, his heel is held up from the ground. 109. Thou shalt sprinkle on his right sole. 110. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left sole.

¹ The word *zang* means rather 'the lower part of the leg.'

111. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left sole. 112. Then the fiend of corruption turns dejected under the toes, *and* its likeness is as *it were* the wing of a fly.

113. 'The heel *being* held quite in union with the ground, his toes are held up from the ground. 114. Thou shalt sprinkle on his right toes. 115. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left toes.

116. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left toes. 117. Then the fiend of corruption returns dejected to the northern quarter in the shape of a raging fly, bandy-legged, lean-hipped, illimitably spotted, so that spot is joined to spot, like the most tawdry¹ noxious creature, *and* most filthy.

118. 'Then these words are to be murmured, which are most triumphant *and* most healing² :—

'“ As is the will of the patron spirit [as is the will of Aûharmazd], so should be the *earthly* master [so should be the high priest], owing to whatever are the duty *and* good works of righteousness; [that is, *he* is always to perform duty and good works as authoritatively as the will of Aûharmazd.] That which is the gift of good thought is the work of both existences [and the work] of Aûharmazd; [that is, the reward *and* recompense they give to good thought, they give also to him; there are *some* who would say thus: 'It is the possession of good thought.']

¹ Reading bôg-âkîntûm, 'most stuffed with ostentation,' as in L4. In AV. XVII, 12 the word can be read bazak-âyîntûm, 'most sin-accustomed.'

² Only the initial and final words of the Avesta of the following passages are given in the MSS. here, but they are given at length, with their Pahlavi translation, in Vend. VIII, 49-62, whence the Pahlavi version is here taken.

The sovereignty is given to Aûharmazd, [that is, Aûharmazd has made the ruler for himself,] who *has* given protection *and* nourishment to the poor, [that is, he would provide assistance *and* intercession for them.]¹

“Who is given to me by thee, O Aûharmazd! *as* a protection? [when² I shall do duty *and* good works, who would provide me protection?]-when I am in custody of the malice of that wicked [Aharman, that is, he retains malice with me in *his* thoughts]-other than thy fire *and* good thought? [this I know, that they would do *so* on account of you; but, apart from you, who would provide me protection?] When in their employ I invoke righteousness, O Aûharmazd! [that is, I shall do duty *and* good works, who would provide me protection?] That which thou shalt proclaim to me *as* religion through a high-priest [this I say, that is, preach religion through a high-priest]³.

“Who is the smiter with triumph, through this thy teaching of protection? [that is, so *far* as is declared by the revelation of scripture, who should inflict the punishment for sinners?] With clearness the superintendence (*rad̄th*) of the creation in both existences is to be taught to me, [that is, it is necessary for thee to give unto me the high-priesthood here *and* there⁴.] The arrival of virtuous obedience (*Srôsh*), with good thought (*Vohûman*), is here,

¹ This paragraph is the Pahlavi version of the Ahunavar, or Yathâ-ahû-vairyô formula (see p. 385).

² Reading *amat*, instead of *mûn*, ‘who,’ (see Dd. LXII, 4 n.)

³ This paragraph is the Pahlavi version of the *Kam-nâ-mazdâ* stanza of the Gâthas (Yas. XLV, 7).

⁴ Both in this world and the next.

[that is, it is necessary for thee to give Vistâsp¹ unto me as assistance.] O Aûharmazd! [the arrival of] that *one* [is according to my wish], who is he according to the wish of every one, [that Sôshâns² that shall be necessary for every one, so that they may thereby convey away their misery, the misery it is possible he should convey away from every one.]³

“*Let us be guarded from the most afflicting one* [here, and apart from the sinners], O Aûharmazd and Spendarmad⁴! [that is, keep us away from the harm of the evil spirit!] Perish, thou demon fiend! [as I speak in front of thee.] Perish, thou race of the demons! [that is, their race is from that place.]⁵ Perish, thou *work* transformed by the demons [for uselessness]! Perish, thou *work* produced by the demons [heretofore and hereafter! this produced without the sacred beings, and produced by them (the demons) even for uselessness]. Perish utterly, thou fiend! [that is, mayst thou become invisible!] Perish utterly, thou fiend! [that is, rush away from here, and mayst thou become invisible on any path!] Perish utterly and apart, thou fiend! [that is, stand not again on any path!] Thou shalt perish again to the north! [the path was mentioned thus: ‘Go in the direction of the north!’] do not destroy the material world of righteousness⁶!”

¹ The king in the time of Zaratûst (see Dd. XXXVII, 36).

² The last of the future apostles (see Dd. II, 10).

³ This paragraph is the Pahlavi version of a passage in the Gâthas (Yas. XLIII, 16, b-e).

⁴ See p. 393, note 2.

⁵ From hell, the place of the demons.

⁶ It appears from what follows, in § 120, that the whole of the sprinklings and exorcisms, detailed in §§ 33-118, are to be repeated at each of the first six holes.

119. 'At the first hole the man becomes freer from the *fiend of* corruption, [that is, it shall depart a little from his body, like a flock when they disperse it.]

120. 'Then these words are to be murmured by thee, &c. [as in §§ 33-118. At] the second [hole, &c., as in § 119. And the same routine is to be followed at] the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth [holes]¹.

'Afterwards he shall sit—he who *has been* by the dead—within the precinct (*sitrâ*) of the holes² apart from those holes [which are for bull's urine]. 121. So much from that [of the previous ones for bull's urine] as four finger-breadths³. 122. They shall also dig up those full diggings up of this earth, [they should accomplish this well.] 123. They shall scrape together fifteen handfuls of the earth, [so that they shall quite dislodge the damp purely.]⁴ 124. And they shall remain about it the whole *period* from that *time* until *the time* when the hair on his head shall become dry, (125) and until *the time* when the wet earth on his body shall become dry.

126. 'Then he who *has been* by the dead shall come to that approach to those other holes [which are for water]. 127. At the first hole he shall then purify over his own body once with water. 128. At the second hole he shall then purify over his own

¹ This paragraph is omitted in the Pahlavi text, being merely given in the Avesta (for the sake of brevity) so far as the words are not included in the brackets.

² The three holes for washing with water.

³ That is, three English inches south of the six furrows which separate the first six holes from the last three, at the point D on the plan.

⁴ That is, the person undergoing purification shall be rubbed with dust until he is quite dry.

body twice with water. 129. At the third hole he shall then purify over his own body thrice with water.

130. 'Afterwards, he who is perfumed with sandarac (râsnō)¹, or benzoin, or aloes², or any other of the most odoriferous of plants, (131) shall then put on *his* clothes. 132. Then he who *has been* by the dead shall come to that approach, the approach to *his* abode³.'

[a. The clothing is always *cleansed* by the Khshvash-maunghô ("the six-months' *process*")⁴.

b. Afarg⁵ said two purifiers are requisite⁶, and of the two he is suitable who has performed the ritual; thus they have been very unanimous; when he scores the furrow, washes that *unclean person* in the customary *places*, and utters the Avesta he has performed it; the other, when he has not performed it,

¹ Av. urvâsna (which is translated by Pahl. râsnō) is supposed, in India, to mean sandal-wood.

² These are supposed, in India, to be the two substances meant by the Av. vohû-gaona and vohû-kereti, which are merely transcribed by the Pahl. hû-gôn and hû-keret. The Avesta text adds a fourth perfume, named hadhâ naêpata, which is understood to mean the pomegranate bush, although that plant seems to yield no perfume.

³ For the continuation of the instructions see § 133; the text being here interrupted by a long Pahlavi commentary on the whole of the foregoing description of the ceremony.

⁴ This sentence is evidently incomplete in the Pahlavi text. The process is thus described in Pahl. Vend. VII, 36:—'If it be that *it* is woven, they shall wash *it* over six times with bull's urine, they shall scrape together six times on the earth *with it* [so that they quite dislodge its moisture purely], they shall wash *it* over six times with water, *and* they shall perfume over *it* six months at a window in the house.' For the Avesta version of this description, which is nearly the same, see Sls. II, 95 n.

⁵ See Ep. I, v, 1.

⁶ See Ep. I, vi, 4, II, ii, 7.

is unsuitable; when *there* shall also be one who is suitable¹ he fully solemnizes a Vendidad *service*, for this purpose, with a dedication (shnumanō) to Srôsh.

c. For every single person, at the least, one cup, alike of water and bull's urine, is to be set down *in* that place², and at the beginning of its consecration *it* is to be thoroughly inspected, and at the Vendidad *it* is to be thoroughly inspected³; afterwards, when it is covered, *it* is also well; the pebbles cast into *it*⁴ they should carry back to the holy-water, there is no use *for them*; when thoroughly consecrated it is always suitable, until it becomes quite fetid⁵.

d. For the avoidance of an unsecluded (agûbâl) menstruous woman nava vibâzva drâgô ('the length of nine fathoms')⁶ from her is necessary, when she stands nearest; in a wild spot the herbage is to be dug up⁷; when they shall make *the purifying place* in the town, and a path, or a stream, or a wall does not extend into it, it is suitable; and the cleanly plucking up of its small trees, extracting *them* in the daytime with *recitation of* the Avesta of Zaratûst⁸—those which are thick not existing among the holes—is proper.

e. And every one who digs the holes, with whatever he digs, *and* whenever he digs, is suitable; four finger-breadths and two finger-breadths⁹ is no matter;

¹ See Ep. I, vi, 7.

² See Ep. I, vii, 1.

³ L4 has '*it* is to be taken up,' by omitting the first letter of nikîrîsnō.

⁴ See Ep. I, vii, 16, II, iii, 12.

⁵ See Ep. I, viii, 1-6.

⁶ See § 8.

⁷ See § 7.

⁸ These twelve words do not occur in L4.

⁹ See § 13.

each hole is at a minimum *distance* of three feet¹, at a maximum as much as *one* thoroughly purifies his body in; and *they* are to be formed in it from the north, and are to be dug in the direction towards its more southern side.

f. In the daytime is the purifier's scoring of the furrows, and with a blade *they* are to be scored; with *the recital* of the Avesta² *they* are to be scored; in the day *they* are to be scored³; in that day *they* are to be scored, when a furrow is scored, three Ashem-vohûs⁴, the Fravarânê⁵, whatever period *of the day* *one* considers *it to be*, the dedication to Srôsh⁶, and its *inward* prayer⁷ are to be taken up *inwardly*.

g. *It* is also to be done inside it from the north, and its end is to be passed back at the end; *for* every single furrow *there* is one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô⁸ at the least, and at the most as many as are possible for it; a furrow is not to be scored again for a furrow, until *it* is to be put into use; whenever it is fully disturbed *it* is to be scored again with *the recital* of its Avesta; when prepared for use *and one* scores *it* again it is no matter.

¹ See §§ 14, 15.

² The Ahunavar or Yathâ-ahû-vairyô (see § *g*).

³ So in L4.

⁴ See Dd. LXXIX, 1, note.

⁵ That is, the profession of faith (Yas. I, 65), which is as follows:—'I will profess myself a Zarathustrian Mazda-worshipper, opposed to the demons *and* of the Ahura faith.' This is followed by the dedication to the period of the day, which is given for the first period only in Yas. I, 66, 67; the dedications for the other periods will be found in Gâh II-V, 1.

⁶ Sir. I, 17.

⁷ See Dd. XL, 5, note. All the prayers here detailed are to be murmured merely as a preliminary spell, but while each furrow is being scored a further formula is to be recited (see § *g*).

⁸ See pp. 385-386.

h. Once the outside of the body is to be made quite clean from the bodily refuse¹ of the world; *and* the hair *being* tied up—it is no use to cut the pubes (nihânö) — *he* is also to be brought into it (the precinct) from the north to the holes.

i. The purifier stands up on the right-hand side, and when he retains the *inward* prayer from scoring the furrows² it is proper; when not, the prayer to be taken *inwardly* by him—which is his utterance of Nemaskâ yâ ârmaitis izâkâ ('and the homage which is devotion and nourishment')³—is also that which is to be uttered *by the unclean person*; and when *he* is not able to speak, *it* is both times to be uttered for *him*.

j. And his hands are to be thoroughly washed three times, not in the inside; *as to* the other customary *parts* (pîsak) Afarg *has* said three times, not in the inside, *but* Mêdôk-mâh⁴ one time; also the water *and* bull's urine, such as are necessary for him, are to be conveyed on to him; and a portion (bah-rak) is to be preserved for him *away* from the body, *and*, when anything comes upon him, a little bull's urine is to be dropped down upon him; likewise,

¹ See Dd. XLVIII, 19 n.

² That is, when he has not broken its spell by talking, since he began the scoring.

³ These are the Avesta words from Yas. XLVIII, 10, c, of which the Pahlavi version is given in §§ 33, 34.

⁴ Written Mêdyôk-mâh in Ep. I, v, 1. The statement here attributed to Mêdôk-mâh is ascribed to Afarg in Ep. I, vi, 7, 9, II, ii, 6, but Afarg is there said to be 'the prior deponent,' as he is here; we should, therefore, probably transpose the 'three times' and 'one time' in our text; the blunder having originated from the frequent substitution of hanâ for aê in Pahlavi, both meaning 'this,' while aê also means 'one' and is the cipher for '3.'

any customary *part*, while *being* washed by him, is to be preserved from that which is not washed; when it comes upon it, it is improper.

k. When a drop of water (*âv yûgakö-1*) shall remain upon *him*, *his* hand is to be thoroughly rubbed over it; when at the same hole and he becomes doubtful as to a customary *part*¹, when he knows *which*, *it* is to be washed by him again, and from that onwards *they* are always to be washed again by him; when he does not know *which*, the beginning of *the washing at* the hole is to be done again by him, and when he comes unto that which *he did* before, when he knows *it*, *he* is also to go again to that after it, from his doing again of the beginning of *the washing at* the hole; when he becomes doubtful as to the hole, he is to go back to that which is not doubtful.

l. And when they go from hole to hole, the dog² is to be held once, the Avesta³ of the purifier is to be spoken, and it is to be done by him thus:—When he arrives at the place, *it* is done by him; when not, the head is to be done thoroughly—there are *some* who would say thus: ‘In the same hole the head is to be done thoroughly’—and all four feet of the dog are to be put by him into the hole; he is also to sit down within four finger-breadths⁴, and the Pankadasa zemö hankanayen (‘fifteen *times* of earth they shall

¹ That is, when he is doubtful which he washed last.

² The dog is not mentioned in the Avesta account of the Baresh-nûm in Vend. IX, but it is ordered to be brought before the unclean person in another such account in Vend. VIII, 120, 123. The use of the dog is that its sight or touch is supposed to destroy or drive away the Nasûs, or fiend of corruption.

³ The exorcism in § 118.

⁴ See § 121.

scrape together')¹ are to be well completed by him, *it* is also to be thoroughly done by him, and *he* is to be fully guarded while he properly *and* thoroughly well perseveres.

m. And, after it, he is to go unto the holes for water; the different times with water are just like the different holes for bull's urine, except holding the dog; the dog, too, works for *him* inside.

n. When he seeks for it, *it*² is to be thoroughly warmed *for* him; when he hungers for it, bread is to be given to him; when *the necessity of* making water arises, something is to be held unto him; when, on account of his imperfect strength (*vad zôrth*), *he* is quite unable to wash, some one is to sit down inside with him; when *he* is only just³ washed, *he* is to come into his position therein before, the *inward* prayer is to be spoken out by him, and the *inward* prayer is to be again offered by him, his customary *parts* are also washed, and are to be considered as washed.

o. When he shall keep on for three washings⁴, though not clean, it is not improper; when he does not attain three washings, it is not proper; when the enclosure is not to be formed to the north⁵, it is not proper; when *one* shall not solemnize the *Vendidad service*⁶, it is not proper.

p. When the purifier shall not have performed the ritual, it is not proper; when the purifier is not a man, it is not proper.

¹ The Avesta version of § 123.

² The water, apparently.

³ Perhaps it should be *kand tâk*, 'several times,' instead of *kîgûn tâk*, 'only just.'

⁴ See §§ 136, 140, 144.

⁵ See § *c.*

⁶ See § *b.*

g. When he shall not wash on the customary *parts*, it is not proper; when he does not utter the Avesta, it is not proper; and when the dog¹ is not held, it is not proper; when *there* is no digging of the holes, it is not proper; when he does not perform the *Pankadasa zemô hankanayen* ('fifteen times of earth they shall scrape together')², it is not proper.

r. When *it* is not the purifier *who* scores the furrows, *and* he does not score *them* with a blade³, nor does he score *them* with *the recitation of* the Avesta, nor does he score *them* in the daytime, it is not proper.

s. When he shall see *anything* impure in the hole, it is not proper; when they shall cause rain *to come* within a hole for bull's urine, it is not proper; when night shall come in upon him, it is not proper; when in everything *there* is suitableness, but as to one thing doubt arises, through that suitableness it is not proper.]

133. '*He*⁴ is to sit down in the place of the secluded (*armêstânô*)⁵, within the precinct (*sitrâ*) of *his* abode, apart from the other Mazda-worshippers. 134. He shall not come with authorization to fire, nor to water, nor to earth, nor to animals, nor to plants, nor to a righteous man, nor to a righteous

¹ See § 1.

² See § 123.

³ See § f.

⁴ He who has been by the dead, as stated in § 132, in connection with which this sentence is to be read; the foregoing §§ a-r being interpolated by the Pahlavi translators.

⁵ The original meaning of *armêst* was probably 'most stationary,' as it is a term applied to water in tanks, helpless cripples, and insane people, as well as to unclean persons who have to remain apart from their friends (see Sls. II, 98 n).

woman, (135) at all from that *time*, until *the time* when his three nights shall fully elapse.

136. 'After those three nights he shall wash over *his* body, and *his* clothes are purified over in such a way as with bull's urine and also with water. 137. He shall sit in the place of the secluded, within the precinct of *his* abode, apart from the other Mazda-worshippers. 138. He shall not come with authorization to fire, &c. [just as *has been written in* § 134], (139) at all from that *time*, until *the time* when his six nights shall fully elapse.

140. '*After those six nights*¹ he shall wash over *his* body, and *his* clothes are purified over in such a way as with bull's urine and also with water. 141–143. He shall sit in the place of the secluded [just as *has been written in* §§ 133–135] until *the time* when *his nine nights shall fully elapse*.

144. 'Then, after the nine nights, he shall wash over *his* body, and *his* clothes are purified over in such a way as with bull's urine and also with water. 145. Then he shall come with authorization unto fire, unto water, unto earth, unto animals, unto plants, unto a righteous man, unto a righteous woman.'

Besides the above fully detailed description of the Barešhnūm ceremony we find two other accounts of the rite, in the Vendidad. Of these the most detailed is contained in Vend. VIII, 117–228, which mentions the use of the dog², the nine holes, the washing with bull's urine and water, and all the

¹ The MSS. omit several words, when sentences are repeated, for the sake of brevity.

² See § 1 above.

detail of driving the fiend of corruption from one part of the body to another (by sprinkling with 'the good waters') till it flies away to the north as in Vend. IX, 117. But it omits the description of the purifier, the dimensions of the purifying place, the scoring of the furrows, the placing of the stones, the exorcism¹, the seclusion for nine nights, and all the washings after the first day.

The other account, which is much shorter, is given in Vend. XIX, 67-84. It specifies that the urine must be that of a young bull, and that the purifier must score a furrow; it mentions the recitation of a hundred Ashem-vohûs and two hundred Yathâ-ahû-vairyô, four washings with bull's urine and two with water, nine nights' exposure, followed by attention to the fire and fumigation, when the man clothes himself while paying homage to the sacred beings, and is clean; but no other details are given.

¹ That is, the exorcism is not found in the Pahlavi version, but is introduced in the Vendidâd sâdah in an abbreviated form, possibly copied from Vend. IX, 118.

V. FINDING A CORPSE IN THE WILDERNESS.

THE controversy between Mânûskêthar and his brother, Zâd-sparam, of which the Epistles of Mânûskêthar are the only portion extant, turned chiefly upon the meaning to be attached to Vend. VIII, 271-299¹, and whether the mode of purification therein detailed was a sufficient substitute, or merely a preparation, for the Bareshnûm ceremony. The following is a translation of the Pahlavi version of this passage²:—

Pahl. Vend. VIII, 271. 'O creator! how are those men purified, O righteous Aûharmazd! who shall stand by a corpse, in a distant place, upon a wild spot³?'

272. And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'They are purified, O righteous Zaratûst!'

273. 'But when so? [that is, how will *such a one* become clean?]

274. 'If a corpse-eating dog, or a corpse-eating bird, *has* attacked that corpse, (275) *the man* shall then purify over his own body with bull's urine, (276) thirty times by washing forwards [*with* the bull's urine], *and* thirty times by washing over⁴, [and

¹ See Sacred Books of the East, vol. iv, pp. 116-118.

² Subject to the same observations as those detailed in p. 431 n.

³ Reading pavan vaskar, but the MSS., by omitting a stroke, have pavan sikar, 'on the chase.'

⁴ So here, but 'washing backwards' in § 279; and in Ep. II, iv, 2 we find 'upwards' and 'downwards,' instead of 'forwards' and 'backwards.' The Pahlavi translators were evidently doubtful whether the Av. upasnâtê (see Ep. II, iii, 2) meant 'washing over, backwards, or downwards.'

his hand shall rub over it.] 277. Of the topmost *part* of him is the washing over, [that is, the washing of his head is that regarding which *there* is a mention through this study-causing (hûshkar) exclamation.]¹

278. 'If a corpse-eating dog, or a corpse-eating bird, *has* not attacked that corpse, (279) *he shall purify* fifteen times by washing forwards, *and* fifteen times by washing backwards, [and *his* hand shall rub over it.]

280. 'He shall run the first mile (hâsar)². 281. He shall then run forwards, [when the Pankadasa ("fifteen times") shall be performed by him.] 282. *And* when he shall thus stop opposite any one whomsoever of the material existence³, he shall be prepared with a loud issue of words, (283) thus⁴: "I have thus stood close by the body of him who is dead; I am no wisher *for it* by thought, I am no wisher *for it* by word, I am no wisher *for it* by deed, [that is, *it* is not possible for me *to be* as *though* washed.] 284. It demands purification for me, [that is, wash me thoroughly!]" 285. When he runs, the first he shall reach, (286) if they do not grant him purification, share one-third of that deed of his, [that is, of all that sin, not possible for him *to bear*, except when they shall perform *his purification*, one *part* in three is theirs at *its* origin.]

287. 'He runs the second mile [while he runs for

¹ Implying that the Pahlavi translators had found the use of Av. aghrya for 'head' rather perplexing.

² The hâsar was 'a thousand steps of the two feet' (see Bd. XXVI, 1, note), and was, therefore, about an English mile.

³ That is, any human being.

⁴ See Ep. I, ii, 10.

it]. 288. He runs, *and* a second time he reaches *people*. 289. If they do not grant him purification, (290) they share a half¹ of that deed of his, [that is, of all that sin, not possible for him *to bear*, except when they shall perform *his purification*, as *it were* a half is even for them at *its* origin.]

291. 'He shall run the third mile [while he runs for *it*]. 292. When he runs, the third he shall reach, (293) if they do not grant him purification, share all² that deed of his, [that is, all that sin which *it* is not possible for him *to bear*, except when they shall perform *his purification*, is ever *theirs* at *its* origin.]

294. 'He shall then run forwards³. 295. He shall thus stop opposite *some people* of the next house, village, tribe, *or* district, *and* he shall be prepared with a loud issue of words, (296) thus: "I have thus stood close by the body of him who is dead; (297) I am no wisher *for it* by thought, I am no wisher *for it* by word, I am no wisher *for it* by deed, [that is, *it* is not possible *to bear* without washing.] 298. It demands purification for me, [that is, wash me thoroughly!]" 299. If they do not grant him purification, he shall then purify over his own body with bull's urine, *and* also with water; thus he shall be thoroughly purified over⁴.'

[*a*. He shall go three miles; it is not allowable to walk back to *his* district, until he *has* fully striven

¹ That is, half of the two-thirds remaining with him, or one-third of the whole original trespass.

² That is, all the remaining one-third of the original trespass.

³ See Ep. II, iii, 3.

⁴ What follows is a commentary, by the Pahlavi translators, on the whole passage.

with three persons, and all that sin, not possible for him *to bear*, except when they shall perform *his purification*, is theirs at *its* origin.

b. When thus thoroughly washed by himself, his duty even then is the work *frakairi frakere-naod*, *vâstrê verezyôid* ('he should accomplish with perseverance, he should cultivate in the pastures¹'); there are *some* who would say thus: 'He is always for the performance of work, and abstinence from the ceremonies of others is for him².']

¹ Quoted from Vend. XIX, 140, where the words 'sheep's food and food for oxen' are added.

² A person so purified by himself, after vainly seeking a proper purifier, is, therefore, only fit for the ordinary labours of life, and must avoid all religious celebrations till properly purified by the Bareshnûm ceremony. This was the opinion of Mânûshihar, but it is based upon a Pahlavi commentary, and not upon the Avesta text, which is not clear upon this point.

INDEX.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. The references in this index are to the pages of the introduction and appendix, and to the chapters and sections of the translations; the chapters being denoted by the larger ciphers, or by roman type.

2. References to passages which contain special information are given in parentheses, when the reference is not the first one.

3. Though different forms of the same name may occur in the translations, only one form is usually given in the index, to which the references to all forms are attached; except when the forms differ so much as to require to be widely separated in the index.

4. Pâzand forms are printed in italics, as their orthography is usually corrupt. In all such italicised names any letters which would elsewhere be italic are printed in roman type.

5. Abbreviations used are :—Ap. for Appendix; AV. for *Arđâ-Vîrâf*; Av. for Avesta word; Byt. for Bahman Yast; com. for commentator; Cor. for Corrections; Dd. for *Dâdistân-î-Dînîk*; Dk. for *Dînkard*; Dr. for Doctor; Ep. for Epistle; ins. for inscription; lun. man. for lunar mansion; m. for mountain; meas. for measure; Mkh. for *Mainyô-î Khard*; n for foot-note; Pahl. for Pahlavi; Pers. for Persian; Prof. for Professor; r. for river; Riv. for Rivâyat; Sans. for Sanskrit word; trans. for translation; Vend. for *Vendidâd*; Visp. for *Visparad*; Yas. for *Yasna*.

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- Zâd-sparam, priest, Int. 13-16, 19, 25-27; Ep. I, o, i, 2 n, ii, 6 n, iv, 7 n, 8 n, v, 1 n, 5 n, 7 n, x, 3 n, 13 n, xi, 3 n, 10 n; II, o, i, 2 n, 7 n, 12 n, ii, 1 n, v, 3 n, 14 n, vii, 2 n, ix, 8 n; III, 2, 17; Ap. 394, 455.
- Zâirîk, demon, Dd. 37, 52; Ep. I, x, 9.
- Zand, Dd. 1, 7; 45, (2); 66, 1, 3; Ep. I, iv, 11; II, iii, 14 n, ix, 10.
- Zaratûst, apostle, Dd. 1, 23 n; 2, (10), 11 n, 12; 4, 6; 48, 16, 30; 94, 14; Ep. II, i, 14, v, 11; Ap. 369, 386, 410, 444 n; addressed by evil spirit, Dd. 72, 5 n; Avesta of, Ap. 447; blessed (*yartô-fravâhar*), Dd. 48, 30; his early home, Dd. 21, 2 n; his origin, Dd. 48, 16; law of, Ep. II, iv, 1, 2; perfect (*pâshûm*), Ep. II, ix, 15; III, 23; preaches, Ap. 412, 413; righteous, Dd. 37, 36; sees Keresâsp, Ap. 371-373, 379-381; slain, Dd. 72, 8 n; talks with *Aûharmazd*, Dd. 7, 7; Ep. I, iii, 8, vii, 10-12; II, i, 10; Ap. 381, 415-417, 419-423, 431, 436, 437, 455; the Spîtamân, Dd. 4, 4; 19, 3; 36, (2); 37, 43; 39, 19, 23; 94, 14; Ep. I, iv, 3, x, 9; II, vi, 2, ix, 14; III, 22; Ap. 379, 380 n, 432.
- supreme, Ep. I, iv, 11.
- the club-footed, priest, Int. 26; Ep. II, i, 13.
- Zaremâyâ, month, Int. 24; Dd. 31, 14.
- Zarmân, demon, Dd. 37, 44, 52.
- Zindah-ravân rites, Dd. 81, 1 n.
- Zôr, see Holy-water.
- Zoroastrian religion, Int. 14.
- Zoroastrians, Int. 14.
- Zôtô, see Priest, officiating.

CORRECTIONS.

- P. 66, line 15; p. 67, l. 7; for 'Mitrô' read 'Mitrô.'
- P. 108, lines 1, 3, for 'the *Supreme* Being' and 'the Being' read 'God (yêdatô),' and cancel note 1.
- P. 109, note 2, add 'Malkôs has also been read Markûs and traced to Av. mahrkûrô (see Fragment VIII, 2 in Westergaard's Zend-Avesta, p. 334), which appears to be the title of some demon, regarding whom very little can be ascertained from the text that mentions him.'
- P. 143, l. 12; 145, l. 6; 150, note 6; 252, l. 6; 289, note 2; 318, ll. 26, 27; 346, l. 24; for 'Âtûr' and 'Âtûrô' read 'Âtûr' and 'Âtûrô.'

The following emendations depend upon the meaning to be attached to the word vâspôharak, or vâspûharak, which in Mkh. I, 7 was traced to Pers. bâ, 'with,' and sipihrah, 'sphere, world, universe,' and supposed to mean 'world-renowned,' being rendered by vîkhyâtîmat in Sanskrit. The objections to this etymology are that Pers. bâ is Pahl. avâk (not vâ), which is nearly always replaced by Huz. levatman, and that vâspûhar appears to be the correct form of the word vaspûr, which explains the Huz. barbêtâ, literally 'son of the house' in the Pahlavi Farhang (p. 9, ed. H.); the latter word having been the highest title of the Persian nobility, probably confined to the heads of seven families (see Nöldeke's *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, pp. 71, 501). Such nobles are called barbêtân in the Hâ-gîâbâd inscription, line 6, and vâspûharakan in the Naq-i Rustam inscription, line 6; they may perhaps be styled 'princes,' and their title, vâspûhar, may be traced to the ancient Persian equivalent of Av. vîsô puthra (Vend. VII, 114), literally 'son of the village or borough.' It may be noted, however, that the word 'sphere' does really occur in a form very similar to this title, in the word aspiharakânîkîhâ, 'as regards the spheres,' in Dd. 60, 4.

- P. 78, ll. 11-13, read 'But those who are the more princely (vâspûharakânîktar) producers of the renovation are said to be seven . . .'
- P. 91, ll. 11, 12, read ' . . . and he made the princes (vâspûharakânîhâ) contented.'

-
- P. 172, ll. 26, 27, read '... a minder of the princes of the religion (dîn-vâspûharakânö), the angels, and *with* pure thoughts ...'
- P. 262, ll. 15, 16, read '... and its position is most princely (vâspûharakânîktar).'
- P. 281, ll. 17, 18, read 'On account of the princeliness (vâspûharakânîh) of the good *people* of Khvanîras ...'
- P. 289, ll. 14, 15, read '... I *am* more applauding the princes (vâspûharakânö-zâhtar) about the property of the profession ...'
- P. 306, ll. 23, 24, read '... to keep in use the equal measure *which is* more *the custom* of his own superiors (nafsman vâspûharakântar).'
-

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.										
	II Class.	III Class.	III Class.								
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis	k	..	..	क	𐬕	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	k
2 " aspirata	kh	..	..	ख	𐬖	𐬶	𐬶	𐬶	𐬶	𐬶	kh
3 Media	g	..	..	ग	𐬗	𐬷	𐬷	𐬷	𐬷	𐬷	..
4 " aspirata	gh	..	..	घ	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	..
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	..	..	𐬑	𐬙	𐬹	𐬹	𐬹	𐬹	𐬹	..
6 Nasalis	h (ng)	..	..	𐬚	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	..
7 Spiritus asper	h	..	..	ह	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	h, hs
8 " lenis	,	..	..	𐬞	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	..
9 " asper faucalis	'h	..	..	𐬟	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	..
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	..	..	𐬡	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	..
11 " asper fricatus	'h	..	..	𐬢	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	..
12 " lenis fricatus	'h	..	..	𐬣	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	..
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis	k	..	..	𐬤	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	k
14 " aspirata	kh	..	..	𐬥	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	kh
15 Media	g	..	..	𐬦	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	..
16 " aspirata	gh	..	..	𐬧	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	..
17 " Nasalis	ñ	..	..	𐬨	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	..

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y			य	𐬨	𐬨	ی	ی	י	y
19 Spiritus asper		(y')			𐬨	𐬨				
20 " lenis		(y)			𐬨	𐬨				
21 " asper assibilatus		s		श	𐬨	𐬨				
22 " lenis assibilatus		z			𐬨	𐬨				z
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t			त	𐬨	𐬨			ת	t
24 " aspirata	th			थ	𐬨	𐬨			ת	th
25 " assibilata			TH	द	𐬨	𐬨				
26 Media	d			द	𐬨	𐬨				
27 " aspirata	dh			ध	𐬨	𐬨				
28 " assibilata			DH	न	𐬨	𐬨				
29 Nasalis	n			न	𐬨	𐬨			נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l			ल	𐬨	𐬨			ל	l
31 " mollis 1		l			𐬨	𐬨				
32 " mollis 2			L		𐬨	𐬨				
33 Spiritus asper 1	s			स	𐬨	𐬨			ס	s
34 " asper 2			S (S)		𐬨	𐬨				
35 " lenis	z				𐬨	𐬨			ז	z
36 " asperimus 1			z (z)		𐬨	𐬨				
37 " asperimus 2			z (z)		𐬨	𐬨				z, zh

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.		III Class.							
	II Class.									
1 Neutralis	o			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ē			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3 " labialis	ō			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4 Gutturalis brevis	a			अ	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	...	...	...
5 " longa	ā	(a)		आ	𐬁	𐬁	𐬁	...	...	...
6 Palatalis brevis	i			इ	𐬂	𐬂	𐬂	...	...	...
7 " longa	ī	(i)		ई	𐬃	𐬃	𐬃	...	...	...
8 Dentalis brevis	u			उ	...	...	...	...	...	...
9 " longa	ū			ऊ	...	...	...	...	...	...
10 Lingualis brevis	ri			रि	...	...	...	...	...	...
11 " longa	rī			री	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 Labialis brevis	u			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
13 " longa	ū	(u)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
15 " longa	ē	(e)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	āi	(ai)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
17 " " " " " "	ei (ēi)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
18 " " " " " "	oi (ōu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20 " longa	ō	(o)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu	(au)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
22 " " " " " "	eu (ēu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
23 " " " " " "	ou (ōu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
25 Palatalis fracta	y			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
26 Labialis fracta	ū			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ū			...	...	...	...	...	...	...

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